

Early Greek Mythography

ROBERT L. FOWLER

II Commentary

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For Judy

PREFACE

WITHOUT the support of the Leverhulme Trust, the University of Bristol, and the British Academy, who underwrote several periods of leave, this volume, already too long delayed, would have been delayed even longer. I thank these institutions most warmly for their wonderful generosity. A stay at the idyllic Fondation Hardt, where time stops, permitted a great deal of productive work amid congenial surroundings and company; my best thanks also to the Fondation and its staff.

Robert Parker, Emma Stafford, Martin West, and Stephanie West have kindly read some sections of the commentary and offered valuable comments, for which I am extremely grateful. Two friends have heroically read the whole manuscript: Jan Bremmer and Rudolf Kassel. The pages upon pages of notes and corrections these scholars contributed have saved me from an embarrassing number of mistakes, and vastly enriched the commentary. Both had far more important things to do. I simply cannot thank them enough, and hope that the result, in spite of the remaining faults to be laid wholly at the author's door, meets their approval.

Many other friends and colleagues have offered occasional assistance of many kinds. Some, sadly, are no longer with us. I thank Alberto Alberti, Minerva Alganza Roldán, Klaus Alpers, Armand D'Angour, Margarethe Billerbeck, Bruce Braswell, Christopher Brown, Richard Buxton, Douglas Cairns, Alan Cameron, Leonard Curchin, Laurent Gourmelen, Leofranc Holford-Strevens, Simon Hornblower, †Marc Huys, Elizabeth Irwin, Ulrike Kenens, Dominique Lenfant, Nino Luraghi, Donald Mastronarde, Johanna Michels, Dirk Obbink, Ellen O'Gorman, Alessandro Pagliara, Jordi Pàmias i Massana, †Manolis Papothomopoulos, Frances Pownall, Ornella Salati, Albert Schachter, Alan Sommerstein, †Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, Helmut van Thiel, Pietro Vannicelli, Nereida Villagra Hidalgo, Peter Warren, and Vanda Zajko. Greta Hawes took on the daunting task of preparing the indexes, and helped with the proof-reading; all readers may be grateful for her diligent efforts. Particular thanks to Damian Thomas for the *daruma*, whose other eye is now coloured in!

Several readers have suggested that a translation of selected fragments, with brief notes, would be a useful complement to this extended commentary. I shall follow this advice in the near future and hope that the resulting work will be welcome to students and scholars alike.

The enormity of the bibliography means that I will have neglected pertinent items, for which I can only apologize and ask that deficiencies be brought to my attention. I regret that only sporadic notice could be taken of works published since autumn 2011.

Finally, the person to whom this book is dedicated in love and affection is not a classicist, but she has contributed more than anyone else to its production.

R.L.F.

Coombe Dingle, Bristol
2 March 2013

CONTENTS

<i>Introduction</i>	xi
 PART A: MYTHOLOGICAL COMMENTARY	
§1 Theogony	3
§2 Pelasgians, Leleges, Dryopes, and Arkadians	84
§3 Deukalion	113
§4 Deukalionidai	122
§5 Aiolidai	153
§6 Argonauts	195
§7 Inachidai	235
§8 Herakles	260
§9 Herakleidai	334
§10 Agenoridai and Early Thebes	347
§11 Crete	385
§12 The Theban Cycle	400
§13 Atlantides	415
§14 Pelopidai	426
§15 Asopides	442
§16 Attic Legend	447
§17 Local Histories	494
§18 The Trojan Cycle	522
§19 The Migrations	569
§20 Other Fragments	603
 PART B: PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY	
Aethlios	619
Agias and Derkylos	621
Akousilaos	623
Anaximandros	630
Andron	632
Antiochos	633
Aristophanes	637
Armenidas	639
Charon	641
Damastes	644
Dei(l)ochos	647
Demokles	648
Epimenides Pseudepigraphus	649
Euagon	653

Eudemos	655
Eumelos	656
Hekataios	658
Hellanikos	682
Herodoros	696
Ion	699
Kreophylos	701
Menekrates	703
Metrodoros	705
Pherekydes	706
Polos	728
Simonides	729
Skamon	731
Skythinos	732
Xenomedes	733
<i>Two Addenda to Volume 1</i>	734
<i>Corrigenda to Volume 1</i>	738
<i>Bibliography</i>	743
<i>Index of Fragments</i>	801
<i>Index of Other Passages</i>	809
<i>Index of Greek Words and Phrases</i>	812
<i>Index of Names and Subjects</i>	813

INTRODUCTION

THE explosion of cultural brilliance in fifth-century Greece has traditionally been credited to victory in the Persian Wars. From that surprising result came liberation from foreign domination, confidence in the superiority of Hellenism and the sheer exhilaration with which the Greeks seized their moment in history. Thus began the Classical Age. This received myth, like all good myths, has some truth in it, and some falsehood; but one point which it overlooks is that the cultural explosion was already well under way in the sixth century. Growing prosperity fed the splendid courts of tyrants, built shining new temples and agorai, and crowded public spaces with sumptuous dedications. People travelled far to attend the newly-founded regional and pan-Hellenic festivals, where they could be dazzled by the rich offerings, meet Greeks from cities hitherto known to them only in poetry, struggle to understand the dialects, watch virtuoso performances and marvel at the kaleidoscopic world they now inhabited. New groups, previously excluded, clamoured to participate in the political process. Philosophers expounded bold and worrying new theories, questioning even the notion of god. Passive acceptance gave way everywhere to active challenge. Public places teemed with talk, argument, inquiry.

The exposure to new information and perspectives afforded by this environment fed a naturally hungry curiosity; people wanted to find things out. *Δίζης* they first called this spirit of investigation, then *ἱστορίη*.¹ If philosophers asked where the cosmos came from, others inquired about the past of human society. In this they were encouraged by the strong sense of history the Greeks had always had, as evinced by epic and lyric poetry. The local nymphs who gave birth to eponymous heroes; the offspring of gods who first peopled the landscape (some of them sprung from the very earth); the arrival of immigrants from elsewhere in Greece, or exotic places like Egypt and Phoenicia; the growth of the great clans; the foundation of civic institutions; the aetiology of cults; the deeds of the ancestors at Thebes and Troy: these topics could not be absent from any good account of a city's past. Locally such knowledge was passed on not only by poets, but among families and priestly clans. But as soon as the horizon was extended beyond the boundaries of the polis, specialist knowledge was needed to explain how the traditions of all the cities went together.

Attendance by the wealthy elite at the international festivals, and their exogamous marriages, created one network in which stories could pass from city to city; the busy

¹ Fowler, 'Herodotus and his Prose Predecessors' 29–33 on these terms.

merchants in the harbours and agorai created another. For public consumption the stories were propagated by the travelling poets, particularly those of epic. This local vs. pan-Hellenic relationship is a fundamental dynamic force of Greek culture. It had existed since the emergence of the poleis themselves, and before. The epic poets promoted regional stories to the wider stage and from these multiple threads wove their rich tapestries. Moving from town to town they spread their stories, which took root and might then be adapted to suit local needs. In the centuries of transition between the fall of Mykenai and the recovery, whole populations also migrated; they took their stories with them, producing new mixes and imitations as they encountered other Greeks or foreigners. This negotiation was incessant and created over time the amalgam we know as Greek mythology. To the Greeks, however, it was history.

The first writers to turn a critical eye on the inherited conglomerate were Hekataios of Miletos and Akousilaos of Argos, working at the end of the sixth century. The poets were inquisitive and sage, to be sure, but they were constrained by many considerations, not least the desires of those for whom they were composing. And the poet's product was a package: not just a text but a text, a song, a dance, a performance, a ritual. From the beginning, historiography took the form of a simple text, scrutinizing the record and presenting itself in turn for scrutiny. The emphasis was entirely on discovery and criticism. There was, moreover, no Muse to inspire the flow, no pretence that the message passed through the receptive poet from heaven to earth: there was only the native wit of the author.

Prose, already used by Ionian science, was the natural choice for these communications. The texts, as we can tell from Hekataios' opening words (fr. 1), were put into circulation to be read at a distance by anyone interested. Of course Hekataios read from his book at public or private gatherings, or he might have used it merely as a prompt on those occasions. But the text we have is not an aide-mémoire; it is a book addressed to readers. In 500 BC there would not have been many readers, but those few would have been very good. Though Greece was a predominantly oral society, some Greeks, like Hekataios, were highly literate. The poets were readers too; we have their texts because they wrote them down, and by Hekataios' time the number of verses of all kinds (epic, lyric including citharody, elegy and iambus, oracles) numbered at least two hundred thousand. This reduction of the oral encyclopaedia to concrete, visible form would have fuelled the gathering critical drive; anthropological parallels show that literacy has a decisive impact in this regard. Even if it does not in and of itself engender a critical attitude in individuals or a new sophistication in society, literacy is always part of such processes and, in conjunction with other factors, accelerates change. Without it one simply cannot get very far. The level of literacy, and the context of the literacy, were such as to produce this revolution in late archaic Greece.

If, at first, writers like Akousilaos and Hekataios wrote only books of pan-Hellenic content, transferring the epic legacy to prose, one should not be misled into thinking

that the local sense of history did not yet exist. If (so far as we know) local histories were not yet written, it was for purely contingent reasons. The cities were small, the elites even smaller; there was no need of a written record for local consumption, and no market in Argos for a book of Athenian history. 'Local' and 'pan-Hellenic' are in any case a Saussurian pair of terms: each makes sense only in relation to the other. All pan-Hellenic traditions had once been local. When Akousilaos wrote his pan-Hellenic history for the instruction of all Greeks, he did so from a clearly Argive perspective. Hekataios, in his few surviving fragments, writes nothing obviously Milesian; but it is worth remembering what a small proportion of his book these fragments represent, and noting that he seems to delight, no doubt for shock effect, in playing off obscure local traditions against established pan-Hellenic sensibilities (fr. 15–16). In the next generation Pherekydes of Athens was not often chauvinistic, but Athenian pride is there; at the same time, he drew on other cities' traditions. In his lifetime, local histories began to circulate outside their home poleis. They all acknowledged and incorporated pan-Hellenic material.²

Tension between the perspectives of locals and outsiders is of course found everywhere in human society, but in Greece this tension had a special character and force. Its peculiar intensity derives from the fact that, at the same time as being Athenian or Argive, denizens of these cities were also strongly Greek. There was, on the one hand, an amazing number of poleis—1,035 is the astonishing count in Hansen's and Nielsen's *Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, of which 862 certainly or possibly existed in 400 BC—and on the other hand a feeling of Hellenic ethnicity which grew strong during the archaic period and became unshakable after the Persian Wars. That is a lot of poleis, and a lot of Hellenicity; the forces, like the magnetic poles of a motor, propelled each other onward. And these were not the only ethnicities competing for attention. In the decades leading up to the Peloponnesian War, Dorian and Ionian, to name the two biggest, became more and more polarized, and the writers in our corpus are at pains to tell the histories of these groups too.

Yet this is a corpus—in our terms—of mythography, not historiography. It contains fragments of books from twenty-nine authors who between the late sixth and early fourth centuries attempted to give reasoned accounts of the remote past in prose—of what was to become the mythical past. In the Introduction to *EGM* 1, I set out the criteria for inclusion and exclusion and struggled with the typical problems of defining a genre. I explained there how purely pragmatic considerations—the desirability of finding in one place what people said during this period about myths—were an important determinant of the shape of the corpus; but, at the same time, I claimed that the set of authors and fragments thus identified presents a recognizable generic face to the

² On the local/pan-Hellenic relationship see further §1.7.7.

reader. One could argue that this is a false impression. Fragments from the historical stretches of, for instance, Hellanikos' *Atthis*, his local history of Athens, were excluded as not being mythography. Since many local histories would have proceeded from remotest antiquity to not long before the present day, my procedure might seem the merest *petitio principii*. Yet it is remarkable how few casualties, in terms of omitted fragments, resulted from this procedure (see *EGM* 1.xxxi n. 6). For cultural reasons, these books obviously concentrated (like tragedy) on the 'mythical' period. Moreover, the links between these works and later mythography, once the genre was named, are clear. The route from Pherekydes to Apollodoros' *Library*, the principal surviving example of the ancient genre (perhaps of the second century AD), is shortest of all, with in some passages possibly only a single way-station between them. At all stages of mythography's history, as with any genre, there are questions of overlap and fuzzy boundaries. But the broad outlines of the genre, and the family resemblance of its instantiations, are clear.

Another point that emerges from my classification is the almost complete lack of theogony in the corpus. Only Akousilaos opens his book with a 'history' of the gods; Epimenides is a somewhat special case, because we are dealing there with the prose redaction of a poem; Akousilaos too converted Hesiod to prose, but he did not pass the result off as Hesiod. This imbalance of heroic vs. divine material is not a necessary result of my basic question—who was recording the 'myths' in prose in this period—so it must lie in the nature of the enterprise. This was to them history, and one cannot write a history of gods. Herodotos was clear about that, and resolutely excluded them from his narrative, at least at the level of everyday interaction with humans. There is no Judgement of Paris in his tale of Troy. (He kept them in at the level of his grand narrative, as the guarantors of justice and operators of history's cyclical machine; that is a quite different matter.)

When in time the distinction was drawn between myth and history, and therefore between mythography and historiography,³ the situation was different. Theogony crept back into mythography, because one was no longer writing a history; one was collecting myths. Myths could be included in history, with the appropriate apologies and explanations: of course they were not real history, but they had exemplary value, and still informed living practices. In the fifth century, in a complex process, myth was starting to be distinguished from history. Herodotos, with his concentration on more recent, *knowable* history, was important in this development, as were the Sophists.⁴ But the

³ See *EGM* 1.xxvii, and my article 'P.Oxy. 4458: Poseidonios'. As Minerva Alganza points out to me (see now her 'Hecateo de Mileto'), I overlooked Palaiph. 26 οἱ μυθογράφοι, who might be older than ps.-Aristotle (on the conflicting evidence for his date see Jacob Stern's 1996 edition, and Hawes, *The Rationalisation of Myth in Antiquity*; the 340s or 330s are most favoured).

⁴ I have argued the case in 'Mythos and Logos'.

distinction was not fully articulated. So, to some extent, the corpus of *EGM* is compiled from the retrospective vantage point of the fourth century; that too might seem illegitimate to some readers. Yet this development clearly had its roots in the fifth century, and one is thus justified, with due qualifications, in speaking of mythography in the period. In other words it is not a category wrongly imposed by moderns.

One of the early signs of unease about myth is the tactic of rationalization deployed by many of our writers, beginning with Hekataios. People like Herakleitos objected to the immoral behaviour of gods in Homer and other poets; he declared the gods (or god) to be entirely different in nature, whereas others such as Theagenes of Rhegion resorted to allegory (the gods stand for something entirely wholesome if you know how to decode the story). Rationalization is rather different, objecting not to immorality but impossibility. When generalized such a principle can only lead to demythification. It is not yet generalized in Hekataios, but it is by the time of Herodotos. Hekataios does not rationalize consistently, and allows that the heroes could perform feats beyond the ability of ordinary mortals. He still records miracles without apparent demur (fr. 15). A rational outlook can also make room for gods (in whom Herodotos certainly believed); it can even allow them to do some amazing things, since by definition gods have such powers. Yet there must be a limit to the number of times the gods may intervene in one's narrative, especially if they intervene in spectacular ways, if it is still to retain a rationalistic spirit. Rationalism implies realism in the sense that a sequence of events should conform to the expectations of ordinary experience. The question is how far one's belief may permit one to argue without embarrassment that divine intervention *is* a part of ordinary experience. The implication does not run in the other direction, however, from realism to rationalism. One can tell a story, as Pherekydes often does, with many realistic touches, yet still allow gods to play their full, traditional part in the course of events. Pherekydes himself had no interest in rationalism, though it was hardly new in his day; Hellanikos too is not so much inclined to use it as Herodotos. There was no linear progression here, and traditional belief continued to exist alongside rationalistic alternatives for the rest of antiquity, as it does today.

If one was not troubled by the scruples of a Hekataios, one could simply tell the stories straight, gods and all. This does not mean the stories were told uncritically. There were plenty of other things one might object to. Chief among them (and this is Hekataios' stated starting-point) was the plenitude of versions. They could not all be right. Really only one could be right, or some plausible reconciliation of versions. One might object also to the implications of a story or a genealogy if they did not accord with contemporary experience or perceptions. Whether Telamon was a son of Aiaikos, for instance, or son of Aktaios (Pher. fr. 60) is not a matter to be settled by consulting the parish registry; it is a construct arising from Athens' relationship with Salamis in the fifth century, and assent to one version or the other will follow from one's take on the contemporary issues.

In attempting to find solutions to problems, the mythographers prepared the way for the emergence of historiography. They cast their nets widely: the entirety of the archaic poetic tradition was their raw material. Their sources were both written and oral, pan-Hellenic and local (sometimes from localities far from their own). They studied their sources closely, and like Protagoras in the Platonic dialogue had scholarly opinions on specific words in poetic texts (Pherekydes, for instance, is cited seven times for his views on Homeric words, which must mean the grammarians saw him as a source of such information; see §18.3.9 and Part B). Homer and the Epic Cycle were fundamental, of course, but even more so was the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, which wrote out the genealogies of old Greece. The mythographers understood the genealogies from the inside, and thought hard about them. They developed techniques of inquiry which the historians Herodotos and Thucydides freely used, indeed had no choice but to use when dealing with the remote past. The inherent plausibility (τὸ εἰκός) of a story, as measured by its conformity to similar phenomena, logical consistency, or credibility of the source, is a criterion much deployed by Herodotos, but probably used already by Hekataios (fr. 27a; Pausanias' λόγον εἰκότα may not reflect Hekataios' words, but it does reflect his spirit). Etymology, the 'true account' (ἔνυμος λόγος) implied by a name, was an important tool; examples are many in the corpus (see the 'Index of Names and Subjects' s.v.). Closely related was the habit of identifying eponymous figures of places in the contemporary world, and fixing their place in the heroic genealogies. Though words like σημείον 'sign', τεκμήριον 'proof', or μαρτύρια 'evidence' hardly occur in our corpus,⁵ the identification of an eponym implies the same procedure: one can point to something in the physical environment which proves the truth of one's account.

Chronography also emerges as a scientific method in this period. Contradictions in the time-lines naturally came to light as a result of juxtaposing genealogies. Greek mythology had always had a general sense of chronology (on no account could the Theban War ever follow the Trojan, for instance), but here we are speaking of a much more refined sense which notices inconsistencies across the whole complicated genealogical grid, and seeks to eliminate them by shortening or lengthening the individual lines, or inventing duplicate figures such as Kodros I and Kodros II. This is a sophisticated procedure. The earliest mythographers show no concerns on this score (neither did the poet of the *Catalogue of Women*), though they will sometimes smooth over more obvious difficulties within closely related lines.⁶ Also absent from the earliest record is evidence of the even more sophisticated technique of converting generations to years, and relative chronology to absolute. The beginnings of this method are seen in Herodotos, and it is Hellanikos who first worked out a detailed scheme for the whole of Greek history.

⁵ See my 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries', 74. Verbatim fragments, where one might be more likely to find them, are of course meagre; σημείον occurs in a paraphrase, Herod. fr. 22a.

⁶ See Part B, Introduction to Hekataios (at n. 18).

In such ways the mythographers advanced the science of *historiē*. Because their subject-matter does not intersect often with that of Herodotos, we tend to think of them separately. But with respect to method Herodotos has many points of contact with them. Had he written about the legendary period instead of the Persian Wars the similarities would be even clearer. Thucydides in his discussions of early periods sounds remarkably like a mythographer (1.1–21, 2.15–16, 6.1–5). These methods of historical inquiry in turn had much in common with those of other scientific fields; the medical writers have proven to be a particularly rich point of comparison.⁷ The mythographers were fully engaged in contemporary intellectual trends.

In addition to their contribution to methodology the mythographers also, quite simply, made a huge amount of information available in an accessible and readable form. The ancient way of acquiring such learning was by listening to poetic performances; and to acquire it on this scale was possible only for the few who could travel, and required many years of exposure. Assembling of all these data into a portable collection of rolls was a revolution in information technology comparable to those we have experienced in our own age. It is important to grasp how innovative mythography was. It required a brilliant imagination to spot the potential for this kind of cultural product. It took boldness to banish the Muse, silence the song, prune the poetic ornaments and write the bare factual narrative of history. The very act threw the factuality into high relief, and invited one to test the accuracy. Truth was no longer a social act—the poet acting as spokesman for collective values, keeping tradition alive, 'not forgetting' the past (the popular etymology of ἀλήθεια, truth); truth was now an individual assertion. It was now measured by the inherent qualities of the narrative itself: its coherence and plausibility, and the evidence cited to support it.

In the nature of our sparse record, we cannot measure the immediate impact these books might have had. But we know that Thucydides read Hellanikos (test. 16), and it is possible that Hippias of Elis read Pherekydes (see Part B, 'Pherekydes'). Given that Pherekydes and Ion were members of the highest circles in Athenian society, we may assume their works were known and discussed. General probability favours the idea that poets such as Sophokles and the bookish Euripides would have consulted these works (see Part B, 'Ion'). We infer also from the dialect of Pherekydes' work that he was writing for an audience not exclusively Athenian. He explains for the non-Athenians in his audience that Daidalidai is a deme there (fr. 146; cf. fr. 2). The dialect of mythography, still just visible through all the layers of distortion, is broadly Ionic at first, and increasingly Attic as time progresses, in line with the growing domination of Athens. This traditional picture of the development of Greek prose remains valid, but the details are complicated. The mix may change from author to author, genre to genre, audience

⁷ R. Thomas, *Herodotus in Context*.

to audience, and we are not always in a position to distinguish Ionic from old Attic.⁸ In Part B, I have provided brief notes on dialectal matters in most authors, and more detailed surveys of the evidence for Hekataios, Pherekydes and Hellanikos.⁹

The continued production of these works implies that a demand existed, to which their authors responded and which they helped perpetuate; the demand for such works continues to this day. In the broadest sense what the mythographers did was to help create a sense of myth as cultural capital, an independent body of material that educated people needed to acquire for many purposes. 'Myths' were becoming 'myth', no longer organically linked with other things, but a kind of discourse in its own right.

Mythographers were thus a major presence on the intellectual landscape of the fifth century BC. From the perspective of posterity, the brilliance—and survival—of Herodotos and Thucydides have cast them into a shadow. Their fragmentary remains require much tedious effort to reconstruct, and their lack of literary sophistication, though to some extent deliberate (the simple style was appropriate for the purpose, and became standard for the rest of antiquity), meant they were not read for aesthetic reasons.¹⁰ As works of reference they were subsumed in and superseded by later productions of the same kind. It is understandable that they have been given but superficial treatment in most histories of literature.

In their own day, however, matters looked very different. These writers were authorities on matters of great importance. National identities were founded on these stories. They underpinned the religious calendar. They could secure diplomatic treaties between nations, and make or break alliances;¹¹ they could determine the disposition of troops on the battlefield.¹² They were deployed constantly in public oratory, and pictorial versions of them ornamented public spaces. They were indispensable to every kind of literary and artistic endeavour. They were the first and abiding targets of philosophical criticism. Those who collected and analysed such stories provided a valuable service to an increasingly complex society. Like the Sophists, who theorized the rhetoric which

⁸ Willi, 'The Language of the Classics'.

⁹ Note that, owing to the Hellenization of names in this volume, the order of the writers in Part B differs slightly from that in *EGM* 1.

¹⁰ I have not undertaken to provide a new study of the style of these writers. On early prose generally see Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*; Zuntz, 'Earliest Attic Prose Style'; Denniston, *Greek Prose Style*; Trenkner, *Le Style καὶ dans le récit attique oral*; Lilja, *On the Style of the Earliest Greek Prose*; Russell, *An Anthology of Greek Prose*; Dräger, *Stilistische Untersuchungen zu Pherekydes von Athen*; Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style*; Bakker, 'The Syntax of *historiē*'; Bers, 'Kunstprosa'. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea* 263–83 has pertinent comments on the style of the genre; see also my 'How to Tell a Myth'.

¹¹ For instance, Herodotos says (7.150) that it was generally believed that the Argives did not go to war against the Persians because they accepted the Persian envoys' argument that they were related. In general see Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy* and Patterson, *Kinship Myth in Ancient Greece*.

¹² e.g. Hdt. 9.26–8.

poets had long practised instinctively, the mythographers isolated one element in the poetic compound, and mass-produced it in synthetic, concentrated form.

Within this broad picture there were of course nuances. Not all the writers in the corpus wrote exactly the same kind of mythography. Some (though few) included theogony; some were more interested in local than pan-Hellenic history; some were comprehensive, while others concentrated on specific themes; some, like Hekataios, Ion, and Metrodoros, wrote other things besides mythography. Some were more rationalistic than others; they all made different choices from the methodological toolkit (etymology, chronology etc.).

In Part B, the Philological Commentary, I provide discussions of each author's character as a mythographer, and comments on non-mythological matters such as the contents of individual books, problems of text and attribution, dates, and so on. The bulk of this work is, however, taken up with the Mythological Commentary in Part A, which proceeds topic by topic rather than author by author. This procedure has produced a somewhat unorthodox commentary, but given the conception of these texts as a corpus, it seemed recommended. The alternative, to proceed author by author throughout, would have made it more difficult to assess the significance of variants: one would need to cross-refer to all the other fragments in any case, so it is easier just to treat them all together. One can then see what the state of the myth was according to the early mythographers, and compare that with epic, tragedy, and so on; and this, I imagine, is what people most often want to know from this material. To assist the reader looking only for discussion of a single fragment, I have identified through bold type the principal treatments of each one; these are also identified in the index, along with secondary references. In a very small number of cases discussion of a fragment is equally split between two sections; these are both marked in the index. With very few exceptions I assume the reader has consulted the texts listed in sub-section headings; that is, I do not take space here to summarize the contents of *EGM* 1.

Inevitably the commentary is much taken up with establishing who said what, that is with cataloguing and analysing the variants; in this endeavour I have found certain books indispensable, and have used them constantly.¹³ Given the gaps in our record one often has no choice but to make assumptions if one is to make any progress; the number of conditional expressions in the commentary is unavoidably large. Another very basic difficulty facing the reconstruction of these lost texts is the deformation inflicted by their being continually excerpted and paraphrased. Alan Cameron, in his superb *Greek Mythography in the Roman World*, has shown just how unreliable the attributions are in scholiastic sources which preserve these summaries. Unfortunately these constitute the great majority of the sources in this collection. The surviving handbooks of later

¹³ These are *RE*; Roscher, *Lex.* (available online through the Internet Archive); *LIMC*; Robert, *GH*; West, *HCW*; Gantz; and of course Jacoby, *FGH*. Also invaluable were *IACP*, *LGP*, and the *Barrington Atlas*.

mythography are no different. The problem is most serious in the case of the *historia* style of fragment, where a myth is related and at the end the author tells us 'the story is in Pherekydes' (as it might be).¹⁴ The story may indeed be in Pherekydes, but in a totally different form. It might not be there at all, if (as we suspect in some cases) the scholiast has added the name on his own authority, without checking. After all, general probability favoured the proposition that—in some sense—the story was in Pherekydes, given his scope. Some of the details might be Pherekydean, but one cannot say which ones. More reliable in general (but here too mistakes are easy) are the embedded citations, where an author is cited for a particular detail in the course of a narrative taken (we assume) from someone else. There are many of these in both scholia and Apollodoros' *Library*, and other books like it. Occasionally we are lucky to have parallel sources, and comparison allows us to determine with some confidence the source version; there is one main case, the myth of Perseus, paraphrased both by Apollodoros and the scholia to Apollonios (→ §7.2.1). The close agreement here is encouraging, and prevents complete despair about other cases.¹⁵ One can only take what one is given, and proceed with caution; I have signalled the doubts often, but probably not often enough.

At least as important as what the mythographers said, if not more important, is why they said it. The context of any utterance is crucial; yet here too the nature of the evidence, or rather the lack of it, makes recovery hazardous. Again one has no choice but to do what one can. The explication of local and national traditions; the aetiology of monuments and customs; the negotiation of identity and ethnicity; the advancement of patriotic claims—such motives are often clear enough, even if the nuances escape us. The common coin of this communication is the genealogy, and I have tried to be as sensitive as I can to the meaning of those endless variations; but at this distance we cannot hope to pick up any but the most obvious significations. No doubt we often miss even those.

Throughout the work, the focus has been more on the mythography than the mythology; that is to say, I have not usually written at length (in a work already long enough) about the many fascinating interpretations of the myths offered by scholars. I have, however, given indicative references; and problems of interpretation are often pertinent to the question of why a mythographer said what he did. The main example is the relation between myth and ritual, which comes up on various occasions (see the index); I have offered more extended thoughts on the subject apropos the Proitides (→ §5.3.3). There (probably) the myth is aetiological, but the usual situation is that powerful narrative motifs that might at one time have been part of an aition inform new stories which are not aetiological; one may remark the motifs, but one needs more than

¹⁴ Two indicative cases are Pher. fr. 82b (→ §8.6) and 84 (→ §9.2).

¹⁵ Some particular analyses of the source relationships are found in the Excursus in §10.10, and in the discussion of Pher. fr. 37 in Part B; on the sources of Apollodoros, see Part B, 'Pherekydes' at n. 6.

this to establish a link to real ritual.¹⁶ The clearest case in point is initiation: motifs conveniently labelled 'initiatory' are common, but true *rites de passage* for whole age groups are extremely rare. I have retained this useful label, but have sometimes supplemented or replaced it by a more general reference to '(rites or myths of) maturation' (or 'education'). Another topic on which more comment might have been offered is the relationship between Greek myth and worldwide folktale. Where I am aware of parallels or pertinent studies of motifs and types, I have drawn attention to them; my source has often been William Hansen's *Ariadne's Thread*, a learned and rich compilation.

Inevitably one must be selective; in writing on this subject the dreadful spectre of Edward Casaubon always looms, who in Eliot's novel looked in vain for the key to all mythologies, and died before he found it. The material here presented, in spite of its limitations, will I hope be of interest to students of myth, mythography, and historiography, and give some sense of the remarkable achievement of these industrious writers.

¹⁶ Thus when I say e.g. that the story of Theseus and Ariadne would work well in the context of a *ἑρὸς γάμος* or prenuptial ritual, I am not saying that such a ritual necessarily existed.

PART A

**Mythological
Commentary**

THEOGONY

§1.1 Introduction

To call Hesiod's the standard theogony of Greece is perhaps to underestimate the variety of theogonies on offer; yet the earliest Orphic theogony, as evidenced by the Derveni papyrus, though differing from Hesiod's in striking ways, remains a response to him, returning after its various novelties to the familiar Hesiodic narrative.¹ Herodotos' famous comment (2.53) that Hesiod and Homer 'composed the Greeks' theogony, gave the gods their names, distinguished their honours and skills, and indicated their forms' is justified; and he confirms our assessment of deviant theologies when he goes on immediately to say 'the poets who are said to have lived before these men came after them in my opinion'. For the early mythographical corpus, which is overwhelmingly dominated by heroic genealogy, the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* is the foundation document; in the generation of the gods too Hesiod provides the basic framework.

It is worth stressing, in fact, how weakly theogony is represented in our corpus of mythographic texts. Only Akousilaos and Epimenides offered extended treatments. Pherekydes, most probably, did not (see Part B, 'The Structure of Pherekydes' Book'). The fragments *de deis eorumque liberis* in Volume I, as explained there, would be better labelled *ambiguae sedis*; but rather than rearranging all the fragments on the basis of guesses as to their original location in heroic contexts, and changing all the numbers, it was preferable to leave them where they were in the interests of scholars' convenience. In this part of the commentary, fragments whose content (as preserved) is primarily theological receive discussion; as appropriate I offer speculations about their original heroic contexts.²

¹ An excellent general guide to early Orphism is R. Parker, 'Early Orphism'. See also M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems*; Guidorizzi and Melotti, *Orfeo e le sue metamorfosi*; Graf and Johnston, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife*; Casadio and Johnston, *Mystic Cults in Magna Graecia*; J. G. Edmonds, *The "Orphic" Gold Tablets*. For the text of the Derveni papyrus see Janko, 'The Derveni Papyrus: An Interim Text'; Jourdan, *Le Papyrus de Derveni*; Kouromenos, Parássoglou, and Tsantsanoglou, *The Derveni Papyrus*, with Janko's important review *BMCR* 2006.10.29 (see also 2006.11.02, 2006.11.20); Bernabé, *PEG* 2.3.169–269, with full bibliography. For general studies see Laks and Most, *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus*; Janko, 'The Derveni Papyrus (Diagoras of Melos, *Apopyrgizontes Logoi?*)'; above all Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus*.

² Dolcetti, *Ferecide di Atene* 22, provides a convenient list.

Akousilaos and pseudo-Epimenides, then, are our only theologians.³ With respect to the former, it is probable that the story about the source of his material—that he transcribed bronze tablets dug up by his father (test. 1)—came from the proem to the book. If so, several things follow. Akousilaos here suggests that his stories are ancient lore emanating from some mysterious source, passed on as found. Such a stance invites contradiction, and in test. 7 the *Suda* does just that. There the remark ‘the work of Akousilaos is a forgery’ is given as the reason for rejecting the book’s claim to being the first work of prose. Someone saw through the conceit of the proem and pointed out that Akousilaos was in fact younger than Pherekydes of Syros, so that the book could not be as old as it claimed to be; its text was in that sense ‘forged’.⁴

This account of the testimonia is much simpler than positing a separate book fathered on Akousilaos, or a revision of the first; for that there is no other evidence.⁵ By the same token, one can understand Akousilaos’ position among the Seven Wise Men (test. 11). Although his stance formally was that of a man who merely acted as the conduit of precious information, the credit nevertheless redounded to the author, just as a poet gained prestige from being the chosen vessel of the Muses. Although the book is unimpressive as original thought—one can understand why Kirk–Raven–Schofield (20) sniff that Akousilaos ‘is almost entirely irrelevant to the history of Presocratic thought, and scarcely deserves the space accorded him in DK’—Akousilaos’ pretensions earned him a place, however implausibly, among the sages. His is a quite different sort of claim than that made by ordinary mythographers, who no doubt thought of themselves as σοφοί but who either go more quietly about their business (Pherekydes, Hellanikos, *et al.*), or make a noise of a more secular kind (Hekataios, Herodotos).

With respect to Epimenides, we note that the wonder-worker, during his 57-year sleep, conversed with Aletheia herself (and Dike); this information could well have come from the proem of his poem, which in turn lay behind the pseudepigrapha.⁶ Aletheia is to Epimenides what the bronze tablets are to Akousilaos. In the same place occurs the famous denunciation of Cretan liars; other Cretans, that is to say, with their odd views about Zeus’ grave (if that is not Kallimachos’ gloss). Perhaps all this was in the prose version too. Epimenides, like Akousilaos, earned a place on some lists of the great wise men. For all his bluster about truth Hekataios never made it because he wrote

³ On Hellanikos fr. 202A see below, p. 9.

⁴ Fowler, ‘Herodotos and his Contemporaries’ 78. ‘References to ancient records discovered in temples and the like are a commonplace of impostors’ literature’: M. L. West, ‘*Ab ovo*’ 294, with reference to Speyer, *Bücherfunde* and *Die literarische Fälschung*. The stratagem is very old: the prologue of the Gilgamesh epic invites us ‘to go to Uruk, unlock the copper chest that contains Gilgamesh’s own record of his adventures on a lapis lazuli tablet, and read it for ourselves’ (West, *EFH* 601). See also Bremmer, ‘*Manteis*, Magic, Mysteries and Mythography’ 30. Further on this point see Part B.

⁵ Unless one accepts the alternative restoration in the sequel to Akous. fr. 11; see below, n. 115.

⁶ Vors. 3 B 1; Mazzarino, *Il pensiero storico* 49. On the relation between the pseudepigrapha and the original poetry see Part B.

on the wrong subject. More will be said about Akousilaos and Epimenides as authors in Part B, but their peculiar status is worth mentioning here as intimately related to their writing of theogony and cosmology.⁷ In doing so they placed themselves in the tradition of philosophy; mythography staked out different territory, between Homer, Hesiod’s *Catalogue*, and the Cyclic Epics on one side, and history and tragedy on the other.

§1.2 *Primordia mundi*

§1.2.1 CHAOS AND THE FIRST GENERATIONS (Akous. fr. 6; Epimen. frs. 6–7; Hellan. fr. 202A)

Akousilaos seldom differs radically from Hesiod in the surviving fragments.⁸ Epimenides, in whose name various works circulated, is somewhat more adventurous. Someone wishing his readers to think they were gaining access to arcane Cretan wisdom would naturally work in odd details, such as the world-egg, from the more exotic theogonies. Even so the basis remains Hesiod. In his *Theogony* (116–38), Chaos comes first; then Gaia, Tartaros,⁹ and Eros. From Chaos emerge Erebos and Night; Night then bore (τέκε) Aither and Day to Erebos. Gaia gives birth to Ouranos, the mountains, Pontos, all without the embrace of love; to Ouranos in the normal manner she bears Okeanos and the other Titans (Fig. 1.1).

Akousilaos (frs. 6a–d) also starts with Chaos, but there is some disagreement among the sources as to what came next in his account. Plato (fr. 6a) quotes Hesiod’s lines about Gaia and Eros, and says simply that Akousilaos agrees with him. Damaskios, however (fr. 6b), writing in the early sixth century AD, says that Erebos and Night

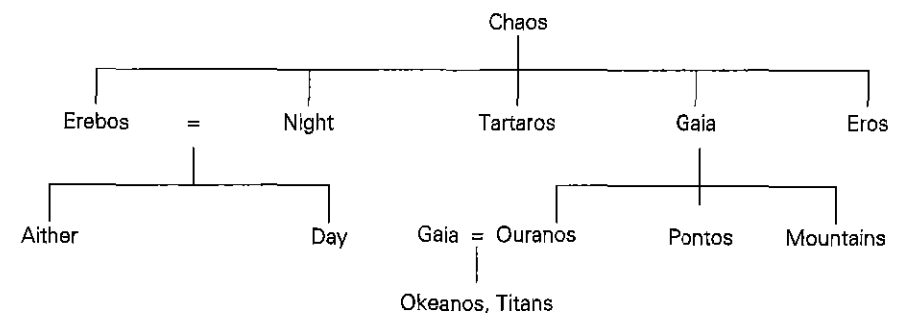


FIG. 1.1

⁷ Hesiod, Akousilaos, and Orpheus are the three names that spring to mind as authors of theogony for Menander Rhetor (Akous. test. 4).

⁸ Clement (test. 5) confirms the relationship, but Josephus (test. 6) claims that Akousilaos frequently disagrees with Hesiod. The degree of disagreement of which we are aware is minor, but could be exaggerated if one chose. See Part B for a study of the question.

⁹ West *ad loc.* ably defends l. 119.

followed Chaos, and that from their union resulted Aither, Eros, and Metis (in Hesiod, an Okeanid among many: *Th.* 358).¹⁰ A scholion on Theokritos (fr. 6c) contradicts Damaskios, claiming that in Akousilaos Eros' parents were Night and Aither. That Erebus and Night were normal parents in Hesiod perhaps predisposes one to believe Damaskios, but his account also records an un-Hesiodic feature, the position of Metis. One notes that Metis suits Damaskios' allegorizing rather well, not only in her nature but in the way she fits neatly into one of his triads. He has his information second-hand from Eudemos (fr. 150); at such a distance from the original there is plenty of opportunity for confusion and distortion, possibly deliberate.¹¹ Also Damaskios has omitted Gaia—not only omitted, but apparently left no room for her at all until the fourth stage of creation.

Now Night, Aither or Aer, and Erebus or Tartaros as well as Eros are all prominent in various early theogonies;¹² in Aristophanes *Av.* 693–702, Gaia's appearance is similarly postponed, so from that point of view Damaskios' scheme is quite possible. Or we might suppose that he has chosen not to mention Gaia and the others as inconvenient to his argument. Maybe Akousilaos stated they were born after Erebus and Night. But one further point has to be taken into account: Plato is explicit that in Akousilaos Eros had no parents. Eros simply came to be, like Gaia, after Chaos, not from Chaos. When Plato's character says that no one has recorded Eros' parents, we can forgive his rhetoric—he has suppressed Sappho and Alkaios (see Akous. fr. 6c), Simonides and Ibykos (schol. Ap. Rhod. 3.26b)—but this should be right for the authors he actually names.¹³ So both Damaskios and the scholiast are wrong about the parents of Eros (one

¹⁰ Erebus and Night are candidates for parents of Eros also in Antagoras *Coll. Alex.* 120.

¹¹ See Betegh, 'On Eudemos Fr. 150 Wehrli' for Damaskios' use of his source. In l. 8 of fr. 6b, the antecedent of τῶν αὐτῶν ought to be Erebus and Night (Pàmias, 'Phaedrus' Cosmology'); this sits ill with Damaskios' point about the triad, but then he has made a dyad out of Erebus and Night, probably ignoring the other successors of Chaos (οἱ ἄλλοι of l. 9). See further below on fr. 6A (p. 19).

¹² See Epimen. fr. 6b, Kirk–Raven–Schofield 18–20 and Bremmer, *GRC* 4 and 'The Place of Performance of Orphic Poetry' 5, noting Eur. *Hyps.* fr. 758a.1103–8 = *Orphic.* fr. 65 Bernabé. Night also has unusual prominence in Homer, *Il.* 14.258–61, curiously close to the unique references to Okeanos and Tethys as parents of the gods (see below); did Homer know these details from a non-Hesiodic theogony? Kirk–Raven–Schofield 17 are cautious; cf. Bremmer, *GRC* 2–4.

¹³ The source of schol. Ap. Rhod. appears to be the same as that of fr. 6c, probably Theon. The curious variation in early accounts of Eros' parentage 'is obviously due to the appeal of allegory in the case of this particular figure, and perhaps a certain inability to pin down his identity' (Gantz 3). Cf. Pontani, 'Simonide e Amore'. Pàmias, 'Phaedrus' Cosmology', resolves the contradictions by supposing that γοναί in Plato means not 'parents' but 'offspring'. As he refers to my text for support, I should explain that with Wilamowitz I understood the word to mean parentage/genealogy, regarding γονεῖς as a trivialization. There are some advantages to Pàmias' reading, but it puts much strain on the Platonic passage, where the stress is clearly on being amongst the eldest, and honoured on that score. If the point of agreement between Hesiod, Parmenides and Akousilaos is the lack of progeny, this is a strange way to put it; and it is an unremarkable point, as no one says Eros has progeny, except metaphorical ones like Strife (Ap. Rhod. 4.446). Phaidros is a poor thinker and holes in his argument are to be expected.

of them, at least, must be; the scholiast also misinterprets Hesiod). In Akousilaos and Hesiod, Eros was just there, one stage after Chaos. If we cannot rely on Damaskios in one particular, we cannot rely on him in others. We can only say, after Plato, that Akousilaos agrees with Hesiod about Chaos, Gaia, and Eros; after the others, that Aither, Erebus, and Night also figured in the early stages of his theogony; and that a question mark hangs over Metis. Metis is, however, a slight problem in Hesiod (*Th.* 886–900); in view of what she personifies, she is a suitable mother for Athena, but it is a slightly surprising role for an Okeanid (358). She was ripe for promotion. So perhaps this detail in Damaskios' report (i.e., that Metis is a daughter of Erebus and Night) is, after all, genuine; it is an easy modification of Hesiod.¹⁴

In Epimenides (fr. 6ab), Night and Aer are the two first entities. For Night, his inspiration surely came from Orphic theogony.¹⁵ Epimenides is unique, however, in making Night and Aer coeval, so his source for this idea may lie elsewhere. Aer is not identical with Aither; it is the misty lower sky as opposed to the bright, upper sky, as the names suggest (though equivocation sometimes occurs). Mousaios too gave a prominent role to Aer, putting him in third place after Tartaros and Night (*Vors.* 2 B 14; see Akous. fr. 6d);¹⁶ and Aristophanes' theogony, *Av.* 694, though excluding Aer from the very first stage, is consistent with a role for him in the second (and indeed rather suggests it, as Ge and Ouranos are the others thus singled out). Even if this doctrine was inspired by the epic formula Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα (*Hom. Il.* 8.13, *Hes. Th.* 119, 682, 721, 736, 807, fr. 30.22, *Hymn. Hom. Herm.* 256), it is an interesting one; Aer as an inchoate, semi-luminous mass is a suitable substance to place near the origin of the universe. The obvious source is Anaximenes, for whom Aer was the primal element.¹⁷ The Derveni papyrus, which equates Zeus with Aer (xviii 1–12, xxiii 2–4), probably confirms this; Aer looks like one of the commentator's allegorizing accretions, rather than part of the original poem. At any rate, the philosophical tone with which he wields the concept 'air' is evident (see also col. xxv). Another possibility for Epimenides' inspiration is Phoenician cosmology, in which Aer (or what Greeks represented as Aer) figured prominently, and which was perhaps known to some early Greeks by oral tradition.¹⁸

¹⁴ A. Holwerda, *Mnem.* 22 (1894) 300 argued that the list of children of Erebus and Night in Cic. *ND* 3.44 reproduces Akousilaos; the third member of the list, Modus, he holds to be a corruption of Metis. The word is marked as corrupt by editors; the *deteriores* offer Morbus and Metus. However, as Pease ad loc. remarks in rejecting a different emendation, no other name in this long list is a transliteration; they are all Latin equivalents. I should rather guess that Modus is a translation of Πέρας or Πείρα (cf. below, p. 8), and is not corrupt. Cicero's authority remains unidentified.

¹⁵ Demoulin, *Épiménide* 123.

¹⁶ Epimenides probably refers to Mousaios directly at *FGrHist* 457 F 3 = *Vors.* 3 B 2, where he says 'I "too" am sprung from the moon'; see §8.4.1.

¹⁷ Kern, *De Orphei etc.* 70; Demoulin, *Épiménide* 122; Bremmer, *GRC* 15.

¹⁸ Schwabl, 'Weltschöpfung' 1458; M. L. West, 'Ab ovo'.

Epimenides next said that Night and Aer produced Tartaros; from him (by an unnamed mother—it would have to be Night—or by no mother at all)¹⁹ came (uniquely) only two Titans, and from them the world-egg. Who are the Titans? Ouranos and Ge are never so called, only their children, and on the analogy of all the other un-Hesiodic theogonies, the ordinary Titans such as Kronos and Rhea ought to come after all this preliminary, non-canonical business (though nothing prevents us from thinking that Epimenides wrote the ordinary Titans into his account at that stage too; it would be difficult to write them out. Diodoros 5.66 = Epimen. fr. 4 has them in the usual place, for what it is worth.) Pherekydes of Syros, with his play on Chronos/Kronos, allows some scope for Kirk–Raven–Schofield’s suggestion (27) that he and Rhea are indeed meant here by Epimenides. Okeanos and Tethys are another possibility (cf. Plato *Tim.* 40e).²⁰ The evidence for these gods as fountainheads of a rival theogony begins with Homer *Il.* 14.201 Ὠκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύ. That they are available as ordinary parents later on in Epimenides’ theogony (fr. 7–8)²¹ is not necessarily an impediment to believing that they were assigned a prominent role at this early stage in his theogony. However, Bernabé, ‘*Teogonia*’ makes a good case that the figures were left anonymous by Epimenides. One would expect Damaskios to report the names. When he says Τῖτᾶνας, τὴν νοητὴν μεσότητα οὕτω καλέσαντα διότι ἐπ’ ἄμφω διατείνει, τό τε ἄκρον καὶ τὸ πέρασ, the first part is obviously his, but the etymology at the end could be Epimenides’ (Hesiod, *Th.* 207 ff., and the Orphic verses quoted by Athenagoras, *Orphic.* fr. 57, also offer etymologies): through the two anonymous Titans, Tartaros somehow obtains its ‘edge and limit’. The dimensions and limits of Tartaros are an obvious problem (*Il.* 8.478, Hes. *Th.* 809, Pl. *Phd.* 111e, Arist. *Meteor.* 355b 34; cf. *Orphic.* fr. 66 and, for the notion of ‘limit’ in early thought, Alkman’s τέκμων, *PMGF* 5 fr. 2 iii 3).²²

¹⁹ Jacoby’s οὐδ is not strictly necessary as the antecedent could be θεῶν, but neither that nor referring ἐξ αὐτοῦ to Aer and Night is in Damaskios’ clear manner. Wehrli on Eudemos fr. 150 is alone in resisting Kroll’s Τῖτ<ἀν>ας.

²⁰ So Jaeger, *Theology* 219 n. 53. On this passage more below §1.3.1.

²¹ I have accepted Diels’s supplement Ὠκεανῶν in Epimen. fr. 8 (→ §1.6.3) on the grounds that the Seirenes do not have the same awesome status as other creatures produced by Ouranos and Ge, and that the Seirenes, like the Harpyiai (granddaughters of Okeanos) and the Hesperides (who live beyond Okeanos, *Th.* 215), are denizens of remote regions. Moreover, Acheloos, commonly their father, is functionally similar to Okeanos as representing primeval water. (There is too much missing in the papyrus to be confident that Epimenides equated Harpyiai and Seirenes, as Bernabé, ‘*La Teogonia di Epimenide*’ 209 suggests. Philodemos is merely listing supposedly divine beings who are said to have died. The suggestion entails a further identification with the Hesperides, with whom the Harpyiai are identified in fr. 9 = Akous. fr. 10.) Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.405 [1.398], and Jacoby on *FGrHist* 457 FF 5,7 thought that Ouranos did not figure at all in Epimenides’ theogony, which seems incredible; Diod. 5.66.3 = Epimen. fr. 4 does not really force that conclusion. West’s other suggestion in fr. 8, Κρόνον, is a possibility; in Epimenides’ poetic theogony *FGrHist* 457 F 7 = Vorsokr. 3 B 19, Kronos is unusually the father of Aphrodite, the Moirai and the Erinyes.

²² For the interpretation of this difficult passage see Kirk–Raven–Schofield 47–9 and the references cited by Bernabé, ‘*Teogonia*’, n. 31; add M. L. West, *CQ* 17 (1967) 1–7. Schwabl, ‘*Weltschöpfung*’ 1459 also thought the Titans were unnamed.

In **Epimen. fr. 7** Pausanias reports that for Styx’s consort Epimenides offered not Pallas as in Hesiod (*Th.* 376, 383) but Peiras, ‘whoever that is’. (Not that Pallas is much less obscure; see West on *Th.* 376.) This Peiras has indeed been read as ‘limit’ (e.g. Tortellini Ghidini, ‘*Epimenide a Creta*’ 62). Epimenides says his daughter was Echidna, who in later Orphic tradition (fr. 58 Kern, 81 Bernabé) is a daughter of Phanes himself, so perhaps there was a more elevated role for her in early Orphic tradition, and for her father. On the other hand, if Epimenides is making the notion of ‘limit’ do such important work, he has not made Peiras particularly prominent in his scheme. For different suggestions about Peiras see §7.1.1 n. 8.

Epimenides’ egg is another item not found in the Derveni poem or the Eudemian theogony. But that it is an element in early Orphic myth may be deduced from Aristophanes’ use of it in his bird-Theogony, *Aves* 693 ff., where it is produced by Night. It is also part of the theogony of ‘Hieronymos and Hellanikos’ (fr. 202A), though this is of uncertain age. Perhaps, like Aristophanes, Epimenides placed Eros, the principle of generation, at this point in his theogony.²³ The egg comes from the Near East and would have been known in archaic Greece.²⁴ There is no need to report here the details of the eastern version, nor its various applications in Orphic myth. But its presence in Epimenides and Aristophanes, and absence in other early Orphica so far known, together with other features which are shared between these various sources in contrasting ways, warn against an over-confident reconstruction of the earliest texts. Rather like the famous gold leaves, every version could have slight differences, while being based on a stock of common verses and motifs.

Concerning the (Orphic) theogony ‘according to Hieronymos and **Hellanikos**’ (fr. 202A), the citation is already in its form sufficient to excite suspicion of inauthenticity. Certainly the details that follow bear no resemblance whatsoever to anything Hellanikos wrote, even stripped of their neo-Platonic accretions, and one point in particular, the equation of Herakles with Chronos, seems unlikely for Hellanikos’ day.²⁵ Exactly what Damaskios found before him in his source is hard to say, but he seems to have been at a loss as to which author was original; he is reduced to guessing that these were alternative names for the same person. Hieronymos of Rhodes (the Peripatetic) and Hieronymos ‘the Egyptian’ (*FGrHist* 787; quoted by Josephus) have both been proposed as the one in question here, the latter more probably (West, *The Orphic Poems* 177–8). Possibly Hieronymos cited Hellanikos as an authority on cosmology or on Orphic affairs, but there is little warrant for this in the surviving fragments; fr. 5

²³ Bernabé, ‘*Teogonia*’ 208; possibly Damaskios’ ἄλλην γενεάν προελθεῖν suggests this.

²⁴ *RLAC* 4 (1959) 731 s.v. Weltei; M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* 103–4; id., ‘*Ab ovo*’. Bremmer, *GRC* 15, credits Egypt as the source.

²⁵ West, *The Orphic Poems* 193–4 traces it to Stoic allegory, probably Kleantes. See also Brisson, ‘*Damascius et l’Orphisme*’ 195–201 and *ZPE* 144 (2003) 19 n. 2, who dates the composition to the beginning of the 2nd c. AD; *Orphic.* fr. 69–89 Bernabé.

discusses the progeny of Orpheus, but that is unremarkable. This Hellanikos need not have been our man at all, or even the Hellenistic grammarian; he could have been some other, unknown Hellanikos.

One tiny piece of information appears to afford a link. The *Suda* s.v. Σάνδων says that Sandon, a philosopher, son of Hellanikos, wrote 'Hypotheses to Orpheus'; Sturz, on the assumption that this Hellanikos was the mythographer, boldly amended 'Sandon' to 'Skamon'. If correct, this would at least get us within a generation of our author—but still not to the man himself. Moreover, though Skamon's name is written in a strange variety of ways (see the testimonia in vol. 1), 'Sandon' would be farther afield than any of them, and is a name in its own right.²⁶ Schuster might well have been right to equate Sandon son of Hellanikos with Sandon father of Athenodoros, house Stoic to Cato the Younger and teacher of Augustus.²⁷

Jacoby seems to offer another argument. In his note on fr. 88 (the Kyklopes) he quotes Athenagoras, *Pro Christianis* 18 = *Orphic*. fr. 75 (no. 25 in Kirk–Raven–Schofield), which draws on the same source as Damaskios (West, *The Orphic Poems* 179–82),²⁸ and treats the Kyklopes; Jacoby says this gives the position and context of fr. 88, and (he presumably implies) vindicates fr. 202A for Hellanikos. To spell out the reasoning is to refute it: one witness to source A cites 'Hellanikos'; second witness to source A mentions Kyklopes; the real Hellanikos also mentions Kyklopes; therefore second witness confirms that source A cited the real Hellanikos. The common presence of Ouranos in Hellanikos and Athenagoras is meaningless, as it comes from Hesiod. We pass over the egg laid by Herakles in silence. There is no plausible way of bringing Hellanikos of Lesbos into view, and the fragment should be consigned to the *dubia* if not the *spuria*.²⁹

§1.3 Okeanos and his Children

§1.3.1 OKEANOS (Akous. fr. 1)

In mainstream Greek myth, Okeanos is conceived of as a freshwater stream surrounding the whole of the earth, and the source of all streams and rivers as well as the sea (Hes.

²⁶ L. Robert, *Noms indigènes* 500 n. 4; Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* 454–5. The name is theophoric (Cilician Sandan/Sandas = Herakles); Burkert, *Kl. Schr.* 2.55, 73. (S)kamon is generally regarded as short for (S)kamandr(i)os; so already Pape–Bensele; Robert, op. cit. 240. LGPN records isolated occurrences in Aiolian regions.

²⁷ Schuster, *De veteris Orphicae etc.* 81–100; *FGrHist* 746; *RE* Suppl. 5.47–55. For another suggestion about the situation in Damaskios see Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen* 1.1.128 n. 6.

²⁸ Damaskios says that Hieronymos' and Hellanikos' theogony began with water and 'matter' (ὕλη), Athenagoras with water and mud (ῥαίς); there is something to be said for Zoëga's proposal to read ἰλύς also in Damaskios, which I should have reported. Diels ap. Kern (n. 17) 28 thinks that Damaskios the neo-Platonist has inserted the abstract ὕλη as the starting-point of creation; but what about ὕδωρ?

²⁹ If the verses quoted by Athenagoras come from 'Hieronymos and Hellanikos', and if the former paraphrases the latter, we may be even surer of our ground; a verse theogony by the Lesbian would hardly have sunk without trace in the literature. (Athenaios reports a prose and a verse version of his *Karneonikiai* (*FGrHist* 4 F 85), and the *Suda* (test. 1) reports poetic works, without giving titles.)

Th. 337–70; *Il.* 21.195–7, 18.607–8).³⁰ The sun and the stars, the thirsty Bear excepted, rise and set in the bath of Okeanos (*Il.* 7.422, 8.485, 18.240; *Od.* 5.275, 19.434, 23.244, 347, etc.); the idea of the sun returning to the East in Okeanos' stream during the night is also early (Eumel. fr. 10 West, Mimn. fr. 12, Stesich. *PMGF* 185). Hesiod (*Th.* 133–6) makes Okeanos and Tethys ordinary Titans, children of Ouranos and Gaia. As mentioned above, however, an intriguing line in the *Iliad* (14.201 = 302) suggests an alternative theogony, according to which Okeanos and Tethys were the original parents; and again at 14.246, where Hypnos refers to Okeanos ὅς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται, the point recurs (πάντεσσι being masculine). In the former passage, apart from describing the pair as parents of the gods, Hera mentions how they cared for her when Zeus was deposing Kronos, and says they have been quarrelling for a long time, no longer sharing the same bed. Her remarks also imply that the couple took no part in the Titanomachy; certainly Okeanos could never be sent to Tartaros, and at Hesiod *Th.* 389–98, he advises his daughter Styx to assist Zeus. Even in these writers, then, traces of Okeanos' different status are apparent.

The notion of the primeval waters comes to Greece ultimately from Mesopotamia. At the very beginning of the Babylonian epic *Enūma eliš*, Apsu (fresh water) unites with Tiamat (the sea) to produce Anu (Sky) and Ea (Earth).³¹ The idea is found also in *Genesis* 1, where God separates the waters (*tehōm* = Tiamat) as the first step in creation, and in all versions of the creation story throughout the Near East and in Hesiod, 'the first separation [is] anthropomorphized as a quarrel . . . between either Sky and Earth, or the aquatic parents of Sky and Earth' (Janko on *Il.* 14.200–7).³² Tethys' name could even be derived from that of Tiamat,³³ and a Semitic derivation has also been suggested for Okeanos;³⁴ that Pherekydes of Syros calls him Ogenos also suggests that the name is a loan-word (see also §3.3 n. 19). We have seen (above, p. 8) that an Orphic theogony reflected in Plato's *Timaios* puts Okeanos and Tethys in their own generation after Ouranos and Ge, as parents of the Titans; and at *Krat.* 402b Plato quotes an Orphic couplet (fr. 15) in which Okeanos and Tethys were 'first to marry', a notion which must also reflect their status as alternatives to Ouranos and Ge.

³⁰ We learn from *P.Oxy.* 4820.3 that Sappho mentioned Okeanos; the editor speculates that she was quoted in support of the later view that Okeanos was a sea. For an illuminating discussion of Okeanos in early Greek myth and thought see Romm, *The Edges of the Earth* ch. 1.

³¹ The difference between fresh and salt water is reasonably clear here; Greek myth seems insouciant on the point.

³² See Staudacher, *Trennung*; Rudhardt, *Le Thème de l'eau primordiale*; other references (also for Egypt, which he argues was the clear source of Orphic ideas on this point) in Bremmer, *GRC* 12.

³³ Burkert, *OR* 93, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis* 31; West, *EFH* 147; A. Kelly, *RhMus* 151 (2008) 283, is sceptical. Kelly also raises doubts about the 'alternative theogony', reading πάντεσσι in 14.246 as referring to βέεθρα and θεῶν γένεσιν in 14.201 as meaning 'gods' (rivers and springs) not 'the gods' (= all gods).

³⁴ Schwabl, 'Weltschöpfung' 1444; Fauth, 'Prähellenische Flutnamen'; Romm, *The Edges of the Earth* 13; West, *EFH* 146 f. Beekes, however, considers it a loan-word from the Aegean pre-Greek (non-IE) substrate (*Etym. Dict.* s.v.). On ἀποπρόου see A. Kelly, *CQ* 57 (2007) 280–2.

The surviving fragments of the mythographers do nothing to alter this general picture. Akousilaos fr. 1 reports the marriage of Okeanos to his own sister Tethys; unfortunately nothing indicates to what generation the couple might have belonged. As he follows Hesiod (*Th.* 367) in giving 3,000 as the number of rivers, it is probable that he follows him also for the genealogy. In the same fragment Akousilaos says that Acheloos is eldest, and most honoured; he is perhaps expanding a hint from Homer (*Il.* 21.194), where Acheloos is singled out from all rivers for his might. Indeed, it is possible that Akousilaos knew a text lacking l. 195, thus:

(... Διὶ)
τῷ οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀχελώϊος ἰσοφαρίζει
{οὐδὲ βαθυρρεΐται μέγα σθένος Ὠκεάνοιο}
ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
καὶ πᾶσαι κρήναι καὶ φρεῖατα μακρὰ νάουσιν

The scholia on these lines (5.165–70 Erbse) reveal that Zenodotos athetized l. 195, and that the pre-Alexandrian critic Megakleides³⁵ did not have it in his text. The effect of the omission is to promote Acheloos to the standing of Okeanos. The greatest of the Greek rivers, he was much honoured in cult at the persistent behest of Dodona, that ancient oracle, and his name is often used in poetry as an equivalent of ‘water’.³⁶ Particularly relevant are the archaic verses quoted by Seleukos in *P.Oxy.* 221 ix 8–11 (from a commentary on this passage of the *Iliad*; Erbse 5.93–4), in which Acheloos and Okeanos are simply equated. Wilamowitz, who attributed the lines to Panyassis (fr. 13), could well be right that Acheloos was the original, Hellenic god, Okeanos the parvenu.³⁷ Servius on Verg. *Georg.* 1.8 reports a tradition that Acheloos was actually son of Ge, not Okeanos; one would like to know how old the tradition was.

There is an interesting parallel to Akousilaos’ wording in Aristotle *Met.* A3 983b27 (= Kirk–Raven–Schofield no. 11) which is worth quoting: εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ τοὺς παμπαλαίους καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς νῦν γενέσεως καὶ πρώτους θεολογήσαντας οὕτως (sc. ὡς ὁ Θαλῆς) οἴονται περὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπολαβεῖν Ὠκεανόν τε γὰρ καὶ Τηθύν ἐποίησαν τῆς γενέσεως πατέρας, καὶ τὸν ὄρκον τῶν θεῶν ὕδωρ, τὴν καλουμένην ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Στύγα {τῶν ποιητῶν} τιμωτάτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ πρεσβύτατον, ὄρκος δὲ τὸ τιμωτάτον ἐστίν. Aristotle elsewhere (*Met.* N4 1091b4 = Kirk–Raven–Schofield no. 15 = *Orphic.* fr. 24) refers to Night or Ouranos or Chaos or Okeanos as ‘first figures’ among

³⁵ Fr. 4b in Janko, *Philodemus On Poems Book 1* 141.

³⁶ See the passages collected by Erbse 4.166 and Matthews on his fr. 28 of Panyassis; for the oracle see Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 20a. For the very numerous representations in archaic and classical art see H. P. Isler in *LIMC* 1.1 s.v., who also lists the epigraphical attestations of cult (p. 12).

³⁷ Wilamowitz, *GGA* 162 (1900) 42; *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.91 [1.93], 1.219 [1.224]. See further D’Alessio, ‘Textual Fluctuations’.

ancient poets (cf. *A6* 1071^b 27 = *Orphic.* fr. 24: ‘theologoi who make Night parent of all’), so that we may believe that in the first passage too he has not only Homer in mind. In Aristotle, as in Hesiod (*Th.* 777) it is Styx not Acheloos who is eldest and most honoured, so the parallel with Akousilaos is inexact; the honour due to age is a commonplace (e.g. Plato quoting Akous. fr. 6a); but one may nonetheless entertain the suspicion that Akousilaos has heard this language in poetry, perhaps even alternative cosmology. His source for this detail, at any rate, is (unusually for him) not Hesiod. One is further encouraged in this admittedly bold surmise not only by the textual history of *Il.* 21.195 (above) but by the Derveni papyrus (xxii f.) in which, during the second creation, Zeus first produces Okeanos and immediately thereafter Acheloos.

§1.3.2 CHILDREN OF OKEANOS (Ephyra, Rhodos, Europe, Thraïke, Asia, Libye, Perseis, Daeira, Triptolemos) (Andron fr. 7; Epimen. fr. 11; Eumel. fr. 1; Hek. fr. 35A; Pher. fr. 45, 53)

The children of Okeanos mentioned in our corpus are mostly daughters:³⁸ Hesione, wife of Prometheus and mother of Deukalion (Akous. fr. 34); Europe and Thraïke, daughters of Okeanos by Parthenope, and Asia and Libye, daughters by Pompholyge (Andron fr. 7); Styx (Epimen. fr. 7); Sirenes, by Ge (Epimen. fr. 8, suppl.); Rhodos (Epimen. fr. 11); Ephyra wife of Epimetheus (Eumel. fr. 1); Perseis (Hek. fr. 35A); Daeira, sister of Styx (Pher. fr. 45); Philyra, mother of Cheiron (Pher. fr. 50); Peitho, wife of Argos (Pher. fr. 66); Aithra, wife of Atlas (Pher. fr. 90c). Of sons, we hear of Triptolemos, son by Ge (Pher. fr. 53); possibly also the text of Apollodoros should be emended so that Asopos is a son of Okeanos in Akous. fr. 21 (below, §1.9.3). In this section we discuss those fr. mentioned in the heading above.

In archaic poetry (principally Hes. *Th.* 337–70 and *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 417–23) rivers are sons of Okeanos, springs are daughters. The names of the latter³⁹ therefore often suggest qualities associated with water; however, because they are *kourotrophoi* (*Th.* 347), their names sometimes connote wealth, bounty, or desirable moral and intellectual qualities: e.g. Plouto, Tyche, Idyia, Metis, Melobosis, Peitho (if not rather an erotic association), Eurynome. Their generally benevolent and sympathetic nature is on display in the *Prometheus Bound*, whose chorus they form, and in vase-painting, where they are companions of Persephone at her unfortunate abduction (*LIMC* nos. 3–9). ‘Europe’ and ‘Asie’ in Hesiod’s catalogue do not conform to either of these types, and look like geographical eponyms. West in his commentary (on 357) is sceptical: he notes

³⁸ Weizsäcker in Roscher, *Lex.* s.v.; Deichgräber, *Die Musen*; West on *Th.* 337–70; Richardson on *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 5, 417–24; L. Kabil and N. Icard-Gianolio in *LIMC* s.v.

³⁹ Among early authors Okeanids are also named by Homer *Il.* 18.399 (Eurynome), *Od.* 139 (Perse); Aisch. *PV* 560 (Hesione); Pind. *Ol.* 5.4 (Kamarina).

Εὐρωπία κρήνη in Pindar fr. 70 and the Thessalian river Europs; he points out that 'Europe' is also known as the name of a spring at Dodona (Kallim. fr. 630, though the interpretation is not quite certain; it could be an otherwise unknown place-name),⁴⁰ that 'Asia' in our earliest reference outside Hesiod, Archil. fr. 227, probably denotes only part of Asia (cf. Mimn. fr. 9.2), and that the two terms are not contrasted or even juxtaposed in the *Theogony* (for this one must wait for Aischylos' *Persians*, e.g. 57, 270, 799). While one may admit that the opposition of two continents is not in view in Hesiod, and that one cannot know how much territory he might have thought either term to encompass ('Europe' also is restricted to mainland Greece without the Peloponnese at *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 251 and 291), 'Asia' at least must have geographical reference. It is after all not so difficult, if Okeanos has cosmogonical significance and territories have feminine gender, for an early poet to make them his daughters.

At all events, the geographical application is clear in the mythographers. Ephyra in *Eumel. fr. 1*, being identical with Corinth,⁴¹ and Rhodos in *Epimen. fr. 11*,⁴² which after all arose from the sea according to Pindar, are straightforwardly so. Hekataios (fr. 18 *FGrHist* 1 F 302) makes the Phasis and the Nile spring physically from Okeanos, and in *FGrHist* 1 F 141 (if this part of the citation is his) he makes Chios Okeanos' daughter.

Andron fr. 7, his genealogy of the continents, is also straightforwardly geographical, though his division of the world into four parts is idiosyncratic, adding Thrace to the more usual tripartite division of Europe, Asia and Libya (e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* 9.8 or Hdt. 4.45.2, attributed at 2.16 to 'the Ionians', i.e. probably Hekataios).⁴³ A bipartite division is implied in a sense by Herodotos' whole narrative (see e.g. 1.4, 6.43, 7.8), and by Aischylos in the *Persians*, in which the crucial divide is between Europe and Asia; these necessarily meet at the point where Xerxes crosses from one to the other, the Hellespont. The bipartite division is mirrored also in Hekataios' idea that Asia and Europe are of equal size (*FGrHist* 1 F 36). On the other hand, Thrace was a land without known limits, and home to countless throngs (second in population only to India according to Hdt. 5.3), and a tendency to divide the world into four parts is implicit in the idea that the mouths of Ister and Nile lie opposite each other (Hdt. 2.33-4). Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 F 30)

⁴⁰ On these place-names see also Beekes, 'Kadmos and Europa' 168; for Europs or Europsos who ruled in Makedonia, Lloyd-Jones, *Further Academic Papers* 52; see also §8.4.10.

⁴¹ Ephyra is an Okeanid also at Hyg. *Fab.* 275; cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4.343. On Eumelos' Ephyra see further §17.3.

⁴² Usually daughter of Poseidon (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.24-5 quoting Herod. fr. 62 and others, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.28 ('Rhode', cf. Hellan. fr. 137), Diod. Sic. 5.55.4); Asklepiades ap. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.24d (presumably the mythographer, but omitted by Jacoby *FGrHist* 12) says Helios, perhaps misunderstanding Pindar; Pindar himself does not specify. Epimenides, adventurous as ever, is unique in this genealogy. More on Rhodos in §19.3.

⁴³ See Corcella's note ad loc.; but note R. Thomas' suggestion that contemporary views may also be targeted (*Herodotus in Context* 80; the whole chapter well analyses Herodotos' conflicting views on the question). Further pertinent passages are listed by Pease on Cicero, *ND* 2.165.

reports the view of previous writers that the world was divided into four parts. Schwartz, *RE* 1.2160, thought this sufficient to place Andron in the fourth century.

Two things might be said about Andron's innovation. First, one may note that, after her innocent beginnings in Hesiod, the eponymous Okeanid Europe seems to drop out of sight until the sophist Hippias *FGrHist* 6 F 10 and this fragment of Andron. From Hdt. 4.45 one can suspect that Hekataios opted for the human, not the Okeanid, Europe, and in the mass of lost archaic verse treating Europe, if the continent was mentioned at all, one presumes it was named after the human subject of the poetry.⁴⁴ The Okeanid genealogy is more abstract, more scientific even, than stories involving human eponyms, seeking to transcend the cultural and mythistorical claims these latter inevitably entail (witness Herodotos' discussion). The second thing to say, however, is that implicit in Andron's account is an ethnic supplement to the physical division of Europe and Asia/Libya, Europe being Greek and Thrace joining the barbarian continents: nothing abstract there. It would be too bold to hazard a guess as to the period when this desire to keep the Thracians out of Europe was more likely than another.⁴⁵

The two mothers are *ad hoc* inventions: Pompholyge, a hapax, is a good watery word (cf. *πομφόλυξ*, *πομφόλυζω* etc.), and Parthenope, a good maidenly one (elsewhere variously a Siren, a daughter of Ankaïos, and a paramour of Herakles).

The situation is less clear regarding the Okeanid Perseis (*Hek.* 35A, cf. Hes. *Th.* 356). In the *Theogony* (957) and the *Odyssey* (10.139, where she is called 'Perse'), she is the mother of Aietes. Now Medeia never had any father but Aietes; though she is not mentioned in this passage of the *Odyssey*, given the unanimity of ancient testimony on the relationship, we may assume it is implied. Furthermore, in the *Theogony* (1001), Jason and Medeia have a son Medeios (also in Kinaithon fr. 2, together with a sister Eriopis). Medeios ought to be eponym of the Medes, but they did not rise to historical prominence until the late seventh century, when they defeated the Assyrians; the Persians not until the sixth, when they overthrew the Medes. If one assumes the genealogy must reflect these events, then one will judge this to be an argument among others that the end of the *Theogony* is post-Hesiodic.⁴⁶ There is still the *Odyssey*, however. One can in fact delete 137-9 (Kirke's genealogy) without harm, but that is beginning to look like special pleading, and one would have to invent some other (completely unattested) genealogy for Kirke (who, as generally agreed, is an import here from Argonautic legend). There are only two alternatives. (i) The homophony is a coincidence, and these

⁴⁴ Sources listed by R. Harder, *BNP* s.v. Europe 2, Bühler, *Europa*, and Gantz 208-11, 467-8; further discussion in §10.1. The scholion that quotes Hellan. fr. 94 goes on to quote Aristokles *FGrHist* 33 F 1 on the two Europaï; see the commentary now in *BNJ* which draws on the comments above.

⁴⁵ Xenophon, *Anabasis* 6.4.1, speaks of 'Asiatic Thrace', which implies 'European Thrace'. If a Makedonian perspective is relevant, it might imply a date later in the 4th c. for Andron; cf. F. Walbank, *CQ* 36 (1942) 141-2. For Thraïke in later myth see Höfer in Roscher, *Lex. s.v.*, Bernert in *RE* 6A.1.392; for Greek ethnography see Nenci on Hdt. 5.3-10.

⁴⁶ See most recently A. Kelly, *TAPA* 137 (2007) 390-6, with references; Most, *Hesiod* 1 p. 11.

genealogies have no link with Persians or Medes. Janko (*Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns* 247 n. 37) points out that Perse may already occur in Linear B (*Pe-re-swa*),⁴⁷ and *Me-de-i-jo* occurs at KN B 800. Moreover, Perses is father of Hekate (*Hes. Th.* 411); his name is extrapolated from her epithet or alternative name *Περσηίς* (e.g. *Ap. Rhod.* 3.467, 478, 1035, 4.1020, *Ov. Met.* 7.74, *Nonn. Dion.* 13.401). As Aietes' father is Helios, the pairing of Helios and Perse(is) makes good mythological sense, given Hekate's associations with the moon (*Usener, Götternamen* 11). (ii) We underestimate the knowledge that Greeks had of their eastern neighbours in these early centuries. It is certainly becoming clearer all the time that this is true.⁴⁸ The Medes are first attested epigraphically in the ninth century, and the Persians were resident in Persia by about 700, migrating from the north, in the region of Media.⁴⁹ One may challenge the assumption that the genealogical link presumes the historical events of the sixth century; it may imply no more than geographical proximity. Indeed, it would be odd for an Okeanid to be the eponym of a nation; she is eponym of the *land* (like Asia, Europe, or Doris). The reason why this relationship was thought to be replicated in Kolchis is obscure, but then Herodotos thought the Egyptians had been there too; cf. also the Leukosyroi of the Black Sea coast (→§6.4.4). Strabo (11.14.12) offers an adventurous argument about Jason in Armenia.

However all this may stand for Hesiod, by the time of Hekataios (if his name is properly restored in fr. 35A) Perseis would have to suggest Persia. For the reason just given this does not preclude the idea that Perseus or his son could also become eponym of the Persians.

Pher. fr. 45 says that Daeira was sister of Styx; one assumes Styx is here, as everywhere else, a daughter of Okeanos (so *Paus.* 1.38.7, where she is mother of Eleusis; cf. below on Triptolemos). About Daeira the most contradictory views circulated even in Athens. The starkest divergence is between Pherekydes and his contemporary Aischylos, who said she was the same as Persephone (fr. 277; cf. *Lykoph. Alex.* 710 with schol.; *Etym. Magn.* 244.34). Aristophanes said she was mother of Semele (fr. 804). Others said she was Persephone's nurse; Persephone's gaoler; identical with Aphrodite; identical with Demeter;⁵⁰ identical with Hera (*Phot.* δ5); identical with Hekate (schol. *Ap. Rhod.* 3.847); an enemy of Demeter, so that the latter's priestess avoided her rites (*Eust. Il.* 648.37, cf. *Serv. Dan. on Verg. Aen.* 4.58); mother of Immarados by Eumolpos (*Clem. Alex. Protr.* 45.1). The Eleusinian link is clearly fundamental, and confirmed by offerings to Daeira in an Eleusinian context in two if not three fifth- and fourth-century sacrificial calendars.⁵¹ The chaos in the myths even in the fifth century must be due in

⁴⁷ Not certain: Jorro, *DMic* 2.108–9.

⁴⁸ e.g. West, *EFH*; Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus* 178–209; Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes*.

⁴⁹ W. Hinz, *RE Suppl.* 12.1023; J. M. Cook in *The Cambridge History of Iran* 2 (1985) 56–7, 66–7.

⁵⁰ Phanodemos *FGH* 325 F 15, also for Aphrodite, if the text is sound. See Jacoby's discussion of the whole fr.

⁵¹ *IGP* 250 A 16 (Paiania); *SEG* 50.168; possibly also *NGSL* 1.5 (Thorikos), as supplemented by N. Robertson, *GRBS* 37 (1996) 349; *IG II* 1496 = *SIG* 1029 where see Hiller von Gaertringen (his n. 19).

part to the secrecy of the Mysteries, but perhaps also to the unimportance of this particular kind of accuracy in ritual matters (cf. §1.7.7). There is even a tradition that Persephone's mother was not Demeter but Styx (*Apollod. Bibl.* 1.13), which might provide a point of contact between Aischylos and Pherekydes, if it does not exactly harmonize them. Daeira's name may mean, or have been perceived to mean, Knowing One, which links well to the inside knowledge of the initiate.⁵² An Attic religious official *δαειρίτης* (*Δαειρίτης*?) is attested by Pollux (1.35), of whose ritual activity Daeira may have been a projection.⁵³

Pher. fr. 53 surprisingly makes Triptolemos a son of Okeanos and Ge. In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (153, 473–9), he is one of several *βασιλῆες* of Eleusis to whom Demeter teaches her sacred rites. There is no hint at all of his later role as the first human to whom Demeter vouchsafed knowledge of agriculture, and who subsequently spread this boon to the rest of the world; indeed, the story in the *Hymn* is incompatible with it, for there agriculture is already known.⁵⁴ The later story is first attested in literature in Sophokles' *Triptolemos* (probably of 468), and most eloquently in Isokrates' *Panegyrikos* 28–31; vase-paintings, however, show that it was popular from about 530 onwards.⁵⁵ The myth redounded very much to the glory of the Athenian polis, and the propaganda value was exploited by successive regimes; it was even possible for the city at the height of its imperial power to require *aparchai* of corn and barley from its allies, and invite contributions from other cities, in recognition of the gift. The famous decree⁵⁶ repeatedly identifies the tithing as traditional, and has the backing of Delphi for its claims, which it seems that most Greek cities, though not all, accepted.

This dissonance between the myth of the *Hymn* and the (apparently) later story was at one time diagnosed, like some other features of the poem, as a conflict between the traditions of an independent Eleusis and those of Athens before the latter incorporated the former. Although there was a time when Eleusis was independent, and, like any deme, it continued to nurture local pride long after the synoecism, recent work has stressed that Athenian myth represents the union of the two cities as happening at a very early time, functionally coeval with the birth of the Athenian polis; material evidence also suggests a unity from the late Dark Ages onwards.⁵⁷ The divergence needs

⁵² Or people may have heard 'torch', cf. *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 48 with Richardson; or 'sister-in-law' (*Phot.* δ5). Pausanias the Atticist and Aillios Dionysios δ1 Erbse ap. *Eust. loc. cit.* = *FGH* 369 F 1 (cf. *Phot.* δ25) referred to *ῥηπὰ οὐσία*, which they say was called *δαίρα* in the mysteries.

⁵³ For discussion of Daeira see R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 340; Clinton, *Sacred Officials* 98. Pámas on fr. 45 wonders whether when Pausanias refers to *οἱ παλαιοί* he was thinking rather of Pherekydes of Syros; cf. app. crit. to fr. 177.

⁵⁴ Richardson on *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 153; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 99–101; id., *Greece and Rome* 38 (1991) 12.

⁵⁵ G. Schwartz, *LIMC* 8 (1997) s.v.; Sommerstein and Talbot, *Sophocles: Selected Fragmentary Plays* 2.219.

⁵⁶ *IGP* 78 = *ML* 73. The decree dates from between 435 and 415.

⁵⁷ For the myths and a general discussion see Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Reconstructing Change'; for the synoecism, R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 10–17, 25.

to be explained differently. In fact, variation in the traditions about Triptolemos is the norm: with respect just to his genealogy, he is variously autochthonous (*Orphic*. fr. 52), son of Eleusis (Panyassis fr. 4, Hyg. *Fab.* 147, Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Georg.* 1.19), son of Dysaules (*Orphic*. fr. 51),⁵⁸ son of Keleos (Marmor Parium *FGrHist* 239 A 12, Ovid *Fasti* 4.539, Apollod. 1.32, Paus. 1.14.2, Nonn. *Dion.* 19.84, schol. Nik. *Ther.* 484, Serv. on Verg. *Georg.* 1.163, who on 1.19 offers also Ikarios), son of Raros (Choirilos *TrGF* 2 F 1), son of Okeanos and Ge (Mousaios *Vors.* 2 B 10) as in Pherekydes, and, in an Argive attempt to appropriate the legend, son of Trochilos of Argos and a daughter of Eleusis (Paus. 1.14.2). The variation seems typical of local legend that has not achieved pan-Hellenic standardization, and also of the myths connected with mysteries generally (below, p. 57).

The agreement between Pherekydes and Mousaios is particularly interesting, in view of the latter's close connections with Eleusis.⁵⁹ Pausanias (1.38.7; cf. Harp. ε36 Keaney s.v. *Ἐλευσίνα*, Eust. *Il.* 456.15) reports an 'old' tradition which made Eleusis himself either a son of Hermes and Daeira, daughter of Okeanos, or of Ogygos (Okeanos in another guise). If this is indeed good old tradition, it looks like the same sort of genealogizing that made Ephyra an Okeanid; possibly, then, Pherekydes' and Mousaios' amendment, promoting Triptolemos to a son rather than grandson or great-grandson of Okeanos, reflects the expanded role of the hero himself in the late sixth century, and promotes the claims of Eleusis to the attention of the pan-Hellenic world. His constant association in art with Eleusinian gods and heroes, the tradition that he initiated Herakles and the Dioskouroi (Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.6), and his substitution for Demophon as the child nursed by Demeter⁶⁰ all suggest a key role in the mysteries: Gregory of Nazianzus states as much (*Or.* 39.4, Migne *PG* 36.337; cf. [in *Julian.*] 1, *PG* 35.644; 2, *PG* 35.704). In the Platonic *Apology* (41a) he is a judge of the dead, a truly august status consonant with divine parentage. Along with Demeter, Kore, and others, he receives offerings from the *aparchai* (*IG* F 78.38).

§1.4 Titans and Olympians

§1.4.1 AKOUSILAOS ON THE TITANS (Akous. fr. 6A, 7)⁶¹

Akous. fr. 7 merely tells us that he referred to *Τιτᾶνες* and *Τιτανίδες*; this is echoed in Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.2. It is probable that his list corresponded closely to Hesiod's, though the names have been omitted in the scholion; possibly, as in Apollodoros, Dione was

⁵⁸ This can be traced back to at least the 4th c.: Graf, *Eleusis* 159. On Triptolemos' genealogy see also Jacoby, *Das Marmor Parium* 64.

⁵⁹ Graf, *Eleusis* 17–19.

⁶⁰ Probably already by the end of the 5th c. (Richardson, loc. cit. after others: probably identical with 'Threptos' in *LSS* 10.69); so, later, Ovid and Hyginus.

⁶¹ The account of the Titans in Epimen. fr. 4 will be treated, with the rest of the fr., in §11.

added or substituted for one of Hesiod's Titanesses.⁶² Hesiod uses only the masculine form *Τιτῆνες* (207, 392, etc.) because he only refers to the Titans as a collective; the feminine form is not very common in Greek, as there are not many occasions on which one would refer exclusively to the women.⁶³ The singular of the adjective may have metaphoric application, like 'Ogygian' and *Τιτανικός*, to mean 'exceedingly old', 'primeval' (Eur. *Hel.* 382; Philochoros 328 F 74, Istros 334 F 1 ap. Phot., *Suda* s.v. *Τιτανίδα γῆν* of Attica; Hsch. τ972 *Τιτανίς γῆ* of Euboia; Steph. Byz. β98 and θ56, Constant. *De themat.* 1) or as an equivalent of 'Okeanid' (with similar connotations of antiquity; Kallim. fr. 6, schol. Hes. *Th.* 17). Akousilaos might have retained the epic forms *Τιτῆνες* and *Τιτηνίδες*. The etymology and origin continue to be disputed, but Near Eastern influence is clearly fundamental; for an overview, see Bremmer, *GRC* 80–8.

Akousilaos fr. 6A, if correctly assigned to him, reports that he distinguished *Olympii*, *Astra* and *Titanii*; from the latter group, who sprang from Heaven and Earth, followed the rest of the progeny. Doubts about the accuracy of this citation are in order already because the *Olympii* would normally be amongst the *cetera successio*. 'Saturno et Ope' also seems muddled; presumably it is a careless abbreviation of the familiar Hesiodic sequence of generations.⁶⁴ The context of the fragment further increases one's unease. In this section of his diatribe Tertullian is reciting foolish cosmogonic opinions of pagans; the general theme is 'the physical world/elements as god(s)'. In the next sentence, he quotes Xenokrates (fr. 19 Heinze = 218 Isnardi Parente): 'Xenocrates Academicus bifariam facit Olympios et Titanios, qui de Caelo et Terra'. If one compares this summary with what we know of Xenokrates' doctrine from other sources one sees how radically reductive and misleading it is. Cicero, *ND* 1.34, for instance, writes 'deos . . . octo esse dicit; quinque eos, qui in stellis vagis nominantur, unum, qui ex omnibus sideribus, quae infixae caelo sunt, ex dispersis quasi membris simplex sit putandus deus, septimum Solem adiungit octavamque Lunam' (fr. 17 Heinze = 263 Isnardi-Parente). Aetios, *Placita* 1.7.30 p. 304b Diels, writes *θεὸν δ' εἶναι καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας πυρώδεις Ὀλυμπίους θεούς, καὶ ἑτέρους ὑποσελήνους δαίμονας ἀοράτους* (fr. 15 = 213). These doctrines in turn link to Xenokrates' ideas about the originary monad and dyad, and are part of his scheme of popularizing philosophy through mythology.⁶⁵ His statement that the stars are Olympian gods would have some point of contact with Akousilaos' doctrine in whatever doxographical context Tertullian found it, but what that might be is obscure.

⁶² For Dione see §10.8 n. 70.

⁶³ e.g. Diod. Sic. 5.67.3 = Epimen. fr. 4; P.Oxy. 4099 1.9 (van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* 320); Philo of Byblos 790 F 2 (24, 25); Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.80.3; schol. *Il.* 20.4.

⁶⁴ One might consider emending to *Saturnum et Opem*.

⁶⁵ See Stanzel, *BNP* s.v. Xenocrates; Isnardi Parente ad locc.

Akousilaos certainly mentioned Olympians and Titans in his work, but what might he have said about the stars, whether fixed or wandering? Hesiod had said that Eurybie, daughter of Pontos and Gaia, bore Astraios to the Titan Kreios; in turn Eos, Dawn, daughter of the Titans Theia and Hyperion, sister to the Sun and Moon, bore the winds, the Morning Star, and the other stars (*Th.* 375–82). The Morning Star is of course Venus, but that identification is precluded by Hesiod's genealogy. Even in the fourth century, when the Greeks were familiar with Babylonian views of the planets as gods, they would speak only of 'the star of Aphrodite' or 'the star of Hermes', not of Venus or Mercury *simpliciter* (e.g. *Pl. Tim.* 38d τὸν ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ λεγόμενον).⁶⁶ In the archaic period, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn were known, but other than a general presumption of divinity no one would have put them on equal footing with the Olympians and the Titans, as Tertullian's statement implies. Early philosophy had its views about the physical nature of stars, but Akousilaos still adhered to the genealogical mode of explanation.⁶⁷ Possibly Pherekydes of Syros, with his mix of traditional genealogy and new-style physics, provided a model for Akousilaos; the stars and planets were slotted into an early stage of his *pentemychos*, finding a place in one of the 'nooks'.⁶⁸ Some kind of familiarity with Babylonian observation of the stars is generally assumed for sixth-century Greece. Perhaps Akousilaos gave more prominence than Hesiod had done to the stars, for instance by making them children of Night, and devoting some words to their divine power in general terms. We have seen above (n. 13) some reason to suppose that Damaskios suppressed the names of other progeny of Night in Akousilaos.

§1.4.2 MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS ON OLYMPIANS (Epimen. fr. 13; Hellan. fr. 202B)

Epimen. fr. 13 merely says that in that author and many others Aphrodite shamefully loved Adonis; in the Cretan theogony for which he is cited as one of the authorities in Epimen. fr. 4 (→§11), Adonis is not mentioned. We cannot say in what context Epimenides might have told the story; for overviews and interpretation, see Gantz 729–31; Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion* 1.103–5; Segal, 'Adonis'; Mettinger, *The Riddle of Resurrection* 113–54.

In quoting **Hellan. fr. 202B** Fulgentius says that Hellanikos told the story of Hera bound in golden chains and weighed down by an anvil which we find in Homer (*Il.* 15.18–22), adding an allegorical interpretation that he attributes to both Theopompos and Hellanikos. Such interpretation of the story goes back at least to Herakleitos, *Quaest. Hom.* 40, whose reading is similar to Fulgentius'; cf. also Cornut. *Theol.* 17,

⁶⁶ W. and H. Gundel, *RE* 20.2.2113; M. L. West, *JHS* 100 (1980) 206–8.

⁶⁷ On Anaximandros' theories, see Kirk–Raven–Schofield 136–7. On the dubious scientific status of Pythagorean astronomy before Philolaos, see Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* 300–22.

⁶⁸ Schibli, *Pherekydes of Syros* 31.

schol. (D) *Il.* 15.18, Probus on Verg. *Ecl.* 6.31. Though the attribution of the allegory to his two authorities is in all probability Fulgentius' (they surely did not both say this), the story could have been allegorized already in Hellanikos' day. Yet there is nothing else in his fragments to suggest that he would have expounded such views. Add to that the uncertainty about the titles of both works he cites and the conclusion must be that the fragment is at least a *dubium*. On Fulgentius' citations cf. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* 308–9.

§1.5 Prometheus (Eumel. fr. 1b, Pher. fr. 17, 50, 83)

The Prometheus myth is not well represented in the surviving fragments of the mythographers, though it was well established in the archaic age; apart from Hesiod, the story in all probability stood in the *Titanomachy*, an old suggestion of Welcker's which S. R. West ('Prometheus Orientalized') has rendered all but certain (see further M. L. West, *EFH* 581–4). In particular the notion of the culture-bringer, embryonic in Hesiod but full-blown in the *Prometheus Bound*,⁶⁹ probably came from Mesopotamian accounts into archaic Greek epic.⁷⁰ In the mythographers, the surviving details are these: Eumel. fr. 1b, Ephyra is wife of Epimetheus; Pher. fr. 7, the eagle sent to eat Prometheus' liver was the child of Echidna (daughter of Phorkys) and Typhon; Herod. fr. 30, Herakles assists Prometheus, here humanized as king of the Scythians; Pher. fr. 17, Prometheus gives Herakles quite particular advice as to how to acquire the apples of the Hesperides; Pher. fr. 83, Cheiron dies as a result of Herakles' unintentional wounding; Akous. fr. 34, he is father of Deukalion. Pher. fr. 7 will be discussed below (§1.6.2), and Herod. fr. 30 will be discussed in §8.4.10, where Pher. fr. 17 also returns; for Akous. fr. 34 see §3.1. In this section we discuss the other fragments in the heading.

When Apollodoros says, apparently, that at Prometheus' instigation Zeus allowed Herakles to exchange his mortality for the wounded Cheiron's immortality, thus allowing the latter to die, the source is almost certainly Pherekydes. *Bibl.* 2.119–20 runs as follows; notice the close similarity with **Pher. fr. 17**:⁷¹

παριὼν δὲ Ἀραβίαν (sc. ὁ Ἡρακλῆς) Ἡμαθίῳνα κτείνει παῖδα Τιθωνοῦ. καὶ διὰ τῆς Λιβύης πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἕξω θάλασσαν παρ' Ἡλίου τὸ δέπας λαμβάνει.⁷² καὶ περαιωθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν

⁶⁹ Regarding the authenticity of the *PV* I agree with the view that it was completed by Aischylos' son Euphorion on the basis of a plan or draft by his father. See M. L. West, *Studies in Aeschylus* (Stuttgart, 1990) 67–72; *CQ* 50 (2000) 338–52. The theology, however, is Aischylean; see White, 'Io's World'.

⁷⁰ Bremmer, *OCD* s.v. Culture-bringers; Burkert, 'Sacrificio-Sacrilegio'; Rudhardt, 'Les mythes grecs'. For general discussion of Prometheus see e.g. Kirk, *Myth* 226–38; *The Nature of Greek Myths* 136–43; Pisi, *Prometeo*; Rath, 'Prométhée'; Rudhardt, 'Les mythes grecs'; Sourvinou-Inwood, 'The Hesiodic Myth of the Five Races'; Vernant, *Myth and Society* 158–85; West, *Th., Op.*, indexes s.v. Prometheus; Whitehead, 'On Prometheus'; Wirshbo, 'The Mekone Scene in the *Theogony*'.

⁷¹ The connection was already observed by Heyne (cf. Jacoby on fr. 16–17).

⁷² θάλασσαν καταπλεῖ οὐ τὸ δέπας καταλαμβάνει codd.; παρ' Ἡλίου Robert, λαμβάνει Hercher, παραλαμβάνει Frazer. Van der Valk, 'On Apollodori *Bibliotheca*' 126 n. 87, suggests καταβαίνει for καταπλεῖ, then perhaps τὸ <Ἡλίου> δέπας.

ἡπειρον τὴν ἀντικρὺ κατετόξευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τὸν ἐσθίοντα τὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως ἦπαρ αἰετὸν, ὄντα Ἐχιδνῆς καὶ Τυφώνος (as in Pher. fr. 7): καὶ τὸν Προμηθέα ἔλυσε, δεσμὸν ἐλόμενος τὸν τῆς ἐλαίας, καὶ παρέσχε τῷ Διὶ Χείρωνα θήσκειν ἀθάνατον <ὄντα>⁷⁵ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ θέλοντα. (120) ὡς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ὑπερβορέους πρὸς Ἄτλαντα, εἰπόντος Προμηθέως τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ μῆλα μὴ πορεύεσθαι, διαδεξάμενον δὲ Ἄτλαντος τὸν πόλον ἀποστέλλειν ἐκείνον, πεισθεὶς διεδέξατο. Ἄτλας δὲ δρεψάμενος παρ' Ἑσπερίδων τρία μῆλα ἦκε πρὸς Ἡρακλέα. καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τὸν πόλον ἔχων <...>⁷⁶ καὶ σπεῖραν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς θέλει ποιήσασθαι. τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ἄτλας ἐπὶ γῆς καταθεὶς τὰ μῆλα τὸν πόλον διεδέξατο. καὶ οὕτως ἀνελόμενος αὐτὰ Ἡρακλῆς ἀπηλλάττετο.

Apollodoros' meaning here and in the related passage 2.85 is unfortunately not beyond dispute. Here, he says that Herakles, having freed Prometheus, made it possible for Zeus that Cheiron should die 'in his place', *prima facie* Prometheus'; similarly at 2.85, where Cheiron receives his incurably painful wound, Apollodoros appears to say that Prometheus offered himself in exchange for Cheiron. The amazing implication in both places is that Prometheus was hitherto mortal. Moreover, the beneficiary really ought to be Herakles, who does in fact become immortal. But if that is the case, why bring Prometheus into the story at all? A straight swap between Cheiron and Herakles would have solved the former's problem. Prometheus must have been part of the story from the start. Yet so must Herakles. And Prometheus was always a god in Greek tradition.

The most economical explanation, as Welcker saw, would be that Prometheus' punishment, being in effect an attempt to kill the god, would not end until some god actually did die; if not he, then someone else. This is exactly what the prophecy says at Aischylos, *PV* 1026–30, which in the play comes across as an *adynaton* (appropriately enough for a prophecy). But then Herakles' wounding of Cheiron created the opportunity for its fulfilment. The story could not reach its end, however, until Herakles released Prometheus from his bonds. At that point Zeus had a choice: to impose the punishment anew, or accept the exchange. He chose the exchange, to the greater glory of his son—which was also part of his plan.⁷⁵ The author of the *Prometheus* trilogy used this story to good dramatic effect, setting up an apparently irresolvable situation in the *Desmotes*—how can a god die?—which is, however, resolved in the *Lyomenos*. If this analysis is correct, it means that Herakles' own immortality is *not* in view at any point. In fact it only muddies the waters. Herakles is the catalyst in a story about two gods, one of

⁷⁵ ἀθάνατον om E; <ὄντα> Gale (ed. 1675).

⁷⁶ Kenens, *Writing Greek Myth*, has discovered that Maximus Planudes used a good copy of the *Bibliotheca* in his scholia to Boethius, *De philosophiae consolatione* (ed. A. Megas, Thessaloniki, 1996); on c. 174 he writes ... ἦκε πρὸς Ἡρακλέα καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τὸν πόλον διαδέξασθαι ἔρασκεν Εὐρύσθει τὰ μῆλα κομίζειν. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ αὐτὸν ἠπάτησεν· εἰπόντος γὰρ Ἡρακλέους ὡς ἐπιθυμεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν πόλον ἀνέχειν καὶ σπεῖραν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς θέλει ποιήσασθαι, ἀκούσας Ἄτλας κτλ.

⁷⁷ Hes. *Th.* 529–31: οὐκ ἀέκητι Ζητὸς Ὀλυμπίου ὕψι μέδοντος ἴφρ' Ἡρακλῆος Θηβαγενέος κλέος εἴη/ πλείον. One wonders how much of this story is implied by the wounded Centaur in the Lefkandi tomb.

whom dies for the other. It is not that one of them, having been mortal, became immortal. Herakles' own immortality can hardly be offered to him so easily halfway through the Labours; and if it were so offered in connection with the Cheiron story, there is no place for Prometheus.

Returning now to Apollodoros, the second of his two passages (2.119) suits this scenario very well—Herakles made it possible for Cheiron to die in Prometheus' place—but the first passage (2.85) cannot be brought into line except by violent emendation (e.g. Welcker's *τεθνηξόμενον* for *γενησόμενον*). We should accept that matters have become muddled, either in Pherekydes or in Apollodoros, and merely bring the two Apollodoran passages into agreement with each other; Wagner's solution (*αὐτὸν* for *τὸν*) is the easiest way to do this.⁷⁶

The correspondence between Apollodoros and Pher. fr. 17 establishes that Pherekydes was the earliest prose writer to tell the story. When Philodemos, therefore, reports simply that according to **Pher. fr. 83** Herakles killed Cheiron accidentally, one assumes radical abbreviation, as usual in that author. We also know that **Pher. fr. 50** agreed with everyone else (Hes. *Th.* 1001–2, Eumel. fr. 12 West, Pind. *Pyth.* 3.1, 4.102–3, 115, 6.22, 9.30, *Nem.* 3.47, and all later writers) that Cheiron's father was Kronos, his mother Philyra daughter of Okeanos: i.e., he was thoroughly divine (as also in Soph. *Trach.* 714), unlike the beastly Kentauroi (whose descent from Ixion probably figured in Pherekydes; see fr. 51).⁷⁷ Cheiron's unusual nature required a different genealogy from the ordinary Kentauroi; where the latter are simply savage, humanity gone all wrong, he is a Golden Age figure poised equally between savage and tame, human and animal, beast and god. He is a healer, hunter, warrior, prophet, teacher, sage, musician, initiator, one of the richest of figures to think with in Greek mythology.⁷⁸

Recognizing Pherekydes in Apollodoros also establishes that he, like Aischylos in the *Prometheus Lyomenos*, freed Prometheus. In Hesiod (*Th.* 615–16), it seems, Prometheus remains enchained for ever. Whether on the other hand *Th.* 523–33, in which Herakles slays the eagle and Zeus is said to 'leave off his anger', as well as pictures of Herakles' feat

⁷⁶ The MSS offer *τελευτῆσαι βουλόμενος καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐπεὶ περ ἀθάνατος ἦν, ἀντιδόντος Διὶ Προμηθέως τὸν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ γενησόμενον ἀθάνατον, οὕτως ἀπέθανεν*. D. S. Robertson, *JHS* 71 (1951) 150–5 reviews other proposals and offers *Προμηθέως <Ἡρακλέα> τὸν (οἱ τὸν <Ἡρακλέα>) ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κτλ.* Cf. Griffith, *Aeschylus: Prometheus Bound* 302; Gantz 147; Dräger and Scarpi on Apollod. 2.85.

⁷⁷ See §2.2 on the Hippokentauroi; §4.5 on Ixion.

⁷⁸ See esp. Kirk, *Myth* 152–62 ('Yet Cheiron cannot cure himself when he is wounded by Heracles; culture means death, and there are conditions to which death is preferable. Most of the Centaurs cannot tolerate culture; they like wine and (human) females, but they run wild, behave bestially, at the first contact with either. They are controlled and punished primarily by Heracles... a figure who himself combines savagery and gluttony with civilized activities like the inauguration of games, oracles and medicinal springs', 161). See also Robbins, 'Cyrene and Cheiron'; Versnel, 'Kronos and the Kronia' 106–11; duBois, *Centaurs and Amazons*; BNP s.v.; Aston, 'The Absence of Chiron'; Padgett, *The Centaur's Smile*; Bremmer, 'Greek Demons of the Wilderness'.

in art, imply Prometheus' release, has been debated; most scholars, I believe, would agree that they do, so some or all of the Hesiodic lines must be excised, or some explanation of the contradiction invented.⁷⁹ If not, one might conclude that either Aischylos or Pherekydes was responsible for this innovation; as far as dates go (especially if the *PV* was published after Aischylos' death), the palm should belong to Pherekydes. But much more likely Prometheus' release was an established fact not only in archaic epic but in Athenian tradition, as part of his cult.⁸⁰ Frazer rightly seizes on the particular, and unique, detail in Apollodoros' account (*Bibl.* 2.119), that Herakles, having freed Prometheus, 'chose for himself the bond of olive'⁸¹— except that he needlessly thinks of the olive wreath Herakles brought from the land of the Hyperboreans and made the prize of Olympic victory (Pind. *Ol.* 3.13). In his note, Frazer refers to Athen. 15.13 p. 674d (= Menodotos *FGrHist* 541 F 1), who relates that the Karians wore wreaths of willow in commemoration of Prometheus' release from bondage and his benefaction to mankind.⁸² Willow is appropriate as commonly used in binding, but in Athens, at least according to Apollodoros/Pherekydes, only the olive would do. Shortly afterwards Athenaios tells us that in the *Prometheus Lyomenos* Aischylos 'says that we place garlands on our heads in honour of Prometheus, as compensation for his bondage (*ἀντίποινα τοῦ ἐκείνου δεσμοῦ*)' (fr. 202); he then quotes a couplet from the *Sphinx* (fr. 235), which says that the garland is 'the best of bonds, according to Prometheus'.⁸³ They were no doubt worn at the Prometheia. Hyginus *Astr.* 2.15 says that Prometheus wore the garland so as <not>⁸⁴ to be unpunished. Blech comments on the unique nature of this account, since wreaths are normally straightforwardly positive signifiers.⁸⁵ To

⁷⁹ No release: West on *Th.* 523–33 and Gantz 157; release implied: Pisi, *Prometeo* 11–12 n. 6, with literature; Blümer, *Interpretation archaischer Dichtung* 2.64–74. In art, the best moment of the whole story is chosen for illustration.

⁸⁰ Wilamowitz, *Aischylos: Interpretationen* 142–7; Pisi, *Prometeo*.

⁸¹ The expression is comprehensible to one who knows the background; the supplements of J. C. Carrière and B. Masson in their 1991 translation of Apollodoros, *δεσμοῦ ἐλόμενος <ποινήν>* (better *ἀντίποινον* <τὸν <στέφανον> τῆς ἐλαίας) are probably unnecessary. Gale proposed *ἐλόμενος*, but Athenaios' information shows that Herakles, not Prometheus, wears the wreath. If in art (below, n. 85) Prometheus sometimes sports a wreath, it is a reflection of the celebrants' actions.

⁸² He cites further Hyg. *Astr.* 2.15, Prob. on Verg. *Ecl.* 6.42, Pliny *NH* 37.2, Isid. *Orig.* 19.32.1 for this belief about wreaths, and the same explanation for the practice of wearing rings. See also Brelich, 'La corona di Prometheus', Bremmer, *GRC* 187–8.

⁸³ τῷ δὲ ξένῳ γε στέφανον, ἀρχαῖον στέφος, δεσμῶν ἄριστον ἐκ Προμηθέως λόγου. The fragment need not imply that only foreigners (here probably Oidipous) wore the garland. The Attic tradition of a free Prometheus seems also to be represented on a cup by Douris of about 475 BC (*LIMC* Prometheus 117 = Hera 347), which shows Prometheus and Hera on the tondo, and the return of Hephaistos on the exterior. The role of Prometheus in Ar. *Aves* presumes his release. The release is not mentioned in Pher. 17 because it is not relevant to the scholiast's purpose.

⁸⁴ The addition seems necessary; see Radt on fr. 202. Cf. Serv. ad Verg. *Ecl.* 6.43 'Ob hoc beneficium Iupiter eum solvit. Ne tamen impunitus esset, coronam et anulum gestanda ei tradidit' (adduced by Weil, *Études sur le drame antique* 89).

⁸⁵ Blech, *Studien zum Kranz* 386–8. Art is not as consistent as one could wish, for Prometheus when crowned (sometimes even before his release) wears a wreath variously made of ivy, willow, laurel, and olive. In an Apulian calyx-krater of 350–340 BC (*LIMC* Prometheus no. 72), depicting Herakles' release of

recall in the same ritual act both the imprisonment and the triumphant release of mankind's benefactor nicely instantiates the ambiguous and anxious attitude about civilization, progress, and man's relation to the gods that both the Hesiodic and the Aischylean myths evince.

Prometheus' punishment implies his crime, but whether Pherekydes and others said this was the deception at the first sacrifice, the theft of fire, or both, we do not know; nor do we know what other events of the Titan's biography might have featured in their accounts. It would be pleasing to think that Prometheus' creation of man was known to early mythography; on the evidence, however, it appears to be an innovation of the fourth century.⁸⁶ Hesiod is notoriously vague on the original creation, and his Five Ages are very much a personal contribution; elsewhere, men arise from the earth and/or are descended from gods in various ways (see §3). Pherekydes' Athenians no doubt descended from Erichthonios; the problem of how immortal seed became mortal would have been glossed over. The story leaves little room for Prometheus. Other cities gave similar accounts; at Argos, for instance, Phoroneus was father of all; at Lokros, it was Deukalion. Apollodoros *Bibl.* 1.45–7 tidily reconciles all traditions by saying that Prometheus created man from clay, and that Zeus destroyed the Bronze race of men with the flood, whereupon Deukalion built his larnax. As we shall see, stories about the flood and about the creation of man circulated separately at first; one of these stories might have been about Prometheus, but who told it, and how it might have consorted with other tales, we do not know.

Finally we should note the quite unusual role *Eumelos* fr. 1b assigns to Epimetheus. A tradition of unknown origin is reported by the same scholiast that Ephyra, the former name of Corinth, derived from a homonymous daughter of Epimetheus; Eumelos, by contrast, made Ephyra Epimetheus' wife, and daughter of Okeanos and Tethys. We are at the very beginning of the stemma, and obviously Epimetheus here cannot be the usual dope. Probably also Pandora had no role in this story. Deeply embedded though the folktale motif of the wise and foolish brothers might appear to be, this ancient story suggests that Epimetheus originally had a different standing, comparable to that of

Prometheus in a scene probably inspired by Aischylos' *Prometheus Lyomenos*, Athena is seated behind Herakles, and has already half-formed the wreath she will place on his head, at which her gaze is directed; the wreath is either willow or laurel. On a bell-krater of about 420 BC by the Nikias Painter (*LIMC* Prometheus no. 124 = Antiochos 3) there is a torch-race which could be that of the Prometheia; the athletes wear crowns with long pointy leaves (?), while (?) Prometheus wears a laurel wreath.

⁸⁶ Aisch. fr. 369 ἐκ πηλοπλάστου σπέρματος θνητῇ γυνή (sc. Pandora), and Ar. *Aves* 686, humans are πλάσματα πηλοῦ, are suggestive; in the Mesopotamian myth lying behind Prometheus, his counterpart Ea creates man (S. R. West, 'Prometheus Orientalized' 145 n. 72). In Greek sources, Prometheus first clearly creates man in Heraclides Ponticus fr. 66; then Philemon fr. 93, Menander fr. 508, adesp. com. 1047. Protagoras, in a myth apparently of his own invention, says in the Platonic dialogue that the gods made all living things from earth and fire, and gives Prometheus and Epimetheus the role of assigning each creature its special attributes. See further Kraus, *RE* 23.696–8; Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace *Carm.* 1.16.14; Pfeiffer on Kallimachos fr. 493.2; Headlam on Herondas 2.28; Bremmer, *GRC* 33 n. 65.

Prometheus, in at least one part of Greece. A report that Deukalion and Pyrrha were Epimetheus' offspring could conceivably come from Eumelos (see §3.1). Long ago Welcker pointed out that the name need not in itself mean 'afterthought'; many names beginning Epi- have no such connotation, and the interpretation could be secondary.⁸⁷

§1.6 Some Minor Divinities: Hundred-Handers, Typhon, Harpyiai, Sirenes, Iris, Phorkys and Kin, Hekate, The Winds

§1.6.1 HUNDRED-HANDERS (Akous. fr. 8)

According to Akous. fr. 8, Ouranos imprisoned the Hundred-Handers out of fear that they would rise against him. Hesiod in the *Theogony* is somewhat unclear as to the history of these fearsome brothers. The data are these: at 147–53 the Hundred-Handers are born of Ouranos and Gaia; at 154–9 Ouranos imprisons all his children in Gaia's depths; but at 617–28 the Hundred-Handers are released on Gaia's advice to help in the fight against the Titans, like the Kyklopes at 501–6. At 663 and 668–9 they are distinguished from the Titans. We infer retrospectively that when Kronos severed Ouranos' genitals, only his fellow Titans were released, not the Kyklopes and Hundred-Handers, even though his action should have resulted in the release of everyone imprisoned in Gaia.⁸⁸ Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 1.4, solves the problem by having Kronos imprison them all over again. There is a slight chance that Akousilaos adopted the same solution, if we could read δὲ Κρόνον at the beginning of 16 instead of δ' Οὐρανόν. The latter stems from Bernardo Quaranta (*EGM* 1.xviii n.), whose designation of uncertain letters was an advance on previous practice, but undercut by his failure to distinguish between completely lost and partly legible traces, so that we cannot be sure what was in the papyrus, which has been lost.⁸⁹ However, the engraving in *HV* II 60, and the *disegno* on which it is based, clearly have the right descender of the alpha.⁹⁰

Hesiod does not use the expression 'Hundred-Handers' but describes the brothers as having one hundred hands. Homer, however, does apply the adjective to Briareos/Aigaion in his unusual story at *Il.* 1.399–406 (→ §1.8.5), which shows that it was to be found in earlier epic tradition (i.e. not Akousilaos' invention; also at Pindar *Paean* VIIIa21 = B3 Rutherford).

⁸⁷ Welcker, *Die äschylische Trilogie Prometheus* 20 n. 19. For discussion of Corinthian legends in general see §17.3.

⁸⁸ See West on *Th.* 139–53.

⁸⁹ Janko, *Philodemos on Poems Book 1* 34. I owe the suggestion above to Alberto Alberti, who kindly showed me the draft of a paper on this fragment.

⁹⁰ See <http://www.epikur-wuerzburg.de/vh2/VH2_02_060.jpg>. Ornella Salati kindly sent me a photocopy of the original *disegno* from the Officina dei Papiri in Naples, which shows that the engraving of *HV* is accurate in this detail.

§1.6.2 TYPHON (Akous. fr. 12–14; Epimen. fr. 10; Herod. fr. 67A; Pher. fr. 7, 54)

Typhon⁹¹ in Hesiod is a monstrous child of Gaia and Tartaros who offers battle to Zeus (*Th.* 820–80). He appears in the aftermath of the Titanomachy, with which, however, he has no necessary connection; in the parallel Near Eastern myths cited by West,⁹² from which this Greek one descends, the story stands alone of a fearful, potentially superior adversary to the ruling deity. Although Hesiod makes him sound as frightening as can be imagined, when it comes to the actual fight Zeus dispatches the upstart without difficulty, in keeping with Hesiod's pervasive glorification of Zeus. It is not always so in the eastern myths, or in the later Greek versions (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.39–44, Nonn. *Dion.* 1.362–534) in which the monster cuts out Zeus' sinews, rendering him helpless until they can be restored by one means or another.⁹³ As a worthy enemy of the storm-god, Typhon's congeners in the eastern stories are themselves associated with storms; in Greece, the popular etymological connection with τυφώς/τυφών 'whirlwind' enabled the association to continue, and explains why in Hesiod Typhoeus is father of damaging winds (869–80). Hesiod also gives him a hundred snake-heads in place of the usual kind of head; this detail, repeated in Pindar and Aischylos, also finds parallels in the East: the psychological terror of the snake is appropriate to a nightmarish creature whose victory spells the end of the ordered universe, a chaos visibly reflected in the wildly undulating and virtually uncontrollable multiple heads of such demons as Leviathan, Hesiod's Typhoeus, or the Hydra confronted by a civilizing Herakles. Related to this must be Pherekydes of Syros' story of Kronos doing cosmic battle with Ophioneus and his offspring.⁹⁴ A popular theme in early Greek art is Zeus fighting a snaky monster, who is generally assumed to be Typhon.⁹⁵ It was easy therefore for Akousilaos (fr. 14) to make all the earth's biting creatures, including of course snakes, arise from the blood of the slain Typhon.⁹⁶ His spouse in the *Theogony* is the viper Echidna, with whom he produces

⁹¹ Τυφωεύς and Τυφάων in Hesiod and other early poetry; on the forms of the name see West on *Th.* 306. Stesichoros *PMGF* 239 and *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 305–52 offer a competing view of Typhon's parentage, in which he is the sole child of Hera, angry about Athena's birth.

⁹² On *Th.* 820–80 (bibliography p. 383), 853; *EFH* 300–4. See also Penglase, *Greek Myths and Mesopotamia* 191–6; Watkins, 'Typhoeus and the Iluyankas'.

⁹³ The story recurs in Scandinavian myth (Hansen, *AT* 305–14), in which the motif of stealing the god's thunder while he sleeps is prominent; so possibly Epimen. fr. 10 (in the palace itself) and Nonnos, *Dion.* 1.145–55 (in a cave). In Nonnos, Typhon is in possession of both thunder and sinews; we do not know what Akous. and Epimen. said on this point. Further in Nonnos, the surprising agent who recovers Zeus' sinews is Kadmos, looking very much like Hermes; Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter* 308–17, attractively relates this to the Kadmos/Kadmilos equation (below nn. 141, 148).

⁹⁴ See Schibli, *Pherekydes of Syros* ch. 4 for complete discussion.

⁹⁵ Gantz 50; *LIMC* s.v. Note that in the Chalkidian hydra mentioned by Gantz (*LIMC* Typhon no. 14) it is not Typhon but Zeus who is named.

⁹⁶ Nikandros, *Ther.* 8–12, says rather the blood of the Titans, and attributes the idea to Hesiod (fr. dub. 367; quoted with Akous. fr. 14). For the motif, one may compare the birth of the Erinyes, Giants, and the Meliai from the blood of Ouranos (Hes. *Th.* 185–7), the birth of snakes from Medousa's blood (Ap. Rhod.

various serpentine offspring including the Hydra (306–15) and Kerberos. This hell-hound is often adorned with snakes in early art, and the association might have helped Hekataios, in rationalizing the myth (fr. 27), to assert that the dog was in fact a large serpent. Kerberos and 'other monsters' duly reappear as children of Typhon and Echidna in **Akous. fr. 13**; **Pher. fr. 16b** adds a hundred-headed, nameless snake that guarded the apples of the Hesperides.⁹⁷ To this progeny, **Pher. fr. 7** adds the eagle who devoured Prometheus' liver. The great hero-tormenting eagle sits reasonably well with siblings such as the Sphinx and the Nemean Lion.⁹⁸

The ultimate resting-place of the deposed Typhon is a matter of some interest. The supposed **Herod. 67A** is most likely a citation rather of Herodotos 3.5.3; Herodotos is quoted often enough in these scholia to have engendered the mistake. Like Hekataios *FGrHist* 1 F 300 (ap. Hdt. 2.144.2; cf. 2.156.4, Aisch. *Supp.* 560), Herodotos equated Typhon with Egyptian Seth, making him the penultimate divine king of Egypt. Typhon lay hidden after his defeat by Horus in Lake Serbonis, a narrow, 100-km lagoon running parallel to the sea starting from a point 15 km east of Pelousion, near the easternmost mouth of the Nile.⁹⁹ At its western extremity was a low dune called Mount Kasion. This name belongs more truly to the highest mountain in north Syria (the modern Jebel Aqra), home of the cult of Baal Zaphon, a name which would have suggested Typhon to Greek ears.¹⁰⁰ The Syrian Kasion figures in Apollodoros' elaborate version of the combat; it is here that the adversaries first came to close grips, and Typhon cut out Zeus' sinews. Kasion therefore seems a possible supplement in **Akous. fr. 12** (where I should have mentioned Herodotos in the apparatus, *EGM* 1.97). It is preferable to βασιλειον for the reason there given, and in any case one would rather expect Epimenides' imaginative version (**Epimen. fr. 10**) not to be repeated (or foreshadowed) in Akousilaos.

Homer (*Il.* 2.783, cf. Hes. *Th.* 304 with West, Pindar fr. 93) puts Typhon ἐν Ἀράμοις, a phrase he does not explain and which baffled the ancients; opinion was divided between

4.1517, Lucan 9.700), the birth of the Sirenes from Acheloos' blood (§1.63), and the birth of mankind itself from the blood of the Giants (Ov. *Met.* 1.156–62, *Argon. Orph.* 19, *Lykoph. Alex.* 1356–7 (Pelasgians)). Pherekydes *SH* 671 says that the Hyperboreans, an unusual race requiring unusual parentage, sprang from the blood of the Titans, and Alkaios fr. 441 and Akous. fr. 4 say that the Phaiakes, a race not unlike the Hyperboreans, sprang from the blood of Ouranos (→§18.5.7).

⁹⁷ So also Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.113, Hyg. *Fab.* 151.1; Ap. Rhod. 4.1396–8 makes him earthborn and is the first to call him Ladon. Hesiod, *Th.* 333–5 made the serpent child of Keto and Phorkys. For the snake and the Hesperides see §8.4.10.

⁹⁸ The genealogy is repeated in Apollod. 2.119.

⁹⁹ That this commonly known fact of geography appears in the scholion but not in Herodotos should not be taken as evidence of the former's independence from the latter. On Hdt. 3.5 see Asheri's commentary.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. G. Zuntz, *MH* 8 (1951) 28–34; J. de Sauvignac, *La Nouvelle Clío* 5 (1953) 216–21; Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes* 269.

a people Arimoi and mountains Arima.¹⁰¹ Apollonios of Rhodes has Typhon blasted on Kaukasos (where there was a Typhonian Rock to commemorate the event) but staggering off to the Nysian plain and Lake Serbonis. In common with Apollodoros and other later accounts, Apollonios envisages a multi-stage fight, with incidents at various locations: a useful way for a mythographer to combine the claims of competing versions, but in this case the multiple staging could be an original part of the story, as appropriate to a battle of this magnitude. The report of **Pher. fr. 54** makes it clear that Kaukasos was a way-station; after the mountain was set ablaze by Zeus' thunderbolt,¹⁰² Typhon fled to Pithekoussai, where early Greek settlers had drawn inferences from the region's volcanoes. Strabo (13.4.6) knows a theory that *arimos* is Etruscan for *πιθηκος*; it is not impossible that Etruscan words were known to Greeks in Pherekydes' day,¹⁰³ but of course we do not know that Pherekydes drew this connection, if it was there to draw. Possibly Pherekydes started the battle in Kilikia, where both Pindar and Aischylos¹⁰⁴ have Typhon born (cf. Apollod., schol. B *Il.* 2.783); nearby Hittite place-names 'Arimmata' and 'Erimma', and the Hittite myth of the battle of the storm-god and Hedammu, make it quite probable that this was indeed the primary locale of the myth, subsequently transported westwards with the colonizers.¹⁰⁵ These writers agree too in imprisoning Typhon under Aitna, though Pindar adds in the first *Pythian* that his body stretched as far as Kymai. Pindar (fr. 91) also knows the story (common to Nikandros and Apollodoros) of how the gods, fleeing from Typhon, changed themselves to animals and fled to Egypt, where similar stories of gods changing into animals in battle were told—another link with that country.¹⁰⁶ If Egyptian Kasion figured in Akousilaos' version, perhaps he had this story too. We may rule it out for Pherekydes: when the scholiast says that Pherekydes did not send Typhon to Syria, 'as Apollonios says', he means he did not send him to Lake Serbonis near Kasion. To complete the list of early variants, the Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles* (32) strangely puts Typhon under a Boiotian mountain (cf. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 4.11, Tzetzes on *Lykoph. Alex.* 177, who reports also Phrygia as

¹⁰¹ Hesiod, loc. cit., says it is Echidna's dwelling-place, and puts it beneath the earth; this was eventually placed at the swampy lake Gygaia: cf. Hdt. 1.93, *Lykoph. Alex.* 1353, Xanthos *FGrHist* 765 F 13, Lane Fox *Travelling Heroes* 306, and L. Robert, *BCH* 106 (1982) 334–59.

¹⁰² As Pontenrose, 'Typhon among the Arimoi' 77 notes, this incident probably furnished the etymon for the name of the mountain. Note that this fr. is uniquely cited as 'Pherekydes in the Theogony'; see Part B, 'The Structure of Pherekydes' Book' *ad fin.*

¹⁰³ See §2.1 *ad fin.*, §18.6. By Virgil's time (*Aen.* 9.716) 'Inarime', from ἐν Ἀράμοις (written as one word in some Homeric MSS: see Radt on Strabo loc. cit.), is an alternative name for the island; this at least betrays the scholar's hand, and the Etruscan etymology (unconfirmed from Etruscan sources), rather too good to be true, could also be learned speculation.

¹⁰⁴ Pind. *Pyth.* 8.16 (further in Pindar, *Ol.* 4.6–7, *Pyth.* 1.15–28, *fr.* 91–3); Aisch. *PV* 351.

¹⁰⁵ Bonnet, 'Typhon et Baal Saphon'; Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon* 450–9; Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes* 299–314.

¹⁰⁶ J. G. Griffiths, 'The Flight of the Gods Before Typhon'.

another possibility); Xanthos the Lydian 765 F 13 put his resting-place in his native country, in the Katakekaumene, the volcanic plain on the upper Hermos.¹⁰⁷

§1.6.3 HARPYIAI, SEIRENES, IRIS (Akous. fr. 9–10; Epimen. fr. 8–9; Pher. fr. 130, 166)

Akousilaos (fr. 10) uniquely said that the Harpyiai guarded the apples which in Hesiod and everyone else are guarded by the Hesperides and the serpent (→§8.4.10). His reason is unknown, but the Harpyiai as wind-spirits are associated with death; they are agents of the Erinyes at *Od.* 20.77–8 (cf. *Verg. Aen.* 3.215, 252), and the presumed cause of Odysseus' disappearance (*Od.* 1.241, 14.371); in Pherekydes of Syros they are actually guardians of Tartaros (Schibli, *Pherekydes of Syros* 40; his fr. 83). As spirits of the west, the Hesperides have similar associations; but since these sweet singers (*Hes. Th.* 518) and their garden have something paradisiacal about them, perhaps Akousilaos thought more terrifying creatures should guard the treasure. When, however, **Epimenides (fr. 9)** agreed with him, and added that the Harpyiai were the same as the Hesperides, this is a somewhat surprising move. It is a tactic of cosmological thinking and Homeric interpretation from the sixth century onwards to say that a god stands for some abstract notion, but on current evidence the equation of one god with another is a device first employed systematically in the late fifth or early fourth century, by the author of the Derveni papyrus, who does so on a grand scale (Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus* 182–223). Probably he did not invent the idea, however, and one might find isolated instances before him (notably Apollo and Helios, *Eur. fr.* 781.11–12). The context in which Philodemos quotes **Pher. fr. 166** is one of syncretism, of which Pherekydes appears to offer an example. But in neither his case nor Epimenides' can we know precisely what lies behind Philodemos' citation, who could be inferring identifications where none were intended. If we accept this point for Epimenides, however, we might say that it was something found in the late fifth-century prose redaction of the poem (which informed the mythographic tradition) but not in the original poem.¹⁰⁸ (The uncertainty about the absolute dates of both Akousilaos and the original Epimenides preclude inferences about who borrowed from whom on chronological grounds. But it seems less likely that this syncretism was in the original Epimenides, and that Akousilaos subsequently rejected the syncretism but accepted the novel role of the Harpyiai.)

Epimen. fr. 8, if the supplement in l. 19 is correct,¹⁰⁹ made Okeanos and Earth the parents of the Seirenes. Neither Homer nor Hesiod in his surviving fragments indicates

¹⁰⁷ Above, n. 101. Further variants and full references in Roscher, *Lex. s.v.* Typhoeus, Typhon 1436–8.

¹⁰⁸ One should distinguish (if possible) between the natural tendency of polytheism to combine similar cults and theorized syncretism; cf. below, n. 204. Alkm. *PMGF* 30 ἡ Μῶσα κέκλαγ' ἡ λύγη Σηρήν I take to be a simple comparison ('The Muse cried, the shrill Siren'). What did the author of the *Titanomachy* say, quoted where the papyrus breaks off? Perhaps that a serpent guarded the apples (Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* 27).

¹⁰⁹ See n. 21.

their parentage. Phorkys is father in *Soph. fr.* 861; otherwise Acheloos is favoured, either with Sterope daughter of Porthaon,¹¹⁰ a Muse,¹¹¹ or Earth, from the blood that spilled when Herakles broke off his horn.¹¹² Epimenides is the earliest literary reference to the prophecy that the Seirenes would die if anyone succeeded in sailing by them, but (what does not seem to have been noticed) Philokleon also alludes to it when he says that there is a prophecy that should he acquit a defendant ('should a defendant escape', in the idiom, which suits the Seirenes well), he will wither away.¹¹³ The famous British Museum vase (E440) of about 490 BC showing a Siren plummeting into the sea suggests that the story was known by then.¹¹⁴ The folktale motif whereby the demon vanishes or dies when beaten is widespread; in Greek myth one thinks of the Sphinx, or the story of Kalchas and Mopsos. Meuli and others have argued that Orpheus sailed with the archaic Argonauts for this very purpose (M. L. West, '*Odyssey and Argonautica*' 46–7; →§6.3.3); the motif was adapted by the *Odyssey*, which outstripped its model in fame. Another worldwide motif is that of the death-dealing temptresses, for which see M. Davies, *CQ* 54 (2004) 606–10. Various modern explanations of the Seirenes are canvassed by Heubeck in his long note on *Od.* 12.39–54; see also Gresseth, 'The Homeric Sirens', and Kannicht on *Eur. Hel.* 167–78. Egeler (*Walküren, Bodbs, Sirenen* 351–451) argues strongly that they are demons who mediate between this world and the next. Latte (*Kl. Schr.* 106–11) identifies them with the noon-day spirits of Mediterranean myth; one sees his reasoning, but these are spirits with some of the same associations rather than Seirenes as such. But his idea might receive some support from Nikophon fr. 20 (*PCG* 7.70), where a character in his *Seirenes* describes the fever consequent upon consuming green figs at noon.

According to Philodemos, where Homer had said that Iris was messenger of Zeus, **Akousilaos (fr. 9)** said of all the gods; in fact Homer had said the same (*Il.* 15.144). In Hesiod, she is daughter of Thaumás, son of Pontos, and the Okeanid Elektra, and sister to the Harpyiai (*Th.* 265–9); she runs a message for Zeus at 784 but that would not exclude working for others. Further according to Philodemos, **Pherekydes (fr. 130)** added Hermes to the list of divine messengers, which is also unremarkable and no different from Homer; as usual he is simply extending his list of benighted mythologizers and one should not infer that Akousilaos or Pherekydes had long digressions on these figures. Behind Philodemos in many cases is Apollodoros of Athens' work *Περὶ θεῶν*, which had its own arrangement of material.

¹¹⁰ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.63, schol. *Od.* 12.39, Eust. *Od.* 1709.39; →§4.3.

¹¹¹ e.g. Ap. Rhod. 4.896, Lykoph. *Alex.* 713, Apollod. *Epit.* 7.18, Hyg. *Fab.* 125.13, 141.1, schol. *Od.* 12.39; cf. Alkm. *PMGF* 30 and Hermann's conjecture in Eumel. fr. 9.

¹¹² Luc. *De salt.* 50, Liban. *Progymn.* 2.1.1, Eust. *Od.* 1709.39; *Eur. Hel.* 168–9, where they are daughters of Chthon, may allude to this myth.

¹¹³ Ar. *Vesp.* 160. Elsewhere referred to at Lykoph. *Alex.* 712–16; Strab. 6.1.1; Apollod. *Epit.* 7.19; Hyg. *Fab.* 125.13, 141.2; Serv. on *Verg. Aen.* 5.864; Myth. Vat. I 2.84, II 123 (101); *Argon. Orph.* 1287; schol. *Od.* 12.39; Eust. *Od.* 1709.48.

¹¹⁴ For the Seirenes in art apart from LIMC see Tsiafakis in Padgett, *The Centaur's Smile* 74–8.

§1.6.4 PHORKYS AND KIN (Akous. fr. 11, 42)

The desperate state of the papyrus does not allow us to say much about the parentage or descent of Phorkys in Akous. fr. 11. It is possible that ll. 3–7, however they are reconstructed (e.g. ‘some have said that Proteus was son of Phorkys, but others that Phorkys was son of Eidothea [daughter of Proteus]’), make one point, and then 7–8 add that Phorkys was father of the Graiai according to [Hesiod and] Akousilaos.¹¹⁵ Philodemos’ point is the absurdity of goddesses born as Old Women. For the Graiai, see §7.2.4.

Akous. fr. 42 says that Phorkys also was father of Skylla by Hekate. Skylla is not mentioned in Hesiod’s *Theogony*, but her parents are given in the *Megalai Ehoiai* (fr. 262) as Hekate and ‘Phorbas’; striking though that is, one has to suspect a simple minuscule confusion of β and κ, so that the Hesiodic genealogy is orthodox and Akousilaos, as often, agrees with it.¹¹⁶ He might have produced this genealogy in the context of the *Nostoi*. The same one is given by schol. *Od.* 12.85 = Dionys. *FGrHist* 15 F 12, schol. (D) *Od.* 12.124 (where the fairly inexplicable μάγοι are no doubt an aural/visual mistake for αἱ Μεγάλαι Ἠοῖαι; cf. also Eust. *Od.* 1714.33); Homer in *Od.* 12.124 had named her mother as Krataiis, which is repeated by *Ov. Met.* 13.749, *Apollod. Epit.* 7.20, *Serv. on Verg. Aen.* 3.420, schol. *Pl. Rep.* 588c. Apollonios of Rhodes (4.829), drawing on learned discussions, claims that Krataiis was another name of Hekate; perhaps he is right. Semos of Delos *FGrHist* 396 F 22, offers the (clearly derivative) refinement that Krataiis was daughter of Hekate and Triton, and mother of Skylla by Deimos. Stesichoros (*PMGF* 220) is alone in naming Lamia as her mother; perhaps he means the daughter of Poseidon mentioned by *Paus.* 10.12.1, *Plut. De Pyth. orac.* 9 p. 398c, *Dio Chrys.* 37.13. A final choice of mother is Echidna (em.) in *Ciris* 67.¹¹⁷ As alternatives to Phorkys for Skylla’s father we find Tyrrhenos in schol. *Pl. Rep.* 588c, †Trienos in *Apollod. Epit.* 7.20 (where some read ‘Tyrrhenos’ as in schol. *Pl.*, but Papatomopoulos would read ‘Triton’ as in Semos and Eustathios *Od.* 1714.32), and Typhon in *Hyg. Fab.* 125, 151.

§1.6.5 HEKATE (Pher. fr. 44)

Pher. fr. 44 uniquely makes Hekate daughter of Aristaios son of Paion. In Hesiod’s *Theogony* (409–11) she is daughter of Perses (son of the Titan Kreios) and his cousin Asterie (daughter of Koios and sister of Leto). This genealogy was canonical;

¹¹⁵ If those are right who punctuate before καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος at the end of fr. 11, then the continuation will be along the lines suggested in the apparatus. The difficulty with that reconstruction is the placement of μὲν in καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος Τιθωνὸν μὲν λέγει, which implies that the δέ-clause further down the column (about goddesses portrayed as young or old) should be the second part of what he said, whereas the subject actually changes to an indefinite ‘they’ with εἰσάγουσιν. It is not an impossible inconcinnity, but the passage is better without it. Punctuating after Ἀκουσίλαος also gives another example of Hesiod and Akousilaos in agreement and cited together by Philodemos as in fr. 13, 18 and 19 (and by Plato in fr. 6a; cf. also fr. 15).

¹¹⁶ Phorbas is a son of Poseidon (below §1.7.8) but plays a different role in received myths.

¹¹⁷ This poem reflects a Hellenistic conflation of this Skylla with the daughter of Minos; for the variants, see Gantz 732.

see e.g. *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 24–5, *Lykoph. Alex.* 1175, *Apollod. Bibl.* 1.9, *Cic. ND* 3.46; in *Mousaios* (fr. 87 Bernabé), Zeus is her father, but he then hands her over to Perses. Perses is also implied by Hekate’s epithet Perseis (above, §1.3.2), which may be the primary datum in all of this; Greeks might have understood it as ‘destroyer’, with reference to her witchcraft. This, as well as Perseis mother of Aietes and Kirke in *Hesiod (Th.* 957) and *Hek. fr.* 35A, is no doubt the warrant for the link to Kolchis drawn by *Dionysios Skytobrachion* (fr. 21; cf. *Diod. Sic.* 4.45), who makes Perses a son of Helios and brother of Aietes; Aietes in turn marries his niece Hekate, so that she becomes mother of Kirke and Medeia (in *Hesiod* and others, Aietes marries an Okeanid). The chthonic aspect of Hekate is on view also in *Bacchylides* fr. 1B, who says she is daughter of Night, in the *Orphica* (fr. 400 Bernabé; cf. *Kallim. fr.* 466), where she is daughter of Zeus and Demeter, and in the remarkable story told by the scholia to *Theokritos* (2.12b), apparently from *Sophron* (fr. *7; below, n. 126), where she is daughter of Zeus and Hera.¹¹⁸

Hesiod, whose famous hymn to Hekate (*Th.* 404–52) makes her responsible for all manner of blessings, and no harm, might have objected to her being listed here among the minor divinities; though others too identified positive features, her dark side looms much larger in the Greek *imaginaire* and keeps her off centre stage. One can only speculate as to what lies behind Pherekydes’ genealogy. In view of her grandfather Paion he might have thought of Hekate as a healer, though this is one virtue Hesiod does not explicitly credit her with (she is at least *κουροτρόφος*, 450). If on the other hand her sinister aspects are relevant, then one might point to the rain-ritual on Keos conducted by Aristaios, vividly evoked by Burkert, *HN* 109–15, with its sacrifice to the Dog-Star and aetiological link to Lykaon in Arkadia, home of werewolves. Aristaios is of course father of Aktaion, the hunter torn apart by his hounds; Hekate is associated above all with dog sacrifices.¹¹⁹ But the matter is really unknowable. For Hekate generally, see Nilsson, *GGR* 1.722–5; West on *Hes. Th.* 404–52; Burkert, *GR* 171; Johnston, *Restless Dead* 203–49 and *BNP* s.v. Hecate.

§1.6.6 THE WINDS (Akous. fr. 15)

The lines in Hesiod (*Th.* 379–80) on which the scholiast comments are:

ἀργεστήν Ζέφυρον Βορέην τ’ αἰψηροκέλευθον
καὶ Νότον

with which one may compare l. 870, νόσφι Νότου Βορέω τε καὶ ἀργεστέω Ζεφύροιο. In both lines ἀργεστής must be an epithet, as it is in *Homer (Il.* 11.306, 21.334). As West

¹¹⁸ In schol. *Theok.* 2.35/36a, Tzetzes on *Lykoph. Alex.* 1180 she is daughter of Pheraia (daughter of Aiolos) and Zeus; this is merely an interpretation of Artemis’ epithet Pheraia (*Kallim. Hymn.* 3.259; schol. *Lykoph.* loc. cit.). In *Hsch.* α1155 she is strangely the daughter of Admetos; ‘some say this is Bendis’. In the *Hesiodic Catalogue* (fr. 23) she was equated with Iphigeneia, according to Pausanias, who draws this inference from εἰνοδίη in fr. 23a.26 (Gantz 26–7). She is probably Karian in origin: Debord in Rumscheid, *Die Karer und die Anderen* 256.

¹¹⁹ If Lloyd-Jones is right in his supplement of a 3rd- or 2nd-c. Boiotian inscription, there is evidence of a cult of Aristaios in Boiotia (*Academic Papers* 2.331–2).

on *Th.* 379 notes, the difficulty arose in that Argestes was the name of a wind from at least the fourth century, and people assumed that there should be four winds corresponding to the points of the compass (cf. e.g. *Od.* 5.295–6); but Argestes was not the east wind, rather WNW. The Homeric scholia on the first of the two passages cited preserve traces of the ancient discussion of the ζήτημα, as well as the scholia on Hesiod. When a scholiast says, as he does here, that author X read author Y in a certain way, one should not take it at face value; the scholiast or his authority, eager to claim support, may be foisting his interpretation upon author X, who may only have evinced a similar view to author Y without actually citing him or taking a stand on the controversy. The οὐ φησιν idiom is a version of this habit (e.g. *Pher. fr.* 15b, 72; → §8.4.9, §8.4.6). Yet archaic writers can and do cite each other by name (e.g. Solon *fr.* 20 citing Mimnermos, *Hek. fr.* 19 citing Hesiod), and tackling problems in Homer began already in the late sixth century with Theagenes of Rhegion. In the case of *Akous. fr.* 15 the scholiast is more emphatic than usual, adding to 'Akousilos says that according to Hesiod thus and so' the information that Akousilaos said ἀργεστής was an epithet (though he would not have used the technical word ἐπίθετον). If this was all in Akousilaos (which must remain uncertain), then we have confirmation of his respectful view of Hesiod, for more than just following him as he normally does (see Part B) he has explicitly signalled his approval (although it is theoretically possible that he went on to disagree; it is also possible, as Jacoby suggested, that Akousilaos gave only the number three, not the names). We should also have evidence, in addition to *Hek. fr.* 19, for critical engagement with Hesiod in this period as with Homer; cf. also Xenophanes and Herakleitos, *Hes. testt.* 97, 113 Most; the clutch of testimonia linking Stesichoros and Hesiod point to some intertextual relationship as well; *testt.* 2, 19, 20, 52. Early in the next century, 480, Pindar quotes Hesiod by name, *Isthm.* 6.67; cf. *Bacchyl.* 5.192 of 476 BC.

§1.7 More Minor Divinities: Kabeiroi, Daktyloi, Telchines, Kouretes, Korybantes, Kyklopes

§1.7.1 INTRODUCTION

It will be useful to lay before the reader the data conveyed by the pertinent fragments:

Kabeiroi: Akousilaos (*fr.* 20) says Kamillos (v.l. Kadmilos) was son of Kabeiro and Hephaistos. He had three sons, the Kabeiroi and (?) three daughters, the Kabeirid nymphs (or: with whom the Kabeirid nymphs consorted). Pherekydes (*fr.* 48) says Kabeiro daughter of Proteus and Hephaistos had three Kabeiroi and three Kabeirides, nymphs, and that both groups received rites.

Daktyloi: The scholiast who quotes Pherekydes (*fr.* 47) begins by saying that there were two groups of Idaian Daktyloi, five in each, and that the right-hand (or 'lucky', if not

meant literally) group were men, the left-hand (or 'unlucky') group women; Pherekydes says the former numbered 20, the latter 32. Pherekydes also says that the left-hand group were sorcerers (γόητες) but the right-hand group were the ἀναλύντες, those who undid the charms. The scholiast defines the Daktyloi generally as sorcerers (γόητες καὶ φαρμακεῖς), and the first miners and workers of iron; presumably this information was also in Pherekydes. The scholiast says (still from Pherekydes?) that their mother was Ida; he then quotes Hellanikos (*fr.* 89) who says they acquired their name when, happening to meet Rhea on Mt Ida, they greeted her and touched her fingers.

Telchines: According to Kallimachos, Xenomedes (*fr.* 1.64–9) told of Telchines on Keos, who were magicians (γόητες), and of a foolish king Demonax who had no regard for the gods; these destroyed the island on account of their wicked outrages, sparing only the old woman Makelo and her daughter Dexithea. The building and peopling of Keos could then begin anew. The lexicographers have preserved, though in deeply corrupt form (even the name of the author depends on restoration), a verbatim fragment of Xenomedes (*fr.* 4) in which he etymologizes the name Telchines from θέλγειν (even if the γάρ of the quotation is some grammarian's, Xenomedes will have been aware of the wordplay). The Telchines, he says, 'bewitched flourishing things by sprinkling them with the waters of the Styx', and in their envious malice (βασκαίνοντες) withered the plants (this is the gist, though the precise words are irrecoverable; something may have dropped out). Armenidas (*fr.* 8) has a novel story: after Aktaion's mishap, Zeus transformed his hounds into the Telchines. Suetonius, who quotes the fragment, defines them as captious sorcerers (ψογεροὶ καὶ γόητες καὶ φαρμακεῖς),¹²⁰ of whom there are two species: one a race of labourers and craftsmen, the other given to spoiling fine things. Some say they were born from the sea.

Kouretes: Eumelos (*fr.* 10) says that Zeus was born in Lydia, and that his guardians were the Kouretes. Lydus, who quotes the fragment, agrees, citing a spot high on Mt Tmolos once called the birthplace of Zeus Hyetios, but which is now called Deusios. Andron (*fr.* 1) tells us that the Phorbas after whom the Phorbanteion in Athens was named was king of the Kouretes, and died for (v.l. 'was killed by') Erechtheus; the reference must be to the war against Eumolpos. Hellanikos (*fr.* 40) says Phorbas was son of Poseidon.

Korybantes: Pherekydes (*fr.* 48) says there were nine of these (he uses the form 'Kyrbantes'), offspring of Apollo and Rhetia, and that they lived on Samothrace.

Kyklopes: Hellanikos (*fr.* 88) says that the Kyklopes were named after Kyklops, son of Ouranos. The quoting scholiast explains that there were three species of Kyklopes:

¹²⁰ Herter, 'Telchinen' 203, 206 approves Jacobs's emendation (μωμησάμενοι for μιμησάμενοι, with reference to Suetonius' ψογεροί) in *Nik. Dam. FGrHist* 90 F 114: Τελχίνες ἄνθρωποι ὀνομαζόμενοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν Κρήτες, οἰκήσαντες καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ, μεταναστάντες δ' εἰς Ρόδον καὶ πρῶτον τὴν νῆσον κατασχόντες, βάσκανοί τε σφόδρα ἦσαν καὶ φθονεροί· τεχνῆται δὲ ὄντες καὶ τὰ τῶν προτέρων ἔργα μωμησάμενοι Ἀθηναίς Τελχινίας ἄγαλμα πρῶτον ἰδρύσαντο, ὥσπερ εἴ τις λέγοι Ἀθηναίς βασκαίνου.

those who fortified Mykenai; Polyphemos' lot; and 'the gods themselves', a presumably corrupt or careless expression referring to the descendants of Ouranos (below, n. 212). An interesting detail survives from Pherekydes (fr. 12), that when Perseus returned to Argos from Seriphos with his mother and Andromeda, he also brought with him the Kyklopes, doubtless to build the walls of Mykenai; however, our source is silent on their ultimate origin.¹²¹ In fr. 35 we are told that Apollo did not do servitude with Admetos for killing the Kyklopes, according to Pherekydes, but rather their sons. One of the Kyklopes has the unusual name Aortes in fr. 46 of the same author.

The main point of interest in this group is its family resemblance.¹²² Strabo (10.3.7) remarks of all of them except the Kyklopes that some writers regard them as identical, while others say that, though related, they differ slightly from one another. For Strabo, they are all orgiastic; although his broad brush would not paint an accurate picture for the earliest period, the syncretism, or at least assimilation, was already under way in the fifth century. Euripides writes in the *Kretes* (fr. 472; the chorus speaks) ἀγνὸν δὲ βίον τείνομεν ἐξ οὗ Διὸς Ἰδαίου μύστης γενόμεν καὶ νυκτιπόλου Ζαγρέως βούτης τὰς ὠμοφάγους δαίτας τελέσας, μητρὶ τ' ὀρεῖα δᾶδας ἀνασχὼν μετὰ (Blaydes; καὶ codd.) Κουρήτων βᾶκχος ἐκλήθη ὁσιωθείς; here the language (and more than the language: omophagy) of Dionysiac ritual has been applied to the orgia of the Kouretes on Ida, and Rhea who brought the infant Zeus is called the Mountain Mother, permitting a further association with the Korybantes. Similar is the parodos of the *Bacchai* (120–34): ὦ θαλάμειμα Κουρήτων ζᾶθεοί τε Κρήτας Διογενέτορες ἔναυλοι, ἔνθα τρικόρυθες ἄντροις βυρσότονον κύκλωμα τόδε μοι Κορύβαντες ἦδρον· βακχεῖα δ' ἅμα συντόνων κέρασαν ἡδυβόα Φρυγίων αἰλῶν πνεύματι ματρός τε Πέας ἐς χέρα θήκαν, κτύπον εὐάσμασι βακχᾶν· παρὰ δὲ μαινόμενοι Σάτυροι ματέρος ἐξανύσαντο θεᾶς, ἐς δὲ χορεύματα συνῆψαν τριετηρίδων, αἷς χαίρει Διόνυσος. Here, as often, Kouretes and Korybantes appear to be identical; elsewhere, the group who guarded the infant Zeus are identified as the Daktyloi; the passage glides effortlessly into the Dionysiac sphere (cf. also *Hel.* 1358–65, *Bacch.* 78, Diogenes *TrGF* 45 F 1). In truth, the ancient enthusiastic rites of the mountain-mother were spreading throughout the Aegean and mingling with those of the wine-god(s) long before history records their names.¹²³

¹²¹ Strabo 8.6.11 and Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.25 have them come from Lykia.

¹²² A point well made by Brelich, *Gli eroi greci* 325–44 = 258–77; see also Blakely, *Myth, Ritual, and Metallurgy*. For the Kabeirot and Samothrace see also Bowden, *Mystery Cults* 49–67.

¹²³ Both 'Korybantes' and 'Kabeirot' are Aegean pre-Greek names (Beekes, *Etym. Dict.* p. xxxvi and s.vv.). In the *Kretes* passage just quoted Euripides goes on to say these worshippers are vegetarian (despite, or because of, their initiatory omophagy); is this borrowed from Orphism or Pythagoreanism? If so, one wonders how far from reality a poet under these circumstances could wander, given that some members of his audience were initiates of one or other of these cults (cf. Scullion, 'Tradition and Invention'; and compare Demosthenes' jumble of cults in his slander of Aischines, 18.259–60). It is possible, however, that the syncretism was just as pervasive among worshippers. Modern efforts to sort out the confusion could miss the point entirely. Successive discoveries in the 'Orphic' sphere have demonstrated how fluid the situation was. The Greek world was, we should acknowledge, permeated with mysteries of many kinds in many places (cf. below, p. 57).

§1.7.2 KABEIROI (Akous. fr. 20; Pher. fr. 48)

Names, indeed, were often a point of uncertainty. Although there were local differences which one would wish to note, the activities and functions of these spirits were so similar, and so flexible, that names could change according to the sensibility of whoever was naming them. The 'Great Gods' of Samothrace and many another location were essentially nameless. Herodotos felt able to say, without a hint of embarrassment, that the mysteries of Samothrace were those of the Kabeirot; Stesimbrotos agreed (*FGrHist* 107 F 20); Strabo, who quotes the fragment, reports that his principal source Demetrios of Skepsis emphatically disagreed (fr. 61 Gaede = *FGrHist* 2013 F 61). We do not know where the Kabeirot of Akousilaos (fr. 20) and Pherekydes (fr. 48) were situated, but the role of Hephaistos suggests Lemnos. Strabo goes on to say¹²⁴ that the Kabeirot were especially at home on Lemnos and Imbros, and in the cities of the Troad; possibly this information came ultimately from one of these writers, though it comes from Demetrios in the first instance. Pherekydes, however, put his nine 'Kyrbantes'¹²⁵ on Samothrace. (Nine is a typical number for men's groups; cf. e.g. *Il.* 2.94, 7.161, 16.785, 24.252; nine Telchines, below, p. 52.) Strabo next notes Herodotos' identification of a shrine of the Kabeirot in Memphis (3.37), which Kambyzes vandalized; these were sons of Hephaistos, according to the Egyptians, and pygmy-like statues represented both, a point to which we shall return in a moment. Hephaistos suggests Lemnos rather than Samothrace; the former island was also the setting of Aischylos' *Kabeirot* (fr. 95–7a Radt).

In spite of Herodotos, however, the name of the Kabeirot is not attested in the classical inscriptions on Samothrace, and Hemberg (*Die Kabiren* 74–81) advances good reasons for believing that the gods there were not so called. Kabeirot are attested, among other places, in Lemnos, Imbros, Pergamon, Miletos, Chios, Delos, Anthedon, and Makedonia,¹²⁶ but they are especially known from Thebes, whose Kabeirion has yielded extraordinary finds. Herodotos would have had his grounds for saying that the Samothracian gods were Kabeirot (he claims, after all, to know the ἱπὸς λόγος), and we are in a position to see what some of them might have been; but it is interesting that he advances this identification as if uncontested, when either it was quite contestable (which would be revealing of his tactics as a controversialist), or divergent views were routine in such contexts (so that no one would think it worthwhile contesting them).¹²⁷

¹²⁴ μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἰμβρῳ καὶ Λήμνῳ τοὺς Καβείρους τιμᾶσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Τροίῃ κατὰ πόλεις· τὰ δ' ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐστὶ μυστικά (the particles μὲν οὖν mark the words as his).

¹²⁵ On the form of the name see below, p. 52.

¹²⁶ Summary in Graf, 'Cabiri'; details in Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* ch. 2; see also Burkert, *GR* 281–5; Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 117 f.; Kern, 'Kabeiros und Kabeirot', with his *Nachtrag* in *RE* 16.2 (1935) 1275–9 s.v. *Mysterien*. If we could be sure that the *historia* in schol. Theok. 2.12 reports a story from Sophron (fr. *7) we would have them as chthonic spirits of purification in Syracuse.

¹²⁷ I expand on this thought in 'Herodotos and the Early Mythographers: The Case of the Kabeirot'. See also below, p. 57.

The Theban Kabeirion gives the most detailed picture, though with all the usual uncertainties of a predominantly archaeological record. The sanctuary lay about 5.5 km west of the city.¹²⁸ Inscriptions show that there were two Kabeiroi here, father and son; the father was known as Kabeiros, the son simply as 'Pais'. There was also, it seems, a 'consort', from which one infers the existence of a divine wife; Pausanias calls her the Mother (9.25.5), as one would expect of his age; just possibly (one of) her earlier name(s) was Kasmine.¹²⁹ A vase from the site appears to show the Mother herself, with Hermes and Pan in the role of elder and younger Kabeiros.¹³⁰ Votives begin in the Geometric period (perhaps about 1000) and suggest a cult of herdsmen; this aspect persisted throughout the sanctuary's history. In the late sixth century drinking-vessels in large numbers indicate sympotic activity and a new Dionysiac focus; symposia are of course the affair of celebrants more affluent than herdsmen.

In the late fifth century begin the famous Kabeirion-ware vases with their dwarfish, distorted African figures engaged in a variety of activities: processing, dancing, singing, drinking, enjoying the athletic and dramatic competitions after the panegyris.¹³¹ There must be a reason for the conventional style of the (sometimes masked) figures—something in the aetiology and ritual now lost to us. Possibly the mummery of the mystery-play and/or the public show made use of these proto-comical stereotypes. At Thebes, the theatre in the Kabeirion was right beside the anaktoron. Dionysiac elements are prominent in the iconography, and satyrs frequently appear.¹³² Perhaps these dwarfs were the mythological creatures who accompanied Kabeiros on his first arrival, like maenads or satyrs.¹³³ Schachter ('Evolutions of a Mystery Cult' 135) suggests that in the cult the Kabeiroi acted as intermediaries between the goddess and her initiates.

One thinks readily of Herodotos' pygmies as a parallel for the Kabeirion-ware.¹³⁴ It is probably the iconography of the Egyptian sanctuary, presumably one of Ptah, that allowed his identification.¹³⁵ He tells us in the same place that the figures resemble the figureheads the Phoenicians put on their ships (*Pataikoi*); Philo of Byblos confirms that

¹²⁸ Full assessment in Schachter, 'Evolutions' (now the starting-point for this topic, superseding his *Cults of Boiotia* 2, to which however one may still refer for details; contestation of some points in Daumas, 'De Thèbes à Lemnos et Samothrace', building on her *Cabiriaca*).

¹²⁹ IG VII 4126 *ΕΡΜΑΙΟ[Σ] | ΚΑΣΜΙΝ[Ε]*; cf. VII 3698 *ΑΣΜ[Ε]*; MAMA 6.245 = CCCA 1.105, cf. 99, 104 *Μήτηρ θεῶν Κασμ(ε)νῆ*. Connection with Kasmilos in Samothrace (below, p. 41)?

¹³⁰ Schachter, 'Evolutions' 125.

¹³¹ Wolters and Bruns, *Das Kabirenheiligtum* 81–128; Daumas, *Cabiriaca*, with Schachter's strictures at 140 n. 16; Walsh, *Distorted Ideals* 58–62, Masciadri, *Eine Insel im Meer der Geschichten* 341–3, denies that the Kabeiroi were dwarfs on the basis of dubious readings of Hdt. 3.37.3 and the vases.

¹³² Were the Satyroi/Silenoi represented in the fragments of EGM 1, they would take their place alongside the others discussed in this section. The variety of local myth about them is notable.

¹³³ Also called Kabeiroi (or 'Kabetraioi': see Schachter 139 n. 4 on the text of Paus. 9.25.5–10)? Cf. Bacchos/Bacchoi.

¹³⁴ Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* 281.

¹³⁵ See Dasen, *Dwarfs* ch. 7; J. van Dijk, *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* 3 (Oxford 2001) s.v. Ptah; LIMC s.vv. Pataikoi/Pataikoi, Ptah; Tassignon, 'Dieux nains de Grèce et d'ailleurs'.

such gods were worshipped there.¹³⁶ Egyptian and Phoenician amulets and scarabs made use of similar iconography and were familiar throughout Syria from the second millennium.¹³⁷ Furthermore, *kbir* is a Semitic root denoting 'great' (cf. the Great Gods), and Hesychios s.v. *κοῖης* reports that this word, or *κόης*, denotes a priest of the Kabeiroi who purified murderers; Collini ('Gli dèi Cabiri' 263) and West (EFH 58) note the similarity with Ugaritic *khn*, Phoenician and Hebrew *kōhēn*, and Aramaic *kāhēn*, ordinary West Semitic words for 'priest'. Such coincidences have long led scholars to posit an eastern origin for the Kabeiroi.¹³⁸ As we have become much more aware recently, the Near East exercised a huge influence on Greece throughout prehistory, and such transfers certainly took place. Specific connections, however, are sometimes hard to prove, and what matters most is the representations current amongst the Greeks themselves in the period in question. That the Kabeiroi were foreign is rather a signifier about the nature of their cult than a reflection of historical origin, as is the case with Dionysos, whom Linear B tablets showed to be at home in Mycenaean Greece, but whom Greek myths claimed to have come from abroad. The Greeks, in any case, thought the Kabeiroi came from Phrygia, not Phoenicia (Strab. 10.3.20, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.916/8b), a connection reinforced by what seem to be Phrygian caps worn by some of the Kabeirion-ware figures.¹³⁹ The dwarfish nature of the Kabeiroi is another signifier of liminality; it is a characteristic they could share with the Daktyloi, whose name could mean precisely 'finger-men'.¹⁴⁰

Not that other connections with Phoenicia cannot be made out, particularly through Kadmos the Phoenician,¹⁴¹ who according to Herodotos (2.49) brought the Dionysiac mysteries to Greece from Tyre—a most unusual opinion. Already in Hellan. fr. 23 Kadmos has acquired his bride Harmonia not from Thebes but from Samothrace, where

¹³⁶ *Phoenician History* ap. Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 1.10.35–8 = FGrHist 790 F 2; cf. Dam. *Vita Isid.* p. 283 Zintzen = Phot. *Bibl.* 242 p. 352¹¹.

¹³⁷ Grottanelli, 'Eracle Dattilo' 205; Collini, 'Cabiri' 246–7; Asheri on Hdt. 3.37; other references in n. 135.

¹³⁸ Recently discovered inscriptions from north Syria lend some weight to the connection: Burkert, *OR* 153 n. 3. However, as Burkert notes (cf. GR 282), IE connections have also been suggested. For more detailed discussion see Collini, 'Cabiri' and Ehrhardt, *Samothrake* 99–102. Most recently, Beekes, 'The Origin of the Kabeiroi' offers numerous arguments both for an Anatolian (non-IE) origin of the Kabeiroi and against a Semitic connection.

¹³⁹ They could also be the conical cap worn by Hephaistos the craftsman: Graf, 'Lesser Mysteries' 245. The question of continuity of population and cult on Lemnos from the Bronze Age forward is still under discussion; see Greco and Papi, *Hephaestia* for recent work.

¹⁴⁰ Below, p. 43.

¹⁴¹ Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician*; Burkert, *OR* 153 n. 3; West, *EFH* 448–51; Berman, 'The Double Foundation of Boiotian Thebes' 16. The root *qdm*, 'east' (or 'ancient'), has been offered as his etymology since the 17th c., and 'rb, 'sunset' or 'west', for Europe; cf. Hsch. s.v. *Εὐρώπη*. Beekes (most recently in 'Kadmos and Europa') and others strenuously deny the links. For Kadmos, G. Dumézil, *Journal Asiatique* 215 (1929) 253–4, noted Armenian *kazm-*, denoting 'ornament' or 'equipment' (cf. Hsch. κ61 *Κάδμος* δόρυ λόφος δόσις. *Κρήτες*) and the story about Kadmos' strange weapons in Konon *Dieg.* 37 (where see Blakely's detailed commentary in *BNJ*); also the identification of Kadmilos and Kadmos, father of Prylis ('Man-at-Arms') in Lykophron loc. cit., Kadmos' battle with Ares' dragon and the Spartoi, and the famous Boiotian shield. Others have essayed a link to Greek *κέρασαι* (see Vian, *Les Origines de Thèbes* 156). West is doubtful about Europe, but more hospitable to Kadmos. See further below, n. 147.

she was daughter of Elektryone (as Hellanikos calls her) and Zeus.¹⁴² Herodotos knows of other events befalling Kadmos during his voyage (4.147), so this part of Kadmos' journey had already been embroidered in his day. Hellanikos' motive for putting Harmonia on Samothrace was no doubt assisted by a presumed connection between Kadmos and Kadmilos (identified by Lykophron *Alex.* 219–20), but perhaps he had additional reasons for thinking the cults were related. He also (*ibid.*) draws a link between Elektryone and the Elektran gates at Thebes.

No early iconography from Samothrace assists us in settling this question of Kabeiroi vs. Korybantes on the island. The Samothracian cult did have one distinctive characteristic, viz. the assurance of safe voyage for seafarers, which seems to set them apart from the Kabeiroi as known elsewhere.¹⁴³ This marine function made the eventual identification of the Great Gods with the Dioskouroi easy. However, one may note also certain similarities between the Samothracian and other cults. In particular, there is the pattern of a pair of lesser males associated with a mother figure in a mystery-cult. Mnaseas of Patrai (ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.916/8 b = fr. 17 Cappelletto) preserves the names, or epithets, of the Samothracian trinity: Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos; he identifies these with Demeter, Persephone, and Hades respectively, but Cole and Hemberg are probably right that the first god was also male (*contra* Burkert, 'Concordia' n. 52, *GR* 458 n. 40). Elektra's two sons Eetion/Iasion and Dardanos could be pertinent.¹⁴⁴ At Thebes, we have already noted the presence of the Mother and her consort; there was also near Thebes a sanctuary of Demeter Kabiria, and in Anthedon the sanctuaries of the Kabeiroi and of Demeter and Kore (uniquely called 'Pais', with influence from the Kabeirion) were beside each other (Paus. 9.22.5). A similar arrangement obtained in Chios. Several scholars have noticed Hesychios' entry *κέρσης γάμος* and *κέρσαι γαμεῖν* and suggested that Greek ears (the names were originally, no doubt, foreign)¹⁴⁵ would have heard 'worthy of marriage' in these Samothracian epithets. That a ritual marriage figured in the mystery is likely enough (cf. Kadmos and Harmonia).¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² Ephoros 70 F 120 (supplemented now by schol. Hes. *Th.* 937 p. 117.7 Di Gregorio) and Demagoras *FHG* 4.378 in schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 7; schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 1129; Diod. Sic. 5.48–9; Mnaseas fr. 41 Cappelletto ap. Steph. Byz. 818; Vian, *Les Origines de Thèbes* 65–6.

¹⁴³ Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* 169, 236 infers from a Roman inscription on Rhodes (*IG* XII.1.43.15) that for some worshippers at least the Lemnian gods too guaranteed safe sailing, and suggests that this could be why Pher. (fr. 48) uses Proteus in his genealogy.

¹⁴⁴ Diodoros 5.48.4 says that Iasion founded the mysteries of Samothrace, married Kybele and fathered Korybas. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.61.4, Konon *Dieg.* 21 and others put Iasion's crime against Demeter on the island (→ §18.1.1). According to cod. P of schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.916–18 one author actually called the brothers Kabeiroi: *Ἀθηναίων δὲ φησι δύο εἶναι τοὺς Καβείρους, γεγονότας υἱοὺς Διὸς καὶ Ἡλέκτρας τῆς Ἀτλαντος, Δάρδανον καὶ Ἰάσονα*. (Cod. L = *FGrHist* 546 F 1, assigned to Athenakon, omits the identification with the Kabeiroi.)

¹⁴⁵ Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* 1st 62, compared the Etruscan goddess *Axuvizr* (*Axavisur*, *Acaviser*, etc.: for the orthography see Steinbauer, *Neues Handbuch des Etruskischen* 394), but it seems a stretch. For connections between Lemnos and Etruria (Pelasgians) see §2.1 n. 7.

¹⁴⁶ Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* 106, following Lehmann, wanted to interpret some objects found in the Anaktoron of Samothrace as model cunni and phalloi; Burkert, 'Concordia' 183 = 143, calls this fantastic.

Alongside the Samothracian trinity there was a fourth god, Kasmilos. The Hellenistic historian Dionysodoros identified him with Hermes (*FGrHist* 68 F 1 ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.916/8), as did Lykophron *Alex.* 162 (where one scholion cites Tyrsenians, Tzetzes the Boiotians). Herodotos, we recall, tells us that from the Samothracian mysteries the Greeks learned the practice of carving ithyphallic herms, originally a Pelasgian custom. Two such herms were to be seen at the entrance to the *anaktoron* according to Varro (*De lingua Latina* 5.58) and Hippolytos (*Haer.* 5.8.10). Kasmilos is Akousilaos' Kamillos/Kadmilos (*Akous.* fr. 20), son of Kabeiro; the uncertainty is typical of borrowed names.¹⁴⁷ As the Axio- group seems to form a unit, this Kadmilos could be a kind of attendant alongside them, and thus easily identified with Hermes;¹⁴⁸ possibly, however, Kadmilos was another name of the son (misinterpreted by Mnaseas/Dionysodoros). Possibly too there is some connection between Kamillos/Kadmilos/Kasmilos of Samothrace and Kasmin(e) of Thebes (above, n. 129): was Hermes/Kasmi'n'os there the son of Meter/Kasminē? or even the mysterious consort?

However that may be, there seem to be basic similarities between the Kabeiroi of Thebes and the Great Gods of Samothrace.¹⁴⁹ To these we add Lemnos, where inscriptions identify Anakes 'Lords' as well as the Great Gods and the Kabeiroi. Hippolytos *Haer.* 5.7.4¹⁵⁰ reports that Lemnos herself gave birth to Kabeiros, a fair child celebrated in orgiastic mysteries. Kabeiros could also have been the name of the father in this version, but to judge from Akousilaos (fr. 20) and Pherekydes (fr. 48), and his general importance in Lemnian cult, Hephaistos is a likelier candidate.¹⁵¹ In Akousilaos, Hephaistos is father, with Kabeiro, of Kamillos, who in turn is father of the Kabeiroi and possibly also the Kabeirides; whether or not these were also his daughters, the two groups could reflect the groups of men and women participating in the cult.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ Kasm(e)ilos is also attested in Hipponax fr. 155b ('Kadmilos' in ad. iamb. 58), and in an inscription (ii–iii c. AD) from Imbros, *IG* XII 8.74. Kamillos seems likelier for Akousilaos as the *lectio difficilior* in Strabo. A. H. Sayce, *JHS* 45 (1925) 163, first connected Kasmilos with the Hattic god Hasammil, who appears to be a god of smiths as well as one who offers protection of homes, and is a useful ally in battle; cf. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* 259 and index s.v.; Gurney, *Hittite Religion* 12; Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* 129; Beekes, 'The Origin of the Kabeiroi' 467. Varro *LL* 7.34, citing Kallimachos fr. 723 (see Pfeiffer), Juba *FGrHist* 275 F 88, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.22.2 and others, followed by some moderns, equated the Kadmiloi with the *camilli* of Roman religion, but this looks tendentious; the supposed Etruscan link is hardly certain. Cf. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* 407–8.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Dion. Hal. quoted last note (Kadmiloi the servants of the Kouretes and the Megaloi Theoi); 'ammin-ister' says Varro, *διάκονος* effectively Juba. Two youthful assistants in the cult of Trophonios at Lebadeia were called *Hermai* (Paus. 9.39.7). Strabo 10.3.7 identifies all Kouretes, Kabeiroi etc. as *πρόπολοι θεῶν*. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* 95–6. On Kadmos' interesting role in Nonnos see above, n. 93.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. also below, p. 52 on the Korybantes at Erythrai. Schachter, 'Kadmos' 147–8, argues for actual importation of the Boiotian cult by immigrants from the eastern Aegean, such as Hesiod's father.

¹⁵⁰ Adapted from a poem of uncertain antiquity; see *PMG* 985.

¹⁵¹ Nonnos refers several times (e.g. *Dion.* 14.19–22, 17.195) to two sons of Hephaistos and Kabeiro from Lemnos, Alkon and Eurymedon. Cf. Hsch. and Phot. s.v. *Κάβειροι*.

¹⁵² Cf. below, p. 51 on the Korybantes. Women participated in the Theban cult of the Kabeiroi (Schachter, 'Evolutions' 127 f.).

Pherekydes has a slightly different arrangement, but still involving Hephaistos and both Kabeiroi and Kabeirides, each group receiving rites (again this could reflect gender distinctions in the ritual). We do not know whether or how Pherekydes accommodated Kadmilos,¹⁵³ but Lobeck¹⁵⁴ ingeniously conjectured that Pherekydes' Rhetia, who with Apollo gives birth to the Korybantes, was another daughter of Proteus, so that the Korybantes and Kabeiroi were cousins (Fig. 1.2).¹⁵⁵

The Korybantes are first and foremost orgiastic; if Hippolytos (cited above) depends on good tradition, so were the Kabeiroi of Lemnos, which would have given Pherekydes additional reason to relate them genealogically.

Drinking is mentioned in Aischylos' play, and the sanctuary¹⁵⁶ has turned up substantial quantities of drinking-vessels, as did the Kabeirion at Thebes. Although there is no very early evidence for it, one may assume too that because of Hephaistos the Lemnian cult was important for smiths. The Samothracian cult apparently involved the manipulation of iron rings and magnetic stone (Lucr. 6.1044, cf. Pliny *NH* 33.23), and at least one ring has been found in the temenos.¹⁵⁷ In Makedonian iconography from the first century on, the Kabeiroi are always given hammers.¹⁵⁸ At Thebes we know an aetiological myth from Pausanias (9.25.6) about Prometheus 'one of the Kabeiroi' and his son Aitnaios; one of his wives was Axiothea, which sounds like our Samothracian deities.¹⁵⁹ Prometheus and Aitna also suggest smithing. Hesychios glosses *Κάβειροι* with *καρκίνοι*, adding *πάνν δὲ τιμῶνται οὗτοι ἐν Λήμνῳ ὡς θεοί· λέγονται δὲ εἶναι Ἡφαίστου παῖδες*. Here *καρκίνοι* might refer to their bandy legs (cf. Ar. *Pax* 790: the sons of Karkinos are *νανοφύεις*); alternatively, 'crabs' could refer to smith's tongs, held by the

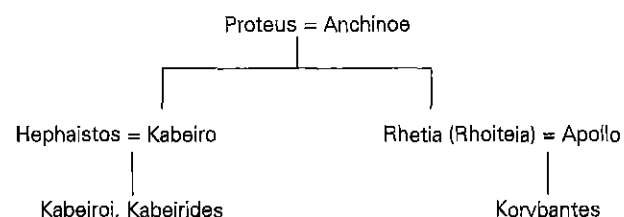


FIG. 1.2

¹⁵³ Jacoby thought he would have been a sibling of the Kabeiroi.

¹⁵⁴ *Aglaophamus* 1142.

¹⁵⁵ For Anchinoë see Steph. Byz. quoted ad Akous. fr. 20, who seems to be reproducing Pherekydes. This Anchinoë is daughter of the Nile and mother by Sithon of 'Rhoiteia', eponym of the city in the Troad, according to schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 583; cf. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.929. See also §10.1 n. 4. Eioneus is another child of Proteus in Pher. fr. 136. For Proteus cf. above, n. 143.

¹⁵⁶ Beschi, 'Gli scavi del Cabirio di Chloi'.

¹⁵⁷ Burkert, 'Concordia' 189 = 149; Lehmann and Spittle, *Samothrace* 5 403-4.

¹⁵⁸ Blakely, *Myth, Ritual, and Metallurgy* 33-6.

¹⁵⁹ Also Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 1283, who offers Axiothea as an alternative to Hesione in this role; cf. §3.1 n. 3. *IG VII* 2454 is a hearth dedicated to Hesione, now in the museum at Thebes (date and provenance unknown).

assistant.¹⁶⁰ Nonnos *Dion.* 14.19-22, 37500-4 characterizes the Kabeiroi as artisans. But earlier and more probative than any of this is Kallimachos fr. 115, relating the story of Onnes, one of the original Kabeiroi of Miletos (Nik. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 52), and highlighting their craftsmanship with some emphasis.¹⁶¹

§1.73 DAKTYLOI (Hellan. fr. 89; Pher. fr. 47)

For the art of smithing, however, one thinks first of the Telchines and the Idaian Daktyloi. The latter were well established in archaic tradition as miners—the discoverers of iron, in fact—and sorcerers (*γόητες*); they were servants of the Mother.¹⁶² The ancients invented explanations for their name: Sophokles in his *κωφοὶ σάτυροι* (fr. 366) said, somewhat inevitably, that they consisted of two groups, five men and five women;¹⁶³ **Hellanikos** (fr. 89), well known for adventurous etymologies,¹⁶⁴ says they touched Rhea's fingers when they greeted her on Mt Ida. Apollonios of Rhodes (1.1130) says that the nymph Anchiale seized the O(i)axian earth with both hands and produced the Daktyloi; his scholiast says his source was Stesimbrotos (*FGrHist* 107 F 12b).¹⁶⁵ Moderns have been inclined rather to think of diminutive stature, although there is little direct evidence for this from antiquity.¹⁶⁶ Herakles in one of his odder manifestations was an Idaian Daktyl; according to Pausanias (8.31.3), at the sanctuary of the Great Gods in Megalopolis—identified as Demeter and Kore—there was a statue of this Herakles beside that of Demeter, and it was one cubit in height. His authority for the

¹⁶⁰ Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* 168; Detienne and Vernant, *Cunning Intelligence* 270-3; Dasen, *Dwarfs* 195. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* 2.1.665-7 also points out that, conversely, *πυράγγρα* could mean 'crab' (Hsch. s.vv. *πυράγγρα*, *πυράγρη* ἢ *πυράγγρα*).

¹⁶¹ G. Massimilla, *ZPE* 95 (1993) 33-44; E. Livrea, *ZPE* 101 (1994) 33-7; Harder ad loc. (her fr. 113e). The story of Onnes and his companion Tottes, model youths who save the city, is also epigraphically attested in Pergamon in the Kabeiria; the youthful Kabeiroi here are easily equated with Kouretes (Graf, 'Cabiri'). Differently N. Robertson, *Phoenix* 41 (1987) 370, who infers from the myth a leading role for the youths in the annual procession to Didyma. They remain role models on any reading.

¹⁶² Hesiod fr. 282; *Phoronis* fr. 2 (servants of 'Adresteie of the mountain'; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.5). Strabo 10.3.22 says they have these characteristics in all sources; cf. Diod. 17.75. Their names in the *Phoronis* (quoted with Pher. fr. 47) are Kelmis, Damnameneus, and Akmon, all pertinent to smithing ((*Σ*)*κέλμης* perhaps from *σκέλλομαι*, render hard); Kelmis also in Soph. fr. 365. Skelmis is a primeval sculptor in Kallim. fr. 100; see §19.2.2 n. 68. Blakely, *Myth, Ritual, and Metallurgy* 209-10, suggests that the Daktyloi are thought of as discoverers of iron rather than workers of it; it is true that there are but few references to their artefacts, and in some contexts the fact of discovery would be the principal point of interest, but a hard distinction is perhaps unwise to insist on. See also her 'Pherekydes' Daktyloi' for much information, and Graf, 'Mythical Production' for insightful commentary.

¹⁶³ Cf. Diod. 5.64.3 (Epimen. fr. 4), Pollux 2.156. No doubt the five male fingers belong to the right hand (cf. below). Pun on 'fingers' also in Krobilos fr. 8 K.-A.

¹⁶⁴ See Part B on Hellanikos.

¹⁶⁵ Oaxes is son of Apollo and Anchiale at Serv. on Verg. *Ecl.* 1.65, who cites †Philistenes (Philistides *FGrHist* 11 F 4). With the Stesimbrotos/Apollonios story compare Diomedes, *Gramm. Lat.* 1.478.21: Rhea, giving birth to Zeus, placed her hands against the mountainside, and from the impressions emerged the Daktyloi (cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 14.25-6). Pollux 2.156 adds a banal explanation, *ὅτι καὶ οἱ τῆς χειρὸς δάκτυλοι τεχνῶνται τε καὶ πάντων ἐργάται*.

¹⁶⁶ Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.31, comparing 'Pygmaioi'; in English folktale, cf. Tom Thumb; Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* 280-8; Grottanelli, 'Eracle Dattilo' 202 n. 6.

identification is Onomakritos, no less (*Orphic*. test. 193).¹⁶⁷ Of course, there are parallels in folk belief the world over for dwarfish, magical miners and craftsmen, and in Greece itself the Kabeiroi furnish an analogy.¹⁶⁸ But the only concrete evidence for short Daktyloi is this statue of Herakles.

Leaving aside their size, one may more profitably speculate on the purpose of the Daktyloi. Possibly they are more than colourful creatures of legend. Why should Herakles be a Daktyl? The answer could lie in initiation. Kabeiroi, Korybantes, and Kouretes all have connections with mystery cults and/or maturation. Herakles is the young male's role model as warrior and athlete; it is appropriate that Pausanias' Herakles Daktylos together with his brothers, also known as Kouretes, found an early version of the Olympic games, the real ones being founded later by one of his descendants (5.7.6, 8; Diod. 3.74.4, 5.64.6 makes make him founder *simpliciter*; cf. Strabo 8.3.30).¹⁶⁹ Herakles was also the first to be initiated into the Lesser Mysteries of Eleusis; when the Mysteries were expanded in the sixth century, he was the obvious choice as patron for this new part of the ritual.¹⁷⁰ Pausanias further reports a role for Herakles Daktylos as gatekeeper of the temple of Demeter at Mykalessos (9.19.5, cf. 9.27.8), and we have already mentioned Megalopolis, where it is suggestive that Pausanias' source is Onomakritos, fraudulent editor of the oracles of Mousaios. Note too Ephoros (*FGH* 70 F 104) in Diodoros 5.64 (Epimen. fr. 4): here the Daktyloi, γόητες, are purveyors of mystery cults, indeed the teachers of Orpheus (on Samothrace, where they stopped en route from Phrygia) who then introduced the Greeks to this kind of worship. Betz argued, with much plausibility, that the magical papyrus PGM LXX reflects the rituals of a mystery cult of the Daktyloi, including a mock descent into the Underworld.¹⁷¹

If such cults already existed in the Classical period, we may wonder whether the recurrence of gendered groups in both Sophokles (fr. 366) and Pherekydes (fr. 47) is mere coincidence. Sophokles had five men and five women (brothers and sisters); Pherekydes has 20 men and 32 women. He adds that the women are the 'left-hand'

¹⁶⁷ Pausanias (7.5.5, 9.7.28) also identifies the Herakles of Erythrai as Idaian, and remarks on the very peculiar statue there; he says that it was very odd, and Egyptian, but he does not specifically say it was short. On the actual iconographical congeners of the statue see Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 297–8. Blakely, *Myth, Ritual, and Metallurgy* 147 draws attention to Hsch. γ560 Γγγρών Πάτακος ἐπιτραπέζιος· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιον Ἡρακλέα. Pindar's short Herakles, *Isthm.* 4.53, was hardly a Daktyl. The scholia on this line quote Herod. fr. 19 (→ §8.2) to the effect that Herakles was very large: perhaps Herodotos wished to contradict this aberrant view of his hero's appearance. At Thespiiai too Pausanias thought Herakles was a Daktyl, but his criterion is explicitly the age of the sanctuary (9.7.28) which he says is too old for Herakles son of Amphitryon.

¹⁶⁸ Dasen, *Dwarfs* 197 (who notes that shape-shifting is often a characteristic of the type: cf. the Telchines), with bibliography.

¹⁶⁹ On the Olympic games and initiation see Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes* 413–18; on the Theban Herakles and the Games, see §8.4.5; for his association with young warriors in Boiotia, Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 2.32 (and §8.5.1). For the historical foundation of the games see Instone, 'Origins of the Olympics'.

¹⁷⁰ R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 98–100.

¹⁷¹ Betz, 'Catabasis'; translation of the papyrus in *The Greek Magical Papyri* 297. On Mykalessos note Schachter's caution at *Cults of Boiotia* 1.158.

group, and γόητες; the men are the 'right-hand' group, and undo the spells.¹⁷² If the wording in Strabo, who quotes Sophokles, can be pressed, it was specifically the men who discovered and worked the ore, as in real life. If the Daktyloi were, at least in origin, begrudging and malevolent spirits guarding the minerals of the earth, one can well imagine rituals designed to circumvent or appease them. From such specific origins a mystery cult of more general significance might have developed, as was the case at Eleusis. The Daktyloi's constant association with Rhea and Mt Ida points to mysteries as well. Pausanias (5.7.6) equates them with the Kouretes and credits them with looking after the baby Zeus for Rhea (whose children they actually seem to be in Sophokles); Strabo (10.3.22) says that, according to some, the Kouretes and Korybantes were offspring of the Daktyloi. The sources from the start are uncertain about which Ida is meant, the Phrygian or the Cretan; Ephoros makes them travel from one to the other.

§1.7.4 TELCHINES (Armen. fr. 8; Epimen. fr. 5; Xenom. fr. 1, 4)

The Telchines, though quite similar to the Daktyloi, are known particularly for their malignant envy. Most famous is the prologue to Kallimachos' *Aetia*, but our own *Xenomedes* (fr. 1, 4) is earlier evidence for the same idea. In Stesichoros (*PMGF* 265), the earliest reference, they are already nasty pieces of work, being equated or somehow associated with the Keres and σκοτώσεις, whatever that might mean.¹⁷³ Bacchylides (fr.

¹⁷² Burkert, *TOHE* 39 = 176 n. 14, well defends the transmitted text, citing Menander *Heros* fr. 5 Koerte = 1 Sandbach ἀναλυθῆναι τὸ καθαρῶν τῶν χρησασθαι φαρμάκων and Magnes fr. 4, where Kassel and Austin provide further illustration of the usage in the lexicographers, e.g. Phot. α1546 ἀναλύειν τὸ ἐτέροις φαρμάκοις καθαίρειν τὸν πεφαρμαγμένον and 1549 ἀναλύσαι τὸ δι' ἐπιφθονίας τῆς βλάβης ἀπαλλάττειν. Purification is a common feature of initiations. Graf, 'Mythical Production' 326, quotes the further interesting parallel 1 Enoch 8:3, where Semiazas, one of the fallen angels who teach mankind various arts, teaches ἐπαιδὸς καὶ ῥιζοτομίας, while another, Amaras, teaches ἐπαιδῶν λυτήριον. For the early association of male with right, female with left cf. Parmenides *Vors.* 28 A 54, B 17, Anaxagoras 59 A 107, Pythagoreans 58 B 30; see further E. Lesky, *Zeugungs- und Vererbungslehren* 1263–93; Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter* 64–6, 70; Lloyd, *Polarity and Analogy* 37–41 and 'Right and Left in Greek Philosophy'. The Delian Apollo says to Kallimachos that he holds the Graces in his right hand, the bow and arrow in his left hand, as he is quicker to reward than punish (Kallim. fr. 114 with Pfeiffer, *Ausgew. Schriften* 55–71). Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.120 says that Asklepios used the Gorgon's blood, which he obtained from Athena, to kill or resurrect men; the fatal blood came from the left-hand veins, the restorative from the right (cf. Bur. *Ion* 1001–17). Much material in Wirth, *Die linke Hand*.

¹⁷³ Suet. ap. Eust. *Il.* 772.3 = p. 99 Taillardat: Στῆσιχορος δὲ φασί, τὰς Κήρας καὶ τὰς σκοτώσεις Τελχῶνας προσηγόρευσε. Various explanations reported by Herter, 'Telchinen' 208–9 and Blinkenberg, 'Rhodische Urvölker' 293 n. 1. The fragment appears to have suffered from abbreviation; darkness of one kind or another could be the result of the Telchines' sorcery. In medieval and modern Greek σκοτώμα is a violent death, σκοτώνω to kill; Hdn. *II. καθ. προσώδης* 1.17.17 Lentz reports λέγονται δὲ καὶ Τελχῶνες θηλυκῶς αἱ ὑπὸ πληγῆς εἰς θάνατον καταφοραί (Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.32 n. 5; Taillardat, ed. Suet. p. 134). For their envy see Nik. Dam. quoted above, n. 120, Diod. 5.55.3, Nonn. *Dion.* 8.108, 14.36, 30.226, Phot., *Suda* s.v. Τελχῶνες, schol. Stat. *Theb.* 2.274–6, and other sources quoted in the apparatus to Xenom. fr. 4. Nonnos, *Dion.* 14.39 (al.), Hsch. s.v. Λύκος, and Tzetzes quoting Bacchyl. fr. 52 tell us that one of the Telchines bore this name. Herter, 'Telchinen' 199–200 is probably right to regard this as Hellenistic speculation rather than Bacchylidean, and to connect the name with Rhodian claims to have colonized Lycia (Diod. 5.56.1). However, Blinkenberg 282 n. 1 might be right to think of the proverbially evil eye of the wolf: cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.365–7; Theok. 14.22 with Gow. See below n. 186. Another possibility is the use of wolf's blood in magic (Plut. *De Iside et Osiride* 46); Daktyloi appear to be making use of this substance in the Eretrian hymn of the late 4th c. BC *IG XII.9.259* = *Coll. Alex.*

52), like Xenomedes a native of Keos, gives them sinister parents, Nemesis and Tartaros, implying no benevolent nature. In Xenomedes (fr. 1.64–9), they form part of a charter myth explaining the establishment of the current order.¹⁷⁴ Makelo, 'hoe-woman', is probably the wife of Demonax, 'lord of the people'; their daughter Dexithea 'welcomes the gods'. According to Nonnos *Dion.* 18.35 this was literally true, and we may recognize a story of the Baukis and Philemon type, wherein the gods in disguise (Zeus and Poseidon, if we follow Pindar, *Paean* 4.41) visited Keos and encountered impiety on every hand, except in the household of these two women. In consequence they alone escaped the general destruction of the population.¹⁷⁵ These prehistoric inhabitants were a mixture of Karians, Leleges, and Telchines; we do not learn how Xenomedes said these groups were related, nor, strictly speaking, to which group Demonax belonged, though the sequence of ideas in the poem rather suggests he was one of the Telchines ('Damon' is clearly identified as such in Nicander's version, fr. 116 ap. schol. *Ov. Ib.* 475). If so, the Telchines were not at this stage of their history supernatural beings (if they ever had been), but a tribe of men, albeit ones with magical skills.¹⁷⁶

After the disaster, according to Bacchylides 1.122–8, Minos at Zeus' behest came with the nucleus of a new population from Crete, and fathered Euxantios on Dexithea; Pindar, *Paean* 4.40–5, refers to the same story. (Neither one mentions the Telchines at this point.) We may assume that Xenomedes too told of Minos and Euxantios, even if they are not mentioned by Kallimachos, who speaks rather of the founders of the island's cities.¹⁷⁷ The tendency of the story is clear: in the bad old days, the island was peopled by foreigners (Kares, Leleges) and impious scoundrels (Telchines), who, so far from promoting the country's prosperity, actively sought to hinder it, sprinkling on the flora the very waters of the Underworld. The current population, by contrast, is descended from the diligent Makelo, the godly Dexithea, and the much more respectable Minoans. Accepting the assumption that Makelo was Demonax' wife, we note also that the myth maintains a link with the earliest population, not in the male line (which would imply no break), but through a woman; in this indirect way, the islanders can still

p. 171 Powell (Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes* 439 n. 1). Yet another possibility is the colloquial use of 'wolf' for various iron objects (Hsch. s.v. *λύκος*, noted by W. Prellwitz, *Bezzzenbergers Beiträge* 15 (1889) 153).

¹⁷⁴ In spite of Pliny *NH* 2.206 and archaeological evidence of a Bronze Age earthquake at Ayia Irini I cannot agree with Maehler, *Bacchylides* 2.6, that the myth is the simple reminiscence of a natural disaster. The fundamental role of Minos in the story, however, could well be a reflex of ancient Kean connections with Crete (I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paean* 289).

¹⁷⁵ There is variation on this point in other authors; Pindar says only Dexithea survived, whereas Bacchylides 1.138 has several of the daughters live on (Nikandros similarly; see Maehler's commentary pp. 4–6 and Rohde, *Der griechische Roman* 539–41 n. 2). Makelo, who is destroyed in Ovid's *Ibis*, appears to be Dexithea's sister rather than her mother; Housman, *Classical Papers* 3.1030–1. On the story-type see Rohde; Flückiger-Guggenheim, *Göttliche Gäste*; Hansen, *AT* 217.

¹⁷⁶ This must be so even in Bacchyl. 1; but Greek ethnography affords many instances of unexplained transitions from purely divine origins (e.g. when gods mate with local nymphs) to human progeny.

¹⁷⁷ Or at least, their fortifiers. Minos and Dexithea produce Euxantios also in Apollod. 3.7. For discussion of other topics in Xenom. fr. 1 see §17.6.

claim a connection with the most primeval times, particularly with the eponymous hero Keos (Kallimachos, l. 63). Even the evil nature of the earliest inhabitants could still be present in the current population, to be solemnly renounced once a year at the festival, presumably a theoxeny, of which this myth could be the aition. A similar progression (though with the difference that the eponymous hero belongs to the new generation) is found in Arkadia, where King Lykaon's wicked actions lead to disaster, but through his daughter Kallisto and her son Arkas there is continuity. The myth was also aetiological there.¹⁷⁸ On Rhodes, the other principal home of the Telchines, we find an even closer parallel. The whole island was formerly called Telchinis or Telchinia; the hybristic and crop-blighting Telchines were destroyed or evicted and succeeded by the Heliadai, children of Rhodos and Helios, renowned for his cult on the island.¹⁷⁹

This role of the Telchines as prehistoric or even first inhabitants can be traced elsewhere. Pausanias 2.5.6–7 reports that the father of Apis, after whom the Peloponnese was once called Apia, was the Sikyonian king Telchin; Sikyon was formerly known as Telchinia (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τελχίς*; Eust. *Il.* 291.28; cf. Kastor *FGrHist* 250 F 2). Clement, quoting Akous. fr. 23, assigns one of his various floods to the time of Telchis. Finally, the Telchines were primeval inhabitants of Crete, which was also once called Telchinia (Simias, *CA* fr. 11, Strabo 14.2.7, Nik. Dam. 90 F 114, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τελχίς*, *Etym. Magn.* 751.32). Athenaios' first guess as to the author of the *Telchinian History* is the legendary Epimenides of Crete (*Epimen.* fr. 5; of his other guess, Telekleides, we know nothing). About this work one would certainly like to know more. The single fragment reports that the dolphin and the pilot-fish are sacred; we learn further that the latter is erotic, having been born like Aphrodite from the blood of Ouranos. It is tantalizing then to read in Tzetzes (*Theog.* 80, quoting Bacchyl. fr. 52) the view that the Telchines had the same parentage, but one hardly knows what to make of it. Two sources (Strab. 14.2.7, Suet. *II.* *βλασφ.* 4) report that the Telchines made Kronos' sickle, a detail which might have been found in this work. It is further tantalizing to learn from Aelian 15.23 that the pilot-fish was not only sacred to Poseidon, but dear to the gods of Samothrace; but this need not be very old, as it could date from a time when these gods had come to be equated with the Dioskouroi, those other proverbial friends to mariners.¹⁸⁰

There is no very early evidence for the Telchines as craftsmen, but Kallimachos, *Del.* 31, says they furnished Poseidon with his trident. In the later vulgate they are proverbial

¹⁷⁸ See further §2.4.

¹⁷⁹ Diod. 5.55–6 following Zenon of Rhodes (sanitized); Strab. 14.2.7; *Ov. Met.* 7.365–7; Suet. *II.* *βλασφ.* 4 p. 54 Taillardat; schol. *Stat. Theb.* 2.274–6; Nonn. *Dion.* 14.36–48. Admittedly, this version of the myth is not attested early; the first Rhodian myths of the Telchines could have been more favourable (see below). In general see Wiemer, *Rhodische Traditionen* 207–18.

¹⁸⁰ Testimony on the pilot-fish assembled by Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* 208–9 (see esp. Athenaios 7 p. 282e–284d). Curiously, the dolphin was said to be its enemy. Blinkenberg, 'Rhodische Urvölker' 294 assumed that the work in Doric *Περὶ Ρόδου* ascribed to Epimen. (test. 1) was the *Telchinian History*; this is possible.

τεχνῆται, inventors of metallurgy and statue-making.¹⁸¹ The other ancient etymology of their name, from τῆξις (Hsch. s.v. Telchines), will refer to their metalwork, though people were also said to 'melt' metaphorically from envy; Kallimachos, fr. 1.8, plays on this. The fame of Rhodian craftsmen is celebrated already by Pindar, *Ol.* 7.50–3, but he does not call them Telchines, unsurprisingly if the Telchines were purely evil; yet Suetonius and Strabo preserve traces of a countertradition, perhaps Rhodian, which distinguishes the worthy craftsmen from the malevolent conjurers. Or one could think of a group of guardian spirits capable of both good and evil.¹⁸² Pindar is at pains to note that the Rhodian σοφία is ἄδολος, as if aware of a different view.¹⁸³ Diodoros of course follows this line, even if he does not succeed in writing out all the hostile traces. 'Telchinios/ia' is reported as an epithet of various deities on Rhodes (Diod., *Nik. locc. citt.*), which looks like old tradition, and the Lindian chronicle (SB15) reports from two local historians (Gorgo *FGrHist* 515 F 13 and Xenagoras 240 F 8) that the Telchines were one of the three earliest Rhodian tribes along with Autochthones and Heliadae.¹⁸⁴

In the myths of the Kabeiroi and Daktyloi we found initiatory motifs; in this respect the Telchines are different. Diodoros (5.55.1) at least says that the Telchines, with Kapheira (whose name could be related to Kabeiro), nurtured the infant Poseidon. But the general picture of the Telchines seems to be rather one of destructive, wicked creatures who threaten their communities and who exist only to be overcome. Into such a society no one would wish to be initiated.

Armenidas (fr. 8) certainly presumes the negative image in his novel version of the origin of the Telchines: the quasi-cannibalistic hounds of Aktaion are a revolting pedigree for any tribe to claim. He must have had some role for them in his local history. Perhaps they made mischief alongside the Phlegyai, whose contemporaries they would have been (see Pher. fr. 41); the Phlegyai are another group that exists only to be conquered, and it is interesting that both Euphorion (fr. 105) and Nonnos (*Dion.* 18.36) have substituted Phlegyai for Telchines (Nonnos specifically on Keos). Beyond this it is difficult to speculate.¹⁸⁵ Such oddities strike one as characteristic of late classical mythography; if not invented by the mythographers, they could derive from adventurous poets such as Euripides.

No early source or picture tells us what the Greeks thought the Telchines looked like. Diodoros (5.55.3) remarks in passing that they can change their shape; Suetonius (*II. βλασφ.* 4) expands this into a detailed and colourful description: ἀμφιβίους

¹⁸¹ Zenon of Rhodes *FGrHist* 523 F 1 (first half of 2nd c. BC) ap. Diod. Sic. 5.55.2, the Lindian Temple Chronicle (99 BC) *FGrHist* 532 SB2 (p. 20 Higbie), *Nik. Dam. FGrHist* 90 F 114, Strab. 14.2.7, Suet. *II. βλασφ.* 4, Diod. 5.55.2, Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.47, *Theb.* 2.274.

¹⁸² S. Eitrem, *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* 8 (1919) 26–33.

¹⁸³ Gildersleeve ad loc.; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Sch.* 5.2.33 n. 2; *Pindaros* 367.

¹⁸⁴ 'Hera Telchinia' is a puzzle in the Erchia calendar, *LSCG* 18 A 7–8.

¹⁸⁵ That one of the Telchines according to Tzetzes was named Aktaios I take to be coincidence. Perhaps the name was invented by someone who thought the Telchines were sea-daemons (Herter, 'Telchinen' 210).

γεγονέναι καὶ παρηλλαγμένους ταῖς μορφαῖς λέγουσι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ δαίμοσι, τὰ δ' ἀνθρώποις, τὰ δὲ ἰχθύσι, τὰ δὲ ὄφεσιν ἐμφερεῖς γίνεσθαι· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐνόους add. Eust.> καὶ ἄχειρας καὶ ἄποδας, πάντας δὲ γλαυκῶπας καὶ μεγαλόφρυνας (μελανόφρυνας Eust.) καὶ ὀξυδερκεστάτους καὶ μέσον τῶν δακτύλων δέρματα ἔχοντας ὥσπερ τοὺς χῆνας. According to this somewhat self-contradictory catalogue they are amphibian shape-shifters; but some of them (when not shape-shifting, presumably) have no hands or feet; yet all of them (except presumably those without the appropriate appendages) have webbed fingers and toes. The evil eye well suits their habitual jealousy.¹⁸⁶ Their trick of shape-shifting, a natural trait of bogeys,¹⁸⁷ is here motivated rather by their marine nature. Of this there are some hints in other sources, the earliest of which is Simias of Rhodes itself (fr. 11 Powell ἀμμᾶς / Ἰγνήτων καὶ Τελχίνων ἔφυ ἡ ἀλυκὴ ζάψ —yet his fr. 17 puts them on Crete); it seems on the evidence to be a secondary development.¹⁸⁸ However that may be, this one extended description does not make the Telchines dwarfish, substituting rather other outlandish features to mark their status. It would be pleasing if Lagarde's etymology were verifiable, from a root *θφελχ-; cf. Old Norse *dverg*, Old High German *twerg*, German *Zwerg*.¹⁸⁹ Blinkenberg ('Rhodische Urvölker' 288) reports that in the sanctuary of Athena Lindia and others on Rhodes Ptah-type statues dating from c.550 on have been found in abundance (cf. above, p. 38).

§1.7.5 KOURETES AND KORYBANTES (Eumel. fr. 10; Pher. fr. 48)

Our exploration of the limits of early syncretism continues with the Kouretes and Korybantes. The Kouretes in later tradition are the young, noisy, armed dancers of Crete who conceal the cries of the baby Zeus by banging on their shields with their lances, thus preventing detection by Kronos. In the immediate post-classical period, Kallimachos in his *Hymn to Zeus* (34–54) has the familiar story (also Arat. *Phain.* 35). The earlier record, however, is very fragmentary. In the *Catalogue of Women* (Hes. fr. 10a.17–19; see West, *HCW* p. 59) the Kouretes gain a passing mention as sportive dancers; they are, very surprisingly, gods, in spite of being the offspring (apparently) of one of the daughters of Doros (who had married a daughter of Phoroneus). Other offspring of

¹⁸⁶ On the evil eye see Johnston, *Restless Dead*, index s.v. (who gives further references); Bernand, *Sorciers* 97–105. Johnston 197 points out that in Greek belief intentional use of the evil eye is associated exclusively with 'the world of the abnormal or the barbaric'; this fits the Telchines well.

¹⁸⁷ Empousa in Aristophanes' *Frogs* 293 is the earliest example in Greek literature; see Johnston, *Restless Dead* 171, 179–82, and Buxton, *Forms of Astonishment* 172–4.

¹⁸⁸ Diod. 5.55.1 says they were sons of the Sea who with Kapheira daughter of Okeanos reared the baby Poseidon; the infant was brought to them by Rhea. This is an obvious calque on the Zeus myth (and Kapheira perhaps on Kabeiro, though Cape Kaphereus could be relevant). Cf. Suet. loc. cit.; Nonn. *Dion.* 14.37–48, al.; Tzetzes, *Theog.* 86. Some scholars have suggested, rather feebly, that because the Telchines lived on islands they became sea-daemons; I should guess rather that the sea as the home of monsters was available at any time as a signifier of alienness. Detienne and Vernant, *Cunning Intelligence* 259–75, think Suetonius is describing seals, and offer a structuralist analysis of the myths based on the significance of these animals.

¹⁸⁹ *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1866) 290 n. 1. Prellwitz (above, n. 173) 148–54 tried to make out a connection with χαλκός. Both etymologies must be regarded as uncertain.

these daughters were the Nymphs and Satyrs; the father must have been a god (Inachos?), but his name does not survive in the papyrus. These Kouretes must have been creatures of Argive myth, and cannot have been associated with the birth of Zeus, long since grown up; rather, they should be compared to other regional Kouretes like those of the Kalydonian legend. The *Theogony* fails to mention the Kouretes, despite a perfect opportunity to do so at 472–91. They figured in the *Phoronis* (fr. 3) as Phrygian auletes;¹⁹⁰ Strabo (10.3.19) gives us no context. 'Phrygian', however, suggests assimilation already to the Daktyloi. In the *Danaïs* (fr. 3) the Kouretes are servants of 'the mother of the gods'. Euripides in the *Hypsipyle* (fr. 752g 24) said they were Cretan and mortal. Korinna (PMG 654 i.12–18), if classical, securely attests the myth of their guardianship of Zeus in that period. There is at least Eumelos (fr. 10), who says that Zeus was born on Mt Tmolos in Lydia and protected by the Kouretes. Iohannes Lydus in his gloss gets the cult history wrong; the birthplace of Zeus and the home of the Kouretes was on Sipylos rather than Tmolos.¹⁹¹ His error should not impugn the authenticity of the basic fragment. If it comes from the epic poem itself, it is good archaic evidence; even if it comes from the prose paraphrase, we may still believe that the latter followed the former. Pausanias at any rate felt that it gave access to old Corinthian tradition (Eumel. test. 2). Finally, there is the famous Hymn of Palaikastro,¹⁹² which, though inscribed in the third century AD, dates to the fourth century BC and may be taken as confirmation of this Cretan tradition—a tradition which, in its turn, surely preserves traces of ancient Minoan ritual.

We take it, then, that the Kouretes' role as guardians of Zeus is primary and traditional. This conclusion is reinforced by the splendid bronze tympana and shields found in the Idaian cave, dating from the Orientalizing period (Burkert, OR 16). Hesiod's silence in the *Theogony* could arise from a belief that this kind of frenzied cult activity was beneath the dignity of epic; or perhaps it was just oversight, or embarrassment (he had not prepared the ground for them in his usual manner by giving their genealogy in an earlier part of the narrative); or perhaps the view of the Kouretes surviving in our version of the *Catalogue* was also his in the original version.

The Palaikastro hymn gives a vivid picture of a dance—the Cretan pyrriche—in full swing.¹⁹³ The youth call upon the god to appear in their midst, in the conviction that their energetic dance will have the desired effect—the more vigorous, the better. This is the god whom the Kouretes saved as an infant and who now in turn is their *kourotrophos*; he himself is the 'greatest kouros'. Rites of maturation are clearly in the

¹⁹⁰ Bethe conjectured γόητας for αὐλητάς, but the corruption is a little hard to account for.

¹⁹¹ See Aristeid. 17.3, 18.2, 21.3; M. L. West, *JHS* 122 (2002) 111. This will be the earliest example of a competition among cities in the region to be the birthplace of Zeus, in connection with a cult of the Kouretes: Bremmer, 'Zeus' Own Country' 297 and 'Local Mythography'; cf. Graf, 'Gods in Greek Inscriptions' 75.

¹⁹² Furley and Bremer, *Greek Hymns* 1.65–76, 2.1–20, with full references; for the worship of the Kouretes on Crete see Sporn, *Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas* 334–5, and Tabelle 15.

¹⁹³ Ceccarelli, *La pirrica nell' antichità greco-romana*.

background, as Harrison was first to see;¹⁹⁴ but as often, the god who is the focus of worship can bring all manner of blessings by his presence (fertility, prosperity, health). It is, to be sure, something of a puzzle how the figures of Cretan myth and cult relate to mainland Kouretes not involved in the worship of Zeus, or to servitors of other gods called Kouretes in Ephesos and other cities. The direct connection with the Idaian Zeus was perhaps not transferable; more easily copied was the idealized group of youths, such as we find at Kalydon.¹⁹⁵ Over the millennia in which a Minoan cult spread outwards, many modifications may be expected.

Now the Korybantes, to judge from the literary sources, were attendants of the Mother or of Kybele. The presence of the Mother on Samothrace was perhaps what led Pherekydes (fr. 48) to identify the attendants there as Korybantes. The association of Kouretes and Korybantes is first explicit in Euripides *Bacchae* 125 and constant thereafter (note the title of the *Theogony* attributed to Epimenides, test. 1). *LIMC* treats the two groups together because by the time of the earliest representations (fourth century BC) the iconography was indistinguishable.¹⁹⁶ The identification of the Mother as Rhea, the similar style of dancing, and the use of arms in both dances (typical also of Korybantes, and approved as manly, at Ar. *Lys.* 558–9) would make the equation of Korybantes and Kouretes very easy.

But originally there were differences which should not be overlooked:¹⁹⁷ worshippers of the Korybantes were thought to be possessed, mad, requiring the god's healing power (cf. the use of the verb *κορυβαντίζω*); this is not said of Kouretes. A cultic difference may also be noted: the Kouretes, so far as historical cults are attested, were always male,¹⁹⁸ whereas the Korybantes, though in myth always male, in cult were both male and female (indeed the latter were more numerous in all ecstatic cults).¹⁹⁹ The cult of the Korybantes is

¹⁹⁴ Harrison, *Themis* 1 ff. Note Agathon *TrGF* 39 F 3, Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 149. Epimenides was the 'new Koures' according to Plut. *Sol.* 12.7 = *FGrHist* 457 T 4c; Zeus on Dikte was beardless (*Etym. Magn.* 276.19; Furley and Bremer reproduce the famous ivory kouros found at the site). The description of their life in the wild by Diodoros (Epimen. fr. 4, 65) is an excellent example of ephebic existence on the border between wild and civilized. The Kouretes are usually placed at Dikte, but some writers place them on Ida because of the Daktyls: e.g. Diod. 4.70 (Epimen. fr. 4, 70), cf. Aglaosthenes *FGrHist* 499 F 1; conversely, Ap. Rhod. 1.1130 puts the Idaian Daktyls on Dikte. Kallim. *Jov.* 47 ff. is slightly cagey.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Bremmer, 'Heroes, Rituals and the Trojan War' 23–6. The role of the youth as patriotic warriors is the heart of their education; cf. Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 149 and above, n. 161 on Tottes and Onnes. M. L. West, 'The Calydonian Boar', speculates that the battle of the Kouretes over the boar's hide is an aition for a mock-battle of youths.

¹⁹⁶ R. Lindner, *LIMC* 8.1 Suppl. s.v. Kouretes, Korybantes p. 741.

¹⁹⁷ Linforth, *Corybantic Rites*; Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 328–32, updated in 'The Korybantes of Erythrai'; cf. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* 77–9 with 96 n. 90.

¹⁹⁸ Apart from the Palaikastro hymn (whose performers we infer are Kouretes; see Furley and Bremer on ll. 12–14) see the Salmakis epigram ll. 11–12 (implying a mystery cult) with Graf, 'Gods in Greek Inscriptions' 75, and Bremmer, 'Zeus' Own Country' 296–8. The female attendants of Zeus in myth are *κοῦραι* or *νύμφαι*. To be distinguished are the Kouretes who are civic officials in *IEph* 47.32 ff. (late 2nd c. AD) and other inscriptions discussed by Knibbe, *Forschungen in Ephesos*; cf. Bremmer, 'Priestly Personnel of the Ephesian Artemision' 50–2. On the Salmakis inscription see also Graf, 'Zeus and his *Parhedroi*' 341–7.

¹⁹⁹ Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 319–20 and 'The Korybantes of Erythrai' 303–4; Herrmann, 'Eine «pierre errante» in Samos' 162.

explicitly distinguished from that of the Mountain Mother by Euripides at *Hipp.* 143 f. (cf. *Men. Theoph.* 27). The ancients thought the cult was Phrygian, but inscriptions show rather that the centres of Korybantic worship outside the mainland were Kos, Rhodes, and Crete, spreading north to Erythrai. The Mother was not in fact the focus of their worship here; Graf (*Nordionische Kulte* 322–4, 331) points to indications that it might have been Sabazios. As he says, phenomenologically these cults have much in common, and they all descend one way or another from Bronze Age prototypes, but when it comes to claiming specific historical pathways and links one must follow the evidence as it exists.

Onomastics provide further evidence that the Korybantes were at home in south-western Anatolia.²⁰⁰ There were Karian cities Kyrbasa (Steph. Byz. s.v.) and Kourba or Kourboi (Dam. *Vita Isidori* p. 92 Zintzen = Phot. *Bibl.* 242 p. 339b31) and a Pamphylian city Kyrbe (Steph. Byz. s.v. = Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 264, though Jacoby thought *Λύρβη* was probably the right reading). In Rhodian and Koan inscriptions a variant *Κύρβανθες* occurs; the pre-Greek -vθ- infix is particularly well attested in this part of the Aegean (Schachermeyr, *RE* 22.2.1507 map 6). The form in Kyrb- appears to be the older one, prevailing in earlier inscriptions and cult attestations, whereas the Koryb- form prevails in the literary sources. That Pherekydes (fr. 48) has the Kyrb- form is an indication that his source is general knowledge of cult and ritual rather than literature. The form Kyrb- also appears in the foundation legend of Hierapytna on Crete, which was supposedly founded by Kyrba, one of the Rhodian Telchines (!);²⁰¹ Kyrbantes are epigraphically attested in the city. According to local tradition a primeval Rhodian city Achaia was once called Kyrbia or Kyrbe (Diod. 5.57.7–8 = Zeno *FGrHist* 523 F 1). Conversely, the root Koryb/Kyrb- is altogether unattested in the interior of Anatolia.

Strabo also tells us that nine Rhodian Telchines accompanied Rhea to Crete and changed their name to Kouretes. This legend, obviously invented on Rhodes, subscribes to the positive view of the Telchines, and shows how, by a certain point in time, Telchines, Kouretes, and Korybantes were interchangeable. Moreover, there are notable resemblances between the ritual of the Korybantes at Erythrai and that of the Kabeiroi (ritual bathing, wine-drinking in abundance, dancing).²⁰² Such resemblances help explain how Herodotos could call the Samothracians Kabeiroi, whereas Pherekydes (fr. 48) said they were Kyrbantes.²⁰³ There is little to distinguish Daktyloi, as we have seen, from the Telchines on the one hand in point of their craftsmanship, and from Kouretes on the other in their association with the infant Zeus. Initiation and/or rites of maturation figure in one way or another with all of them except perhaps the Telchines. There is a set of activities and attributes shared in various combinations and degrees

²⁰⁰ Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 329–30.

²⁰¹ Strab. 10.3.19; Steph. Byz. 135; Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 330 n. 102.

²⁰² Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 329. Ritual bathing and drinking in private homes for the Kyrbantes are strikingly attested by finds near Thessalonike; see E. Voutiras, *Kernos* 9 (1996) 243–56.

²⁰³ Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* 304 lists all the later sources who agree with one or the other.

by all these groups: craftsmanship; sorcery; initiation; foreignness, primitivism, monstrosity or physical oddity; peculiar genealogies; a relationship with orgiastic cult and mysteries. One can make out differences, but assimilation was likely from an early period, making the task of sorting out the reality of individual cults exceptionally difficult and, in some respects, possibly pointless.²⁰⁴

§1.7.6 KYKLOPES (Andr. fr. 16A; Hek. fr. 367; Hellan. fr. 88; Pher. fr. 46)²⁰⁵

The Kyklopes seem to fit less neatly onto this grid; nor do they swap places with any of the others in any story—that is to say, the syncretism did not extend so far as to include them. Nonetheless they have clear affinities with the others: they are monstrous outsiders; they are famous as craftsmen; there is a notable lack of canonicity in their myths. Also like the others, they come from the early strata of mythical time, before the settled order of things. In Hesiod's *Theogony* (139–46) they are children of Heaven and Earth, *ὑπέρβιον ἦτορ ἔχοντες*; imprisoned by Ouranos for an unstated reason (502; presumably fear of their power, as at 617–20 of the Hundred-Handers—those *ὑπερήφανα τέκνα*, 149), they are subsequently released by Zeus, to whom in gratitude they supply thunder and lightning for his battle with the Titans. (Apollodoros 1.7 adds—from the *Titanomachy*?—that on the same occasion they provided Hades with his helmet and Poseidon with his trident.) In *Odyssey* 9 they inhabit a world outside of space and time; the adventure comes in the geographically indeterminate part of the poem, and its inhabitants have been on their island presumably for ever. Outside Homer, they are chiefly famous as builders of the stupendous, 'Cyclopean' walls of Mykenai and Tiryns.²⁰⁶ Strength, craftsmanship, and living in primordial time—whether that of cosmic or civic creation—are the common ground between these masons and Hesiod's Kyklopes.²⁰⁷ Thucydides (6.2.1) tells us that part of Sicily was said to have been inhabited 'in the most ancient times' by Kyklopes and Laestrygonas: mere poets' tales, he adds scornfully—hitting, one suspects, at his probable source, Antiochos of Syracuse.²⁰⁸ Here the Kyklopes in Sicily play a role similar to that of the Telchines in Rhodes.

²⁰⁴ Cf. also above, n. 123 on the possible fluidity of cult realities. R. Parker, 'Early Orphism' 494, quotes Aisch. *PV* 210 *Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφή μία* as an early example of syncretism (cf. his *On Greek Religion* 69–70); see Allan's insightful study 'Religious Syncretism' for general discussion. As he well notes, polytheism is fundamentally syncretistic. Herakleitos *Vors.* 22 B 15 *ὡντος δὲ Αἰδῆς καὶ Διόνυσος* is probably not an example; see T. M. Robinson's commentary ad loc.

²⁰⁵ In Andr. fr. 16A both the ascription and the subject (the Kyklopes) are very doubtful, dependent on rewriting the apographs.

²⁰⁶ For Mykenai, see e.g. Pindar fr. 169a7; Pher. fr. 12; Soph. fr. 227; Eur. *HF* 15, 944, *El.* 1158, *Tr.* 1088, *IT* 845, *IA* 1501; Hellan. fr. 88; Paus. 2.16.5; for Tiryns, see Pindar fr. 70a6 (*μ.ν.*; see van der Weiden ad loc.); Bacchyl. 11.77; *TrGF* adesp. 269; Strab. 8.6.11; Apollod. 2.25; Paus. 2.25.8. Cf. also Nikophon *fr.* 6–12 K.–A., Antimachos *SH* 77.

²⁰⁷ Interestingly, Euripides twice adds the epithet *οὐράνιος* to 'Cyclopean walls' (*El.* 1158, *Tr.* 1088), which need mean no more than 'soaring', but one wonders if he has not the Hesiodic genealogy in mind.

²⁰⁸ Euripides also reflects this tradition (*Kykl.* 95, al.). The fragments of Epicharmos' *Kyklops* do not reveal the setting, but one suspects it was his native Sicily (*PCG* 1.49).

It is not difficult to see these two kinds of *Kyklopes*, at least, as ultimately the same: builders of supernatural skill far exceeding that of any ordinary man; giants and heaven-born, as opposed to the earthborn, dwarfish *Daktyloi*. Perhaps there was some ambivalence in folk belief about the *Kyklopes*—divine or merely extraordinarily endowed humans?—such as we found in the case of the *Telchines*. As ‘heavenly’ they would supply the obvious answer to a question any theogony-writer would pose: who made the weapons in those early wars, before even *Hephaistos* was born?²⁰⁹ Just as strong, however, is the tradition that they were mortal. A well-known story, beginning in *Hesiod* (fr. 54) and continuing through *Akousilaos* (fr. 19) and *Andron* (fr. 3), has *Apollo* kill the *Kyklopes* in revenge for their killing his son *Asklepios* (→§1.9.2). *Pherekydes* (fr. 35) modifies this: *Apollo* kills not *Brontes*, *Steropes*, and *Arges*, but their sons; the fathers, who bear their *Hesiodic* names, must be for him gods as they were in *Hesiod*; feeling the difficulty, *Pherekydes* makes them sire mortal sons, one of whom was named *Aortes* (*Pher.* fr. 46; see n. 209). (His solution also has the advantage of leaving *Zeus* with working armourers to supply his thunderbolts.) These mortal sons nonetheless retain some of their fathers’ enormity, if they are the builders of fr. 12; it is plain, at any rate, that the builders are mortal, as no god would need to hitch a ride from *Seriphos*. In all likelihood too *Hekataios*, who told the story of how *Mykenai* got its name (from the ‘pommel’ of *Perseus*’ sword, fr. 22; →§7.2.6), went on to speak of the building of the walls; one assumes that this rationalist would not have made these masons descend from heaven to take on the contract. *Pindar* (fr. 266) has a different tale, but still they are mortal: he says that *Zeus* killed the *Kyklopes* for fear they would devise weapons against him.

Though the tradition stresses the *Kyklopes*’ enormous strength (cf. also *Tyrtaios* fr. 12.3), this need not in itself indicate a propensity to violence or lawlessness. At their best the *Kyklopes* could be stalwart servants of the gods (in later tradition, they settle down as assistants of *Hephaistos/Vulcan* in his forge near or under *Aetna*);²¹⁰ or they could be ambivalent, like (on a charitable reading) the *Telchines*. In *Hesiod*, *ὑπέρβιον ἦτορ ἔχοντες* implies an unfavourable view; in *Homer*, the phrase is consistently applied to the suitors, and is not complimentary. The *Odyssey* presents an ambiguous picture of the *Kyklopes*. The first thing we learn about them is that they are arrogant and lawless (106 *Κυκλώπων ... ὑπερφιάλων ἀθεμίστων*; cf. *Bacchyl.* 11.78), and *Polyphemos*’

²⁰⁹ The Orphic theogony, *Orphic.* fr. 178–80, expands this notion to claim that the *Kyklopes* taught both *Hephaistos* and *Athena* their skills. For the *Kyklopes* as discoverers of metalworking and inventors of weapons see also *Istros FGrHist* 334 F 71, *P.Oxy.* 10.1241 iv 12, *Pliny NH* 7.197. *Pherekydes* (fr. 46) probably fits here: ‘*Aortes*’ (‘Swordsmen’) as name of a *Kyklops*. In this respect, at least, the *Kyklopes* do alternate with other members of our group, viz. *Telchines*, *Daktyloi* and *Kouretes* (the latter credited with first using weapons in *P.Oxy.* 10.1241 iv 26 and by *Epaphroditos* fr. 59 *Braswell-Billerbeck* ap. *Steph. Byz.* α116. *Stephanos* here also quotes *Kallim. Hekale* fr. 10.2 *Hollis* (q.v.) ἄρκιος ἢ χεῖρεσσιν ἐλάν Αἰδμήμιον δορ, which is perhaps the verse *Epaphroditos* was commenting on; a nice link with ‘*Aortes*’).

²¹⁰ e.g. *Kallim. Hymn* 3.46 ff.; *Cic. ND* 3.55; *Verg. Georg.* 4.173, *Aen.* 8.416 ff.; *Hor. Carm.* 1.4.7; see the commentaries.

behaviour is savage in the extreme. Though he lives apart from his brothers (188–9) one doubts they are much better; all of them hold the gods in contempt (273–8). Yet they are inhabitants of a Golden Age, as has often been remarked, and trust in (or ‘rely on’) the gods for their food and drink (107–11). The Golden Age is itself an ambivalent concept, signifying both primitive barbarism and innocent perfection.²¹¹ Its inhabitants are very different from ordinary humanity, and one must tread carefully in their presence. The same insecurity attends anyone dealing with wild animals, those other denizens of the Golden Age.

It has long been a puzzle what *Polyphemos* and his fellow *Kyklopes* have to do with the smiths of the *Titanomachy*, and as early as *Hellānikos* (fr. 88) scholars have declared that these are quite different groups; *Hellānikos* distinguished also the *Mycenaeans* builders as a tribe unto themselves.²¹² But as we have seen the *Mycenaeans* builders are not very different from the heavenly craftsmen; the real puzzle is the *Odyssean* lot. We should probably recognize the free invention of an epic poet. The one-eyed, cannibalistic monster from whom the clever hero escapes is an extremely widespread folktale²¹³ which *Homer* or a predecessor has worked into the *Odyssey*. The link could have been the name. Perhaps ‘*Kyklopes*’ is a Greek calque on some foreign word—an all-too-easy hypothesis, of course—but if it is, the name, once invented, would instantly suggest the appearance (already in *Hesiod*, *Th.* 143). The appearance once established,²¹⁴ linking these *Kyklopes* with the one-eyed ogre of folktale would be easy. The *Odyssey* also innovates in making the *Kyklopes* shepherds rather than smiths, and in having an indeterminate number of them form a sort of society. The other *Kyklopes* are necessary for the ‘No-man’ trick to work.

Finally, and intriguingly for our purposes, another way to connect all the disparate groups of *Kyklopes* could be once again through schemata of initiation or maturation. *Bremmer*, ‘*Odysseus versus the Cyclops*’, identifies several typical motifs: a band of warriors cooped up in a far-off cave; the threat of cannibalism; dressing in sheepskins; ultimate escape and return. The single eye, like dwarfishness, can act as a general

²¹¹ Versnel, ‘*Kronos and the Kronia*’, *Auffarth, Der drohende Untergang* 292–344. On the *Odyssean* *Kyklopes* see also *Kirk, Myth* 162–71.

²¹² The expression αὐτοὶ οἱ θεοὶ to describe the divine smiths is odd, and one suspects that οὐράνιοι or οὐρανίωτες (a synonym of θεοὶ in epic) is lurking here somewhere; cf. *schol. Aristeid.* 52.10 (3.408.26 *Dindorf*) τρία γὰρ γένη φασὶν εἶναι Κυκλώπων, τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῆα, Σικελοὺς ὄντας, τοὺς χειρογαστοὺς, καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους οὐρανίους, which might be from *Hellānikos*. Cf. also *Euripides*’ οὐράνιος, quoted above. ‘Handbellies’ designates craftsmen (cf. *Deiloch.* fr. 7b), and this scholion warrants the conjecture that the *Kyklopes* are also the referent in *Hek.* fr. 367 (though of course nothing would prevent *Hekataios* from using the word in other contexts; →§6.4.2).

²¹³ See *Mondi*, ‘*Cyclopes*’ and *Bremmer*, ‘*Odysseus versus the Cyclops*’ for bibliography, and *Calame, The Craft of Poetic Speech* 140–3. A one-eyed monster figures in *Sumerian* art, but we do not know what story might have been attached to it. See *West, EFH* 424; *M. Knox, JHS* 99 (1979) 164 f.

²¹⁴ The appearance would follow on the name rather than vice-versa, which might explain why early Greek art is uncertain about the appearance of these monsters; they do not always have but one eye. *Homer* himself is strangely silent about it; it becomes clear only when *Odysseus* hatches his plot.

signifier of physical oddity. Mircea Eliade noted the existence in Japanese legend of a number of one-eyed, one-legged divinities, gods of the 'thunderbolt and the mountains, or of anthropophagous demons';²¹⁵ they are intimately associated with *Männerbünde*. In Norse myth Odin was represented as one-eyed, shortsighted or even blind.²¹⁶ Eliade comments: '... the infirmities of the characters ... recall the initiatory mutilations or describe the appearance of the masters of initiation (short, dwarfish, etc.).' These parallels are extremely suggestive; perhaps in some popular or prehistoric tales unknown to us, *Kyklopes* did display all these features—monophthalmia, smithing, secret societies. Whether actual rites lie behind the Odyssean story is quite another question. In constructing a good tale, any story-teller is apt to reach for motifs that have proven useful in other contexts. Echoes of the hero's fight with the Master of Animals have also been detected by Burkert in this story—a theme which can, in its turn, have initiatory associations.²¹⁷ Nonetheless, whether free invention or the reflex of real cult, initiatory motifs in the Odyssean version of the *Kyklopes* establish further links with the other members of our group.

§1.7.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS TO §1.7

It is worth stressing by way of summary of this section that the divinities discussed operate, for the most part, below the exalted level of canonical, pan-Hellenic myth, such as poets purvey. The *Kyklopes*, though they appear in both Hesiod and Homer, display a radical divergence in their mythology, as seems typical of this group. Dwelling in the sphere of folk belief and/or local cult stories about *Telchines*, *Daktyloi* and the rest were neither canonical nor regularized; one would be able to find different versions from different informants in the same location. Of Thebes, Schachter comments (*Cults* 2.91): 'The *Kabiroi* would have been seen as *Hermes* and his son *Pan* by those worshippers whose occupation was herding, as *Dionysos* and ... his cup-bearer by those who practised viticulture, and later, as *Prometheus* and his son *Aitnaios* by city-based craftsmen.' The Lemnian cult involved craftsmen and drinking. On *Samothrace*, seamen found protection. These appear to be cults catering to the everyday concerns of humble folk (seafaring, herding, smithing, viticulture, agriculture). The details of the *δρώμενα* were flexible, but certain elements recurred, such as secret rites for initiates and public rites for others, processions, dances, grotesqueries. The *λεγόμενα* were no less flexible: *Prometheus* and *Aitnaios*, *Hermes* and *Pan*, *Kasmillos* and *Kasmine*,

²¹⁵ Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible* 104–5 in the chapter 'Smiths, Warriors, and Masters of Initiation'. Oddly, he overlooks the *Kyklopes*. For smiths as outsiders see also Margarido and Wasserman-Germain, 'Du mythe et de la pratique du forgeron en Afrique noire'; Marold, 'Die Gestalt des Schmiedes in der Volkssage'; Hauck, *Wielands Hort*.

²¹⁶ See Kershaw, *The One-eyed God*. The myth is that Odin sacrificed his eye in return for wisdom; cf. West, *IJPM* 278.

²¹⁷ Burkert, *SH* 33. On initiatory motifs see also *HN* 130–4, where possible links between *Odysseus* and the *Kabeiroi* are detected.

Kabeiros and *Pais*, *Kabeiro* and *Hephaistos*, *Kadmos* and *Harmonia*, the *Dioskouroi*—take your pick. The standard myths of pan-Hellenic festivals arise in the ambit of high civilization and the polis; these myths lie outside such control. The protagonists of the stories are usually, fittingly, older than the Olympians (older, that is, in mythical not historical terms); they are foreigners of one stripe or another, and their anthropomorphism, if it can be called that, is that of mutants. The Orphic discoveries of recent decades have taught us how little we knew about this substratum of Greek religious experience. It is beginning to look as though mysteries, whether Orphic, Kabeiric, or Korybantic, were very thick on the ground.²¹⁸

It is instructive to note the presence, or rather the absence, of these figures in the high genres of epic and tragedy; the *Kabeiroi*, for instance, are suitable matter for the iambographer *Hipponax*, fr. 78.11, but rarely for ordinary tragedy, let alone epic.²¹⁹ Such evidence as exists from the archaic period for our various figures comes from the Epic Cycle or occasional fragments of lyric; Homer is silent, except on the *Kyklopes*—where he is unique. The *Kyklopes* subsequently enjoyed a long run in comedy and satyr-drama. Austere *Pindar* is, it seems, silent about the *Telchines* in the seventh *Olympian*. Of course, much of pan-Hellenic myth as presented by epic and high poetry had its origin in local stories, which at some point must have passed from one sphere to the other; travelling bards were always happy to add appropriate material to their repertoire. As presented in epic, however, the myths are the possession of everyone. Convention dictates that bards behave as if obscure, novel, or even invented details were traditional and familiar to all.²²⁰ A similar process is going on in the mythographers and historians. They are bringing local information to the attention of a pan-Hellenic audience. Yet there is a subtle difference in attitude, springing from the task at hand. The historian's job is to investigate, to find things out, and communicate them; such discoveries will often be made in specific locations. Mythography and historiography's location is precisely on the border between local and pan-Hellenic. Their audience is international, their material often local. When one of our *histores* works a local detail (whether from his locale or someone else's) into a narrative for pan-Hellenic consumption, he is making a bid for its acceptance on that level. The epic convention which pretends that the information is traditional works against this enterprise because its whole point is to find new things out. Because this is their purpose, mythographers and historians offer many novelties. They then have two choices. They can (as is the norm in

²¹⁸ A point well made by Graf, 'Lesser Mysteries'. Robert Parker points out to me that the *Samothracian* mysteries in time became well organized and appealed to a prosperous international clientele (*Dimitrova, Theoroi and Initiates*), but we lack the evidence for the earlier period. It is clear that already in *Herodotos*' time they were of more than local interest.

²¹⁹ In *Hipponax* someone is being twitted for offering a mere sprat to the *Kabeiroi* (instead of a pilot-fish? cf. above, p. 47). *Aischylos' Kabeiroi*, fr. 95–7a Radt does not seem to have been a satyr-play: see *Das griech. Satyrspiel* 204; Sommerstein, *Aeschylus* 3.108.

²²⁰ See Scodel, *Listening to Homer* ch. 1.

mythography) present details (such as 'Aortes' as the name of a Kyklops) as if traditional, in the manner of epic; the audience might or might not believe it. Or they can make the negotiation explicit in their narrative. This is the basic stance of Herodotos, and is part of why we think of him as a historian and not a mythographer. In his remarks on the Kabeiroi, for instance, Herodotos tells us (2.51) that the Greeks first learned to make ithyphallic statues from the Pelasgians. Anyone who has been initiated into the mysteries at Samothrace, he adds, will understand his meaning. This foregrounds the process of information gathering and dissemination, between particular spots in the Greek world and the generality of Greeks who are the implied audience. So far as we can tell, this stance is not found in the earliest mythographers, and distinguished Herodotos from them; but in other ways, their place on this local/pan-Hellenic border is the same. In this passage, as commented earlier, Herodotos also has an 'as if' moment: he speaks as if the Kabeiroi were the gods of Samothrace, without signalling anything problematic about the statement. The point may be that it was *not* especially remarkable or worth arguing about. That is of some interest for Greek religious feeling about this kind of cult.

§1.7.8 POSTSCRIPT: PHORBAS KING OF THE KOURETES (Andr. fr. 1;
Hellan. fr. 40; Pher. fr. 152)

Andron (fr. 1) says that Phorbas was king of the Kouretes, and that the Phorbanteion at Athens was named after him. Depending on which manuscripts of Harpokration one follows, he was killed either by or for Erechtheus. Normally 'by' is read. The story of Erechtheus' war with Eumolpos was best known from Euripides' *Erechtheus* of c.420 BC.²²¹ Eumolpos, originally an Eleusinian (*Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 154, 475), has in this play been made into a Thracian. When he waged war on Athens, Delphi indicated that Erechtheus would have to sacrifice one of his daughters to save the city. One volunteered or was somehow selected, but the others, not to be left out of this contest of patriotism, died with her. Eumolpos was duly defeated, but his father Poseidon in revenge killed Erechtheus. A scholion on Euripides *Phoin.* 854 says that in this war two other sons of Poseidon fought for Eumolpos, Phorbas and Immarados.²²² **Hellanikos (fr. 40)** also says that Phorbas was son of Poseidon. Jacoby on Andron notes that Agallios of Kerkyra (ap. schol. *Il.* 18.483–606) knows of a Phorbas of Akarnania, to where, according to Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 122a, the Kouretes were driven from Aitolia by Aitolos son of Endymion. All this seems straightforward: Phorbas son of Poseidon was a king of those west Greek Kouretes known as enemies of the Aitolians from *Iliad* 9.529–32; he somehow

²²¹ Frr. 349–70; Collard, Cropp, and Lee, *Euripides* 148–94; Collard and Cropp 1.362–401; Gantz 242–4.

²²² Immarados was the general in the war rather than Eumolpos, according to Paus. 1.5.2, 1.27.4 (claiming this to be the true Athenian version); cf. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 45.1 ('Immaros' codd.; Ismaros a son of Eumolpos in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.202). I doubt whether this is the older tradition; it looks like an attempt to disassociate Eumolpos completely from the war. See § 16.2.3.

linked up with Eumolpos in the war against Athens, and after his death was honoured at divine behest (like Eumolpos himself, according to the Euripidean scholion just quoted, and many another enemy in Greek stories) with a shrine in Athens. Immarados too was buried in the Eleusinion in Athens (Clem. Alex. loc. cit.).

At the same time, there was an Athenian Phorbas, and it is worth asking if there has been some cross-fertilization, given the Athenian's similar associations with youth.²²³ Phorbas was Theseus' charioteer and companion in the Amazonian expedition (**Pher. fr. 152**). The scholion that reports Pherekydes has some other details: that Phorbas was Theseus' trainer and invented wrestling; or else that he learned wrestling from Theseus who learned it from Athena (Istros *FGrHist* 334 F 31). Various sources associate him with wrestling, boxing, the pankration, or agones generally (see Jacoby on Istros, his n. 6); the alternative title of Thespi's *Funeral Games for Pelias was Phorbas* (*TGrF* 1.65). In several vases (*LIMC* nos. 1–4) Phorbas accompanies Theseus on the expedition to kidnap Helen. Others depict the Amazonian escapade. In some depictions he is beardless. A tradition (dependent upon an emendation in ps.-Skymn. 708) that he founded the colony of Elaious has been interpreted as a piece of Kimonian propaganda, which if true would have been known to Pherekydes, being one of Kimon's circle.²²⁴

The Phorbanteion was near Andokides' house, as the orator tells us in *On the Mysteries* (62), and close to a herm erected by the tribe Aegeis; this could be seen from the Stoa Basileios where the trial was held. Excavations have turned up numerous herms and confirmed the ancient designation of this area by the north entrance of the Agora as 'the Herms'. The Phorbanteion itself has not been identified, and nothing is known of its possible use, or even if it was dedicated to the Athenian or the Aitolian Phorbas, however likely the former may seem.²²⁵

§1.8 Epitheta Deorum

In this section I comment on a few isolated fragments which simply report epithets used by one or another of our authors, where possible suggesting contexts in which such information might have played a role.

§1.8.1 APOLLO KASTALIOS, IKADIOS (Andron fr. 20)²²⁶

As an epithet of Apollo, Kastalios is extremely rare, occurring only in a magical papyrus of the fourth century AD (*PGM*² II 133, 140); better known is the Delphic hero of that

²²³ For a detailed discussion see Dolcetti, 'Forbante auriga e compagno di Teseo'.

²²⁴ Viviers, "Du temps où Phorbas colonisait Éléonte"; Dolcetti, 'Forbante auriga e compagno di Teseo' 489–90. *Contra* Marcotte in his 2002 edition of ps.-Skymnos.

²²⁵ See MacDowell on Andoc. loc. cit.; E. B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* 117–20; Kron, *Phylenheroen* 234; Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 204; Dolcetti, 'Forbante auriga e compagno di Teseo' 491–2.

²²⁶ I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paean* 206, provides the basis for this discussion. See also Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 87–8, 508.

name, who was either led from Crete to Delphi by Apollo in the form of a dolphin (Orion *Etym.* δ 46 (*Etym. Magn.* 255.17, *Etym. Gen.* p. 84 Miller), schol. Lykoph. 207) or was native to Delphi (autochthonous, Paus. 10.6.4; son of Delphos, Paus. 7.18.9, schol. Eur. *Or.* 1094). Eikadios too is very rare as an epithet of Apollo (only at *Etym. Magn.* 297.57, *Etym. Gen.* p. 101 Miller). As for the hero Eikadios, we learn from Servius on *Aen.* 3.332 that he was son of Apollo and Lykia, and founder of Patara; he also founded Delphi after being shipwrecked near Parnassos (geographically a little vague). Servius also reports an alternative version of Cornificius Longus (fr. 4 Funaioli) according to which Ikadios went from Crete to Delphi on a dolphin. The papyrus commentary quoting **Andron fr. 20** offers the phrase 'from Crete', which must relate to one or other of these stories. The form of the name in Pindar seems to have been Ikadios, which would be Doric. The proper names Ikadios (Eikadios on Delos, Samos, and in Attica), Ikadeus, and Ikadion are well attested in LGPN from Doric regions; in schol. Eur. *Or.* 1646, Dorieus is son of Eikadios and Koroneia. An Attic guild *Εἰκαδεῖς*, who made their dedication in the shrine of Parnassian Apollo, is noted by Rutherford (*IG* II²1258, 324/3 BC; cf. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 336). The 20th being a day sacred to Apollo (his birthday, says *Etym. Magn.* 298.1), the names are indirectly theophoric, making it easier to think the Eikadios was a recognized epithet of the god. From Pindar's poem the commentator quotes the word *ὁμώνυμοι*; one can only guess how all this information goes together, but *οἱ Δελφοὶ ὄθεν καὶ* in l. 6 of the papyrus indicates that the origin of something at Delphi is in question: possibly the name of the city itself from *δελφίς*, an inspiration of Ikadios according to Servius and Cornificius (though schol. Lykoph., *Etym. locc. citt.* credit Kastalios), and/or the Kastalian spring from Kastalios (Paus. 10.8.9). Alternatively, as Rutherford suggests, the poet might be referring to the fact that Apollo and his seers Ikadios and Kastalios share names.

As to what Andron's contribution might have been (assuming that his name is rightly recognized in the papyrus), it seems to me likely that the interlinear *ἱκαδ[ι]ο* in 3a is meant to correct the letters below it (the scribe having written something beginning *ἐκδικ-*, however one would wish to articulate that: an aural error), so that Andron, who wrote *ἱκάδιος*, is being cited as a witness in the argument about the correct form of the word. In Andron's own work the story of Ikadios would be yet another example of his obvious interest in origins and etymologies of people, places, and customs (see fr. 1, 4, 7, 8 (the origin of 'Parnassos', providing a Delphic link to the current fragment), 9, 10, 13, 16); his interest in getting geography right is comparable (fr. 11, 14, 15).

§1.8.2 ZEUS HOMOLOIOS (Aristoph. fr. 2)²²⁷

Homoloios is, first of all, a month-name widely attested in central and northern Greece; it migrated also to Lesbos. Secondly, 'Homole' or 'Homolos' was the name given to the

²²⁷ On this subject see especially Schachter, *Cults* 1.142–3, 3.120–2, 148; O. Stählin, *RE* 8.2 s.v. 'Ομόλη; O. Jessen, *ibid.* s.vv. Homoloëus, Homolola, Homolois; E. Bischoff, *ibid.* s.v. Homoloios; Trümper, *Monatsnamen* 225, 244–6.

northern part of Mt Ossa,²²⁸ at whose foot lay the polis Homolion.²²⁹ Thirdly, 'Homoloia' is the name of a festival attested at Orchomenos (*IG* VII 48, 3196, 3197; also 3195 according to Schachter, *Cults* 1.142), and, most probably, at Thebes;²³⁰ the month-names also imply festivals in at least some of the attested locations. Fourthly, 'Homoloios' and 'Homolois' are epithets of several deities: apart from Zeus in Thessaly, Thebes and Boiotia in **Aristoph. fr. 2** (confirmed for Thebes by *IG* VII 2456, and possibly for Orchomenos by *SEG* 26.585; Schachter, *Cults* 3.121 n. 4), there is also Zeus in Eretria (*IG* XII 9.268), Athena in Thebes (Lykoph. *Alex.* 520 with schol.) and Demeter (Photios and *Suda* s.v. 'Ομολώιος = Aristoph. fr. 2; Schachter 1.168 warns that this could be a Thessalian Demeter as easily as Boiotian).²³¹ The human names 'Homolois' and 'Homoloichos' are occasionally also attested in Euboia and Athens, very commonly in Boiotia, whether named for month or god.²³²

The widely attested month-name and the plenitude of deities are the most suggestive data here, implying festivals presided over by a god of local importance who acquired his epithet from the event. Zeus and Athena, at any rate, are pre-eminently political deities, and Demeter can often behave like one. Several modern authorities have derived the name from *ὁμός* + *λαός*, though the *-ω-* is unaccounted for;²³³ Istros (quoted along

²²⁸ e.g. Strab. 9.5.22; schol. Theok. 7.103 citing Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 228, Aristodemos 383 F 5b and Pindar fr. 113; Paus. 9.8.6–7.

²²⁹ Ps.-Skylax 33, *IG* IV².1.94.1.b.6, Strabo loc. cit., Dion. Per. 34 *GGM* 1.239, etc.; *IACP* no. 448.

²³⁰ Aristodemos, loc. cit. Aristodemos is dubbed 'the Theban', but Jacoby in his introduction to his fr. canvasses the view that he might be identical with the Alexandrian quoted by the Pindaric scholia (whose citations he reproduces as fr. 10–16); Schachter then suggests that Aristodemos, working second-hand, might have been talking about the Orchomenian festival, not the Theban. Aristodemos, at any rate, thought he was talking about Thebes. Fr. 5b simply says that Homolos was a mountain in Thessaly, according to Ephoros 'and Aristodemos of Thebes in his discussion of the festival Homoloia'. Fr. 5a, however, quoted by schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 1119, in a discussion of how the Homoloid gates at Thebes got their name, says that they were named after the nearby shrine of Homoloios. The MSS offer *διὰ τὸ πλησίον εἶναι τοῦ 'Ομολώου ἥρωος*; Rabbow ap. Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 26 (1891) 215 = *Kl. Schr.* 5.1.50, emended to *ἔρου*, noting Steph. Byz. 'Ομόλη ὄρος Θεσσαλίας . . . καὶ Θηβῶν αἱ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει <πύλαι> 'Ομολωίδες καὶ Ζεὺς 'Ομολώιος τιμᾶται ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ. The difficulty is that this 'mountain' by the Theban gate is nowhere else attested, and is rather incredible; better to think that the mountain in this obviously abbreviated entry in Stephanos is the Magnesians one (see Paus. loc. cit. for another story drawing the same connection). Wilamowitz' reasoning seems pedantic ('... wenn ein Grab oder Heroon eines 'Ομολώιος in der Nähe lag, so hiess das Thor nach diesem Homoloos, nicht wegen der Nähe des Monuments'); in fr. 4 Aristodemos effectively says that the Ogygian gates were so called because the tomb of King Ogygos was nearby. Wilamowitz was certainly right to feel uncomfortable about *ἥρωος*; however, emendation to *ἥρώου* is easy. Aristodemos fr. 5a and 5b together make a coherent package concerning the gate, the shrine, and the games. (Jacoby on Aristodemos, and on Istros 334 F 5, n. 3, is also sceptical about the mountain.)

²³¹ Other literary sources attesting Zeus Homoloios are listed by Schachter 3.148 n. 3 among which note Hsch. s.v. *ὁμολώιος Ζεὺς*, schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 520, and Steph. Byz. (cited last note).

²³² Also attested are heroes Homoloëus (schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 1119) and Homolois (*ibid.*; schol. Aisch. *Sept.* 568–72, 570, pp. 256–7 Smith; Tzetz. on Lykoph. *Alex.* 520), children of Amphion and Niobe; these are advanced as yet more eponyms of the gates. For the Boiotian names (also Homoloiodora/os, Homoloion, Homolophantos) see LGPN 3B 324–5.

²³³ Fehle in Roscher, *Lex.* 6.647 and Ziehen in *RE* 5A.2.1517 list various modern guesses; cf. Trümper, *Monatsnamen* 225. Like (perhaps) Kallimachos (see below), Wilamowitz. (n. 230) thought of *λω* and suggested that the epithet was equivalent to *ὁμόβουλος*.

with Aristophanes) said that ὁμολος was an Aiolian word denoting peace and harmony (τὸ ὁμονοητικόν). As this word is not otherwise attested, one suspects etymological invention, but the inference is the same: the festival was probably one of all the people, promoting political concord, rather like the Panathenaia. It is an old guess that the cult and festival originated at Homolion itself; for the -ω- in this case one can compare Νειλῶος and Ἰνδῶος, in which the stem of the noun also does not end in -ο. But there was also a Makedonian month Loios, which rather complicates the picture.²³⁴ In Kallimachos, *Epig.* 45.2, a love quest meets with success in Loios: did he derive the name from λῶ? The etymology remains inscrutable, and the cult is widespread from an early date, making a primary association with any one place risky.

Aristophanes' story survives in only the barest outline in the lexica. We are not obliged to set it, however it went, in Thessaly just because that is the nearest noun to 'Homoloia' in the much abbreviated entry; surely the setting was Thebes. Jessen (*RE* s.v. Homoloia) guessed that the story might have been one of a plague: the people sent the seer Homoloia to Delphi to seek help; the god instructed them to institute sacrifices to Zeus, given the epithet Homoloios after the seer. Perhaps too Aristophanes tied in the naming of the gates, in which case the heroon would be that of the heroine Homoloia and not of the hero Homoloos as in Aristodemos.²³⁵ The name of the seer's father, Enyeus, is suggestive: perhaps the festival was also a military muster (or at least the people gathered under arms, as at the Panathenaia). Interestingly, Lykophron (*Alex.* 520) mentions Ares and Enyo (= Hera, say the scholia) in the same breath as Athena Homolois. Schachter, in his *BNJ* commentary on this fr., supports the identification of Enyeus with the ruler of Skyros mentioned at *Il.* 9.668; according to the scholia on the passage, he was a son of Dionysos and Ariadne, which could link in some way to fr. 9A (next section).

§1.8.3 DIONYSOS LYSIOS (Aristophanes fr. 9A)

Liberation is an essential characteristic of Dionysos from beginning to end of antiquity.²³⁶ Most obviously, his wine brought freedom from inhibition and cares. Myths spoke graphically of physical freedom: bonds could not hold Dionysos (*Hymn.*

²³⁴ Bischoff *RE* 13.1.1082.

²³⁵ The old conjecture that 'Aristophanes' in our fr. is a mistake for 'Aristodemos' (actually given by Phavorinus) is unnecessary. Jacoby on 379 F 2, n. 11, compared the story of Skiros (Paus. 1.36.4, Strabo 9.1.9 p. 393), a seer from Dodona, who rendered help to the Eleusinians in war, founded the old sanctuary of Athena Skiras in Phaleron, and was buried at his eponymous Skiron. Perhaps Homoloia too was a foreigner.

²³⁶ See especially Seaford on Eur. *Bacch.* 497–8; also Kruse, *RE* 14.41–2; Weinreich, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* 120–3; Merkelbach, *Die Hirten des Dionysos* 103–4; Versnel, *Ter Unus* 139, 166, 193; for the ability to relieve cares as a feature of prayers to various gods, including Dionysos, see Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung* 110–12, with a survey of epithets in *lysi-*. A survey of all the material suggests that earlier scholars who thought that the 'liberation' was the cure from madness have it precisely backwards: e.g. Rohde, *Psyche* 2.50; Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie* 2.1432; Farnell, *CGS* 5.120. Cf. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 96 n. 146. Undoing spells (above, n. 172) is something different, though the vocabulary overlaps.

Hom. Bacch. 13–14, Eur. *Bacch.* 498, 614) any more than his worshippers (e.g. *Bacch.* 443–8, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.35, the latter perhaps from Aischylos' *Lykourgeia*). The maenads escape their normally cloistered existence to roam freely in the wild. In a more exalted sense, initiation into the mysteries of Dionysos guaranteed the liberation of the soul from the body, to enjoy bliss in the next world.²³⁷ As Seaford remarks, there is no need to keep all these kinds of freedom strictly segregated from each other; they intersect in the imagination.

The adjective λύσιος otherwise occurs in classical literature only in Plato, *Rep.* 366a, but there we have precisely τελεταί . . . καὶ λύσιοι θεοί with respect to Orphic initiations, at a cardinal moment in the dialogue.²³⁸ Recalling also Pindar's λυσιπόνων τελετῶν (fr. 131a),²³⁹ one's first instinct is to think that Aristophanes' λύσιοι τελεταί refers to Bacchic mysteries, though the inference is not really secure, since τελεταί does not refer exclusively to mysteries.²⁴⁰ It is not an impediment to this view that the two aitia offered by Photios in quoting Aristoph. fr. 9A speak, first, of freedom from imprisonment (Herakleides of Pontos), and secondly of the acquisition or reacquisition of wine, since as noted above the types of freedom can imply one another. A single aition could suffice to support a Bacchic festival of multiple dimensions. It is also possible that several aitia might have been offered to the inquiring visitor, if only by different people.²⁴¹ Some time later Pausanias (9.16.6), visiting the temple of Dionysios Lysios at Thebes (near the Proitid gates, and beside the theatre), heard a variant of Herakleides' aition, still involving Thracians and freed prisoners, but differing in location and manner of release.²⁴² Aristophanes' tale of a 'ransomed' grapevine leaves one guessing as to what the complete story might have been; some comic escapade, perhaps, involving the first arrival of the vine, subsequent theft, and final recovery of the precious commodity—a good plot for a mime. Why Naxos, no one can say, though of course Dionysos' association with the island was immemorially ancient. In any event, the departure is

²³⁷ Pindar, fr. 131a λυσιπόνων τελετῶν; Pl. *Rep.* 364e, 366a τελεταί . . . καὶ λύσιοι θεοί; Orphic. fr. 232 (350 Bernabé) with further references. The discoveries of the past forty years have reduced if not eliminated the distance between Orphic and Bacchic mysteries; the two Orphic tablets from Pelinna, for instance, state Βάχχιος αὐτὸς ἔλυσσε (Orphic. fr. 485–6 Bernabé).

²³⁸ Cf. Hsch. λύσειοι τελεταί οὕτως ἐλέγοντό τις τελεταί, ἐπεὶ καὶ Λύσιος ἐλέγετο Διόνυσος. Pausanias reports Dionysos Lysios at Corinth and Sikyon (2.2.6, 2.7.6), cults of uncertain age (though the Sikyonian cult claimed to be as old as the first generation of Heraklids).

²³⁹ Cf. also fr. 248 τῷ Λυαίῳ θεῷ καὶ "λύοντι τὸ τῶν δυσφόρων σχοινίον μερμυρῶν" κατὰ Πίνδαρον, though with reference to wine, to judge from Plutarch who quotes it. If the epithet Λυαῖος is Pindar's it would be the earliest occurrence before the Hellenistic period; the adjective is reasonably common in later poetry and prose (fourteen times in the *Anthologia Graeca*, for instance). Cf. Lavecchia, *Pindari dithyramborum fragmenta* 122–4.

²⁴⁰ Seaford on *Bacch.* 73; Faraone in Dodd and Faraone, *Initiation* 56. It is admittedly not certain that Aristophanes referred to τελεταί.

²⁴¹ Competing aitia: R. Parker, *On Greek Religion* 27, 191; cf. F. Graf, *MH* 49 (1992) 21–2, on multiple aitia in Rome (often in Ovid's *Fasti*). Graf finds it 'kaum denkbar' for archaic Athens, however.

²⁴² Schachter thought that Armen. fr. 1, 3, and 7 might be relevant to this aition: see Part B.

less important than the arrival, amid all ceremony and festivity, perhaps at the opening of new wine in the spring (compare the Attic legend of Ikarios and its possible link to the Anthesteria;²⁴³ note the interesting parallel between the temple of Dionysos Limnaios, opened only once a year on Anthesterion 12, and the temple of Dionysios Lysios at Thebes, also open only once a year according to Pausanias).²⁴⁴

§1.8.4 ATHENA ITONIA (Hek.fr. 2, Simon. fr. 1, Armen. fr. 1)

The *Etymologica* that quote Simon. 1 (see my app. crit.) drew upon ancient commentaries on Ap. Rhod. 1.551, who says that Athena Itonis helped build the Argo. His commentators remark that the Thessalian Athena must be meant, not the more famous one at Koroneia. **Hek. (fr. 2)** discoursed on the former in Book One of the *Histories*; that is all we are told about him. **Armenidas (fr. 1)**, the scholiasts go on to tell us, said in his *Thebaika* that Itonos son of Amphiktion was born in Thessaly; from him was named the city Iton there (known from the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*, Il. 2.696) and Itonis Athena. Since this information is told in a book of Theban history, we may surmise that the author went on to explain that the Boiotian cult was a calque upon the Thessalian, founded according to Strabo (9.2.29) when the Aioliens migrated southward from Arne in Thessaly and captured Koroneia.²⁴⁵ The commentators further record how **Simonides** the Genealogist (fr. 1) told of the two daughters of Itonos, Athena and Iodama, keen warriors both; but they quarrelled, with the result that Athena killed Iodama.²⁴⁶ Thus far the meagre early mythographical tradition.

As often, Pausanias is our first port of call. The sanctuary of Athena Itonia, he says (9.34.1), is located on the road from Alalkomenai before you get to Koroneia. It is named after Itonos²⁴⁷ son of Amphiktion, and is the place where the Boiotians convene their assembly. In the temple there are bronze images of Zeus and Athena, the work of Agorakritos, pupil of Pheidias. A legend is told: Iodama, priestess of Athena, entered the sanctuary at night, and Athena appeared before her; but the Gorgon on her chiton turned Iodama to stone. Because of this, a woman (γυνή; not designated as a priestess:

²⁴³ R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 301–2.

²⁴⁴ C. Auffarth, *BNP* s.v. Aiora, 'Fact of arrival'; J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 87.

²⁴⁵ 'Returned', as he puts it; see §5. The Dorians of course promulgated a similar fiction. The Thessalian cult of Athena Itonia at Iton is attested by our scholion on Apollonios (cf. also on 1.721–2), Polyb. 25.3.2, Strab. 9.5.8, 14, 17, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.9, Paus. 1.13.2, schol. Kallim. *Hymn* 6.74. Itonios is a common Thessalian month, and Athena Itonia appears on coins of the Thessalian League 196–146 BC and possibly on Thessalian coins as early as the 5th c. (Adler, *RE* 9.2.2375). For the excavations of a sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Thessaliotis near Kierion, see the references in *BNP* s.v. Iton; Parker, *ZPE* 177 (2011) 115. There is unlikely to have been more than one sanctuary of Athena Itonia with a federal function, but more than one sanctuary of Athena Itonia is possible. Pausanias places the sanctuary between Pherai and Larisa, which is consonant with Strabo 9.5.8 and 9.5.14 (but not 9.5.17) if he meant Larisa Kremaste in Achaia Phthiotis.

²⁴⁶ That Athena is a mortal girl makes the story suspiciously euhemeristic; grounds for late dating of this author?

²⁴⁷ Itonios MSS in this place, inconsistently with Pausanias' spelling elsewhere (5.1.4, 9.1.1).

a humbler officiant perhaps) was assigned to put fire every day upon the altar of Iodama and say three times in the Boiotian dialect 'Iodama lives and demands fire.'

This Itoneion was from Hellenistic times the federal sanctuary of the Boiotians; there was a month Pamboiotios and a panegyris Pamboiotia. There is, unfortunately, no early evidence for this function of the sanctuary, likely though it may seem. A site north of the acropolis of Koroneia, whose buildings had religious use and which dates to at least the middle of the sixth century BC, has been identified as the Itoneion, an identification accepted or rejected with varying degrees of caution by experts in local topography; the alternative location in the plain is attractive.²⁴⁸ Whatever the status of the Boiotian confederacy might have been in this period,²⁴⁹ the ethnic awareness of the Boiotoi is implied by various archaic texts (beginning with the *Iliad*, e.g. 2.494, 5.710, 13.685, 15.330) and genealogies. The cult of Athena at Koroneia is attested in Alkaios fr. 325, who calls her *πολεμάδοκος* (but not Itonia); this already is pan-Hellenic fame. The first occurrences of Itonia are a dedication of the late sixth/early fifth century from Koroneia (*SEG* 28.458), then Bacchyl. fr. 15 *χρυσάγυδος Ἰτωνίας*, and Pindar in a Partheneion (fr. 94b 47), who attests a hippic agon for the goddess. That Athena's warlike nature is particularly stressed in this cult is to be inferred not only from Alkaios' epithet and Simonides' story, but from various vases perhaps to be connected with the Itoneion, particularly a sixth-century black-figure lekane (British Museum B80).²⁵⁰ On this vase, Athena appears as Promachos with helmet, shield, spear above her head, and one foot forward. A panegyris is indicated, with procession, altar, sacrificial bull and goat. Beside Athena, a snake is depicted on a stand. Schachter, recalling Pausanias' two bronze statues, raises the possibility that the snake represents Zeus Chthonios; Strabo (9.2.29) says that Hades shared the sanctuary, *κατά τινα μυστικὴν αἰτίαν*. This would explain Hades' unexpected appearance in the sanctuary (some scholars have instead amended to 'Ares'), but perhaps the snakes, so commonly associated with Athena, are sufficient to justify that without thinking specifically of Zeus: the snake on the Athenian acropolis, after all, is not Zeus but Erichthonios. Of course, Zeus and Athena do go well together; their rituals were closely intertwined in Athens.

Athena's goat sacrifice indirectly raises the subject of the *αἰγίς*, which will lead us to Iodama. Athena's goatskin breastplate upon which the Gorgon was fixed in epic serves either as impenetrable armour or to terrify the enemy when shaken in their face.²⁵¹ In

²⁴⁸ Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.20 and Plut. *Ages.* 19.2 show that the temple was close to the site of the two battles of Koroneia (cf. Paus. 3.9.13); Strabo 9.2.29 says 'in the plain before Koroneia'. See Schachter, *Cults* 1.120–7; P. Krentz in Beister and Buckler, *Boiotika* 313–17; Deacy, 'Athena in Boiotia' 92; Kowalzig, *Singing for the Gods* 362.

²⁴⁹ See Schachter in *Boiotika* (n. 248) 73–86, and now in detail S. Larson, *Tales of Epic Ancestry*.

²⁵⁰ For details of the vases see Schachter 119, 122.

²⁵¹ For an overview of work on the aegis see Fowler, 'AIT' in *Early Greek Language and Myth*; N. Robertson, 'Athena as Weather Goddess'; R. Parker, *BNP* s.v.; Watkins, 'A Distant Anatolian Echo in Pindar'; Bremmer, *GRC* 314–17.

post-epic times, the cult image of aegis-bearing Athena, ancient goddess of the fortified acropolis, is closely connected with the cults and myths of the Palladion, the talisman upon which the safety of the city depends. These are found in various cities;²⁵² the most famous one is from legend, the Palladion of Troy, which could not be captured until Odysseus and Diomedes stole it. It is this statue to which the women, in a futile gesture, present the peplos in *Iliad* 6.297–311. In Athens, the sacred peplos of the Panathenaia was presented to Athena on the acropolis. The peplos of ritual is the equivalent of the aegis of myth. The latter is impenetrable, and the goddess who wears it invulnerable; the ritual treatment of the statue ensures the same security for the city.

In Athens, the commonest story about how Athena acquired her aegis involved her killing and flaying the invulnerable giant Pallas in the Battle of Gods and Giants;²⁵³ the Gigantomachy was perpetually depicted on the Panathenaic peplos. Other stories were told; for instance, in Apollodorus *Bibl.* 3.144–5, we read how Athena, while a girl in Triton's care, practised the arts of war with his daughter Pallas. One day, Pallas was about to strike Athena; Zeus in alarm interposed his aegis, and when Pallas looked at it, Athena seized the opportunity to strike in her turn. Poor Pallas was killed; Athena in remorse created a ξόανον in her likeness, and draped it in the aegis. This took its place and was honoured alongside Zeus.

The similarities between this and Simonides' story of Iodama are obvious; one may guess that, had we a longer version of the latter, the aegis would make an appearance there too. Pausanias' story about Iodama is also relevant here, as is clear when one compares the story of the Kekropids, who disobeyed Athena's instruction not to look in the sacred κίστη containing Erichthonios; when they did, they were driven mad by the sight (either of the snake(s) guarding the child, or of the snake who was the child) and threw themselves off the acropolis. This story is part of the aetiology for the rite of the Arrhephoria, which was linked to the weaving of the peplos. The girls violated a tabu: the story is a warning for the historical celebrants not to do the same. Iodama's story looks to be the same: her nighttime entry into the sanctuary was presumably illicit, and she paid the price.²⁵⁴ Whether one follows Pausanias' or Simonides' story (both could

²⁵² N. Robertson, 'Athena and Early Greek Society' 389–438.

²⁵³ Epicharmos fr. 135; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.37; *Etym. Gen. (Etym. Magn.)* s.v. Παλλάς; Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 355. Euripides, *Ion* 987–97 idiosyncratically but appropriately names the Giant 'Gorgon'. In the *Meropis* (SH 903 A), possibly an archaic epic, Athena dons the giant's skin (here called Asteros, cf. Arist. fr. 637), together with its hands and 'broad πέδιλα'. The word means 'footwear', but Apollodoros of Athens in the papyrus glosses it as 'feet', which is puzzling. Perhaps Asteros had winged feet or sandals like Pallas in Cicero *ND* 3.59 *pinnarum talaria*; in Tzetzes loc. cit., Pallas has wings which Athena subsequently attaches to her feet. Hes. *Scut.* 220 uses περφόεντα πέδιλα of Perseus; Eur. fr. 124, also of Theseus, has first ταχεῖ πέδιλα then πόδα... ὑπόπερον. Alternatively, the reference is proleptic to foot-guards fashioned from the hide (Lloyd-Jones, *Academic Papers* 1. 28; Robertson's objections (n. 251 44 n. 35) notwithstanding).

²⁵⁴ In my article (n.251) I explored the further connections between the tabu on looking, violation of sanctuaries/citadels, and Athena's Gorgon gaze, particularly in connection with the rape of Kassandra (Alkaios fr. 298).

have been told), the result is the same, the death of Iodama, the warrior: but in compensation, like the Kekropids, she is given special honour in death. The story in Pausanias could serve as an aition of a ξόανον, and Simonides too might have gone on to say that Iodama was honoured like Pallas.

Since the city's survival depends on the Palladion, it is not surprising to hear myths about battles to acquire it, of deceiving the enemy by deploying decoy Palladia, or of the Palladion making an appearance at crucial battles.²⁵⁵ At Athens, an interesting transfer has occurred. Although the ancient statue on the acropolis is the true talisman of the city, as the myths and rituals show, it was not *called* the Palladion. Instead, the Athenians gave another statue this name, and claimed it was the one that had previously been in Troy. Various myths were told about how they acquired it. This statue they installed, appropriately, in a temple at the Itonian gate in the city wall (where, incidentally, Theseus held the right wing in the battle against the Amazons in the life-and-death struggle for Athens).²⁵⁶

The cult of Athena Itonia, like the cults of Athena Promachos and Athena Polias, was ancient and famous, found in widely separated parts of Greece.²⁵⁷ Its function being connected to requirements common to many cities, it could have originated separately; the homogenization of names would be secondary, connections being drawn for reasons which seemed cogent at the time. Iton in Thessaly was believed by the ancients to be the original home of the cult. As in the case of Zeus Homóloios, there is no way of verifying this supposition, and in any case the representation is the reality. It could be true for all we know, but the operative point in the case of the Boiotian Athena Itonia is the allegiance to the Pylian Amphiktion, dominated by Thessaly in the seventh and sixth centuries (→§4.1), which the Boiotians emphatically chose to declare in the genealogy adopted for Itonos. Our fragment of Armenidas reports, consonantly with Pausanias 5.1.4, 9.1.1, 9.34.1, Lykos *FGrHist* 380 F 2 and Steph. Byz. β116, that Itonos was son of Amphiktion. He was also father, in one probably old genealogy, of the national eponym Boiotos.²⁵⁸ It is a pity we do not know what the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* had to say

²⁵⁵ For the myths at Athens, see Lysias fr. 272 Carey; Plut. *Thes.* 275 = Kleidemos *FGrHist* 323 F 18; id. *FGrHist* 323 F 20 (where Jacoby writes out the various parallel sources); Phanodemos 325 F 16. For quarrels at Troy see Polyain. *Strat.* 1.5; Konon, *Dieg.* 34; Ptol. *Chennos* 3.8 Chatzís; Apollas *FGrHist* 266 F 1. Cf. Robertson (n. 251) 32–8 and (n. 252) 404–6; full discussion now in Sourvinou-Inwood, *Athenian Myths and Festivals* 225–62 (see also the preceding chapter demonstrating that the Palladion was not involved in the Plynteria). For the Palladion at crucial battles see Kallim. *Hymn* 5.37–42 with scholia (Argos), Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 48 (Sparta), and Plut. *Arat.* 31.3–32.6, Polyain. 8.59 (Pellene) (discussed by Robertson (n. 252) 411–12, 420). Cf. Gantz 642–6.

²⁵⁶ For the identity of the Ilissos temple see Robertson (n. 251) 39, 48–9 and (n. 252) 392–8; M. Krumme, *Arch. Anz.* 1993, 213–27. See further Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* 112–21 (who however holds that this is a temple of Artemis Agrotera; cf. Robertson 395, R. Parker, *Polytheism* 344 n. 76). Robertson also identifies the scene on the frieze as the rape of the Pelasgians (Hdt. 6.137 = Hek. fr. 127; →§2.1); a very attractive suggestion.

²⁵⁷ See, apart from Schachter, Nilsson, *Feste* 89; Adler, *RE* 9.2 s.v. Itonia; Trümper, *Monatsnamen* 229 n. 923; CRESCAM.

²⁵⁸ See §5.4.1.

about this genealogy, but its origin must lie in the archaic amphiktion, an ethnic association whose force continued into the classical period. All Hellenic ethnic groups required a sanctuary in which to gather; there must have been one for the Boiotians already in the archaic period. If it was the Itoneion, the reason for the choice would have been the imagined or real link with Thessaly.²⁵⁹ Why Athens adopted the epithet is more obscure, but it would not be the only foreign cult the Athenians embraced.²⁶⁰ That there were several cities called 'Iton' *vel sim.* (Steph. Byz. 1121 quoting Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 168; Diod. Sic. 4.31.7; Nonn. *Dion.* 13.465) gives one pause: the name is unlikely to be Greek, and could have an etymology and a history utterly beyond recovery.

§1.8.5 POSEIDON AIGAIOS (Pher. fr. 43)

The scholion gives various explanations for the origin of the name of the Aegean sea. The story most famous in modern times about its naming, that involving the leap of Aigeus, father of Theseus, does not appear to be particularly old. It is known from e.g. Hyginus, *Fab.* 242; Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 3.74; *Suda* s.v. αἰγαῖον πέλαγος; schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.831 (which cites our fr. of Pherekydes) has the aition together with the corrupt name of the author, who is presumably Hellenistic.²⁶¹ In other sources the story of Aigeus' suicide is not followed by the aition (Plut. *Thes.* 22, Diod. 4.61.7, Paus. 1.22.5, Apollod. *Epit.* 1.10). Competing explanations were that the sea was named either after a place Aigai (*vel sim.*; Strab. 8.7.4, 13.1.68, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1165c, Eust. *Il.* 252.14), or after the Mysian hero at the Rhyndakos (Ap. Rhod. loc. cit. with scholia citing Kallim. fr. 459, Demetrios of Skepsis fr. 71 and Lukillos of Tarrha, who makes him a Giant), or, in euhemeristic vein, after a thalassocrat Aigaion (Arrian, *Bithyn.* fr. 35 Roos = *FGrHist* 156 F 92, Archemachos *FGrHist* 424 F 5).²⁶²

Pherekydes (fr. 43) said that the sea is called after Poseidon, for he bore the epithet 'Aigaios'. The epithet is not particularly common, but it is attested in the contemporary satyr-dramatist Aristias (*TrGF* 9 F 1); thereafter, it appears in Strabo 9.2.13 (the cult title

²⁵⁹ Note Trümper's conclusion regarding the Boiotian calendar (*Monatsnamen* 246): 'Wir können festhalten, dass die Böotien und Thessalien gemeinsamen Monate immer auch in der Achaia Phthiotis belegt sind, und dass es sich bei denjenigen böotischen Monaten, die sich in Thessalien nicht wiederfinden lassen, mit Ausnahme des nordwestgriechischen Βουκάριος um spezifisch böotische, sonst nirgendwo bezeugte Monate handelt [such as Pamboiotios]. Diese Situation kann entweder so zu verstehen sein, dass mindestens die den Monaten zugrundeliegenden Festbezeichnungen aus einer Zeit ererbt sind, als das Gebiet Thessaliens, der Achaia Phthiotis und Böotiens eine kulturelle Einheit mit einem gemeinsamen Festbestand gebildet hätte. Oder aber Einwanderer aus nördlicheren Teilen haben die betreffenden Monate bzw. die diesen zugrundeliegenden Feste in Böotien eingeführt.' See also Tausend, *Amphiktyonie und Symmachie* 26–34.

²⁶⁰ R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 157; cf. 28, wondering if Athens was once part of the Boiotian amphiktion. Athena Itonia is attested in Athens in *IG* I³ 383.151, II² 333.17; presumably her home was the Itoneion. Robertson (n. 251, p. 52) thinks the epithet has to do with the procession (*ἱερών) of the ritual, dismissing out of hand the ancient representations, and inventing a word for his etymology.

²⁶¹ Other sources are written out by H. Herter, *RhMus* 85 (1936) 206 n. 3.

²⁶² For further discussion of the naming of the sea, see Burr, *Nostrum Mare* 8–11.

of Poseidon in his temple at Aigai, Euboia) and Verg. *Aen.* 3.74, Kallimachos (fr. 59.6 = *SH* 265.6) and Lykophron (*Alex.* 135) offer Αἰγαίαν. One can never be sure in such notices whether the information was really to be found in the cited authority or the scholiast, noticing the epithet in the author, has drawn his own inferences. After all, the passage of Homer cited for an alternative explanation—that it was called after 'Aigai', an island sacred to Poseidon—says nothing about the naming of the sea (nor does it say that Aigai was an island). In itself, shorn of context, one would assume the datum to be a reference to Poseidon of Aigai, whether the one in Achaia or Euboia, or even Lakonia (Aigiai).²⁶³ Perhaps Pherekydes told a story about how Poseidon came to claim Aigai as his own. But in that case, Pherekydes' information does not differ from Homer's for the scholiast's purposes. More probably, the epithet arose in the context of some other story, perhaps that of Theseus (Dolcetti, *Fericide di Atene* 22).

A story with a connection to the sea is in fact readily at hand. In the Titanomachy (fr. 3), Aigaion, son of Pontos, fought with the Titans against the gods (cf. Antimachos fr. 14 Matthews, Verg. *Aen.* 10.565, Stat. *Theb.* 2.596); Kinaithon in the *Herakleia* (fr. dub. 7 Bernabé = *Heraclea* fr. A Davies p. 142) says that he was defeated by Poseidon (as one would expect), and the scholiast who quotes him (on Ap. Rhod. 1.1165c) paraphrases κατεποντίσθη εἰς τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἡρίου Αἰγαίανος, as if 'tomb of Aigaion' meant the sea itself (so Wendel understands the scholiast). In Hesiod's *Theogony* 617–728, Aigaion/Briareos was on the other side in this battle, a tradition that seems to lie behind the curious incident of Aigaion/Briareos in *Il.* 1.399–406 (reprised by Ion of Chios, *PMG* 741). Either way, we are dealing with a somewhat shadowy figure of early legend, a member of the previous generation of gods. Above all because of the name of the Aegean sea itself, the guess is easy that he was a pre-Greek sea-god, perhaps the pre-Greek sea-god, ousted by Poseidon upon arrival.²⁶⁴ Various evidence connects the root αἰγ- with the sea: the words αἰγιαλός 'shore', αἶγες and αἰγάδες 'waves', perhaps αἰγίς (cf. ἐπαυγίζω, καταυγίζω); the legendary home of Poseidon already mentioned; and most interestingly the story of the terrifying storm that struck the heroes returning from Troy, at Aigai according to Alkaios fr. 298; whether Alkaios meant the Aigai near Lesbos, or the usual location of the storm at Cape Kephareus in Euboia (also called Aigaie), it comes to the same thing for the present purpose.²⁶⁵ Theseus has two fathers, Aigeus and Poseidon. The root

²⁶³ For the last see Paus. 3.21.5. For ancient sources on Euboia and Achaia see *Lfgre* s.v. Αἰγαί; the location of both is uncertain, which suggests they may have existed in legend only. The Achaian would have Homeric authority (*Il.* 8.203, cf. 2.574–5, 13.21, *Od.* 5.381), whereas the Euboian has strong associations in Cyclic epic (see below). Aiga (or Aix) in Aiolia is another theoretical possibility (Strabo 13.1.68, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1165c). Further discussion at *Phoenix* 42 (1988) 101 n. 20.

²⁶⁴ Radermacher, *Mythos und Sage* 240–1.

²⁶⁵ For Aigaie see schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1165c, Steph. Byz. s.v. Κάρυστος, Eust. *Il.* 281.3. For further details and discussion see my article (above, n. 251). One can speculate that the Nostoi might have given Pherekydes an opportunity to speak of Poseidon Aigaios.

aiγ- provides numerous place-names around the Aegean, and its indigenous character seems clear.²⁶⁶

We cannot know in what context Pherekydes might have told the story of Aigaion's defeat. *Prima facie*, it supports Jacoby's view that the book had a discrete theogony. Kinaithon, however, alluded to the story in a *Herakleia*, and Apollonios works Aigaion in at the point where the Argonauts are rowing past his 'tomb' at the mouth of the Rhyndakos in Mysia, and Herakles breaks his oar. This cannot be Pherekydes' context, for he left Herakles behind at Aphetai (fr. 111), but it shows that such details can crop up almost anywhere.

§1.8.6 ZEUS HIKESIOS AND ALASTOROS (Pher. fr. 175)

Our knowledge of Zeus Alastoros received a spectacular boost with the publication of the fascinating *lex sacra* from Selinous.²⁶⁷ Column B of the inscription is entirely concerned with the method of obtaining purification from the pollution of *elasteroi*, who receive sacrifice 'as to the immortals', but with the provision that the blood be allowed to flow into the earth. The *elasteroi* are here chthonic spirits like the Erinyes, demons of vengeance acting on behalf of the wronged. The inscription makes it clear that the primary form of wrongdoing is murder (the apparent meaning of *autorrektas*), but at the same time envisages that *elasteroi* might become active for other kinds of offence. Before the publication of this document, this spirit, whether alone or as an epithet of Zeus, was known epigraphically only from four inscriptions on Paros (*elasteros*) and two from its colony Thasos (*alastoros*).²⁶⁸ Zeus Alastor(os) is well attested in literary evidence, however: our **Pher. fr. 175**; Aisch. fr. 92 (fr. 92a also, if it refers to

²⁶⁶ Chantraine, *La Formation des noms* 248; F. Sommer, *IF* 55 (1937) 259 ff.

²⁶⁷ See Jameson-Jordan-Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous*. The following remarks rest mainly upon their discussion of the *elasteros* at pp. 54–5, 116–20, together with those of Lupu in his new edition, *NGSL* 27; see also Burkert, 'Private Needs and Polis Acceptance' and Patera, 'Alastores et Elasteroi'. As N. Robertson's unusual recent reading of the inscription in *Religion and Reconciliation* chs 14–15 would, if correct, invalidate these comments, a brief response is needed. (1) In rendering *αὐτορέκτας* in col. B as 'slaying (the sacrificial victim) by his own hand' Robertson imagines a ritual prescription for which there is no parallel. (2) There is no difficulty about the sequence of thought in B7 ff. (*contra* pp. 226–7): if you are polluted because you are a murderer, do thus and so; if you have other *elasteroi* to deal with, the same procedures apply. (3) Given his idea that the *elasteros* is the lightning-god, his explanation of the different types of *elasteros* in B7–8 runs immediately into difficulties, which he can only dismiss by saying 'We must not be pedantic; these illogical expressions are unmistakable in their meaning' (222). (4) In translating B1–2 as 'if a person wishes to be purified of an *elasteros* by slaying with his own hand' he has not translated αἷ κ' ἀνθρωπος αὐτορέκτας but αἷ τίς κ' αὐτορέκτας (cf. B7 if a parallel is needed). (5) He states that the evidence for the meaning 'avenger' for *elasteros* is 'illusory', yet for his meaning 'striker' ('good evidence') he has no example. He argues from one meaning of ἐλαύνω, as do supporters of the other meaning. His argument also depends on denying the connection between ἀλάστορος and ἀλάστωρ, which will strike most people as special pleading. Finally he has not appreciated the force of Dyck's argument on this point (below, n. 274). Whatever you think of Herodian's linguistics it is clear what he was trying to explain.

²⁶⁸ Texts in Jameson-Jordan-Kotansky to which may now be added SEG 48.1136 and 1138, also from Paros. On the alternation ἐλάστερος/ἀλάστορος see A. P. Matthaiou, *Horos* 13 (1999) 241–2.

Zeus); *Hymn. Orph.* 73.3; and a clutch of related references in the lexicographers under ἀλάστωρ (Hsch. a2783, Phot. a896–904, *Etym. Gud.*, *Etym. Magn.*; cf. Cornutus ND 9.5 p. 40 Nesselrath). Furthermore, the word ἀλάστωρ by itself, or with δαίμων, is common in tragedy in the sense of an angry, vengeful power (see Fraenkel on Aisch. *Agam.* 1501); in all genres ἀλάστωρ can be applied to unfortunate or criminal humans as well (see *LSJ*). The word thus refers both to the outraged spirit who sends misfortune upon an offender, and to the person thus afflicted. This double perspective is visible not only in the application of the word itself, but in the use of the words ἐλαύνω/ἐλαστρέω, which provided a popular ancient etymology for ἀλάστωρ.²⁶⁹ Jameson-Jordan-Kotansky quote Eur. *IT* 970–1 ὅσαι δ' Ἐρινύων . . . ἡλάστρουν μ' αἰεῖ (cf. 934), Aischin. 1.190 τοὺς ἡσεβηκότας . . . Ποινὰς ἐλαύνειν καὶ κολάζειν (of tragic plots), Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.23.1 δαιμονίοις τισὶ χόλοις ἐλαστρηθέντες on the one hand, Aisch. *Cho.* 966–8 ὅταν ἀφ' ἐστίας μύσος ἅπαν ἐλάσῃ καθαρμοῖσιν ἅπ' ἐλατηρίοις on the other; of the latter, examples could be greatly multiplied, for ἐλαύνω and its compounds are 'repeatedly used of ritual expulsion'.²⁷⁰

This double perspective characterizes ἱκέσιος as well, for it denotes both the god who receives suppliants ('visitors'), and the god who visits punishment upon those who break his laws. The same pattern is exhibited by the word παλαμναῖος, denoting both the power to inflict the hand of just violence, and one deserving the infliction; and by προστρόπαιος, denoting the god to whom one turns in appeal, and the one thus turning.²⁷¹ Zeus is the primary god in question. 'The protective and punitive powers of Zeus are fused,' says Cook (*Zeus* 2.1101), who collects the abundant evidence for the double application of these words.²⁷² In this connection, Jameson-Jordan-Kotansky quote the splendid *lex sacra* of Kyrene (late fourth century),²⁷³ whose provisions for purification parallel those of the Selinountine inscription; in Kyrene, however, the harmful spirits in question are ἱκέσιοι, 'visitants'—a tidy confirmation of the equivalence of Pherekydes' two terms. The Kyrenaean inscription, having used the word of malevolent spirits, goes on immediately to apply it to human suppliants (110–22).

²⁶⁹ Phot. a896: ἀλάστωρ ὁ ἀμαρτωλός. κατὰ μὲν Χρύσιππον τὸν φιλόσοφον (*SVF* 2.47 fr. 158) ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλάσεως, ὁ ἄξιος ἐλαυνεσθαι διὰ φόνον· κατὰ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρον (*FGH* 244 F 150) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλιτεῖν . . . κατὰ δὲ Δίδυμον (p. 401 Schmidt) ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῖς ἄλαστα πάσχουσιν ἐπαμύνειν. Theodoridis ad loc. writes out the parallel sources.

²⁷⁰ R. Parker, *Miasma* 223 n. 87, with references. Full review of the literary sources also in Patera, 'Alastores et Elasteroi'.

²⁷¹ Also the god who inflicts misfortune (cf. Phot., *Suda* s.v. παλαμναῖος), as opposed to the one who can turn it away (ἀποτρόπαιος).

²⁷² See also W. H. P. Hatch, *HSCP* 19 (1908) 157–86; R. Parker, *Miasma* 107–9; other authorities cited by Jameson-Jordan-Kotansky 118 n. 44; Patera, 'Alastores et Elasteroi' 278–87. μιάστωρ and ἀλιτήριος also belong to his group. 'The unifying factor,' writes Parker (109), 'is the polluting act, which sets up a chain of abnormal relations between humans—victim, killer, associates of killer—the connecting links in which are supernatural powers.'

²⁷³ SEG 9.72 = LSS 115; Buck, *The Greek Dialects* no. 115; R. Parker, *Miasma* Appendix 2; now no. 97 in Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI*.

It appears to be Farnell (CGS 1.67) who first guessed that the context of this fragment might have been the story of Ixion (Pher. fr. 51; →§4.5), who was proverbial not only as the person who first supplicated Zeus for blood purification (Pind. *Pyth.* 2.32, Aisch. *Eum.* 718, Pher.), but also as one who subsequently abused his hospitality and was memorably punished. It is probably significant that 'Zeus Alastor' is quoted precisely from the *Ixion* of Aischylos.²⁷⁴ One can imagine that Pherekydes finished the story by saying something like <οὕτως ὁ μὲν Ἰξίων συμφορήσιν ἡλαστρήθη, > ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ Ἰκέσιος καὶ Ἀλάστορος καλεῖται.

§1.8.7 ATHENA TAUROPOLOS? (Xenom. fr. 2)

Tauropolos is an epithet belonging all but exclusively to Artemis, the bull symbolizing her association with animals.²⁷⁵ It is very rare to find the epithet applied to other deities. Examining the list given by Höfer in Roscher, *Lex.* 5.137–43, one finds that all the other possibilities are very weakly attested except perhaps for one, an inscription from Kopai in Boiotia referring to Demeter Tauropolos; we have neither date nor context, and the stone itself has been lost.²⁷⁶ The existence of an Athena Tauropolos is supported apart from our fragment by an entry in Hesychios *Ταυροπόλαι· ἡ Ἀρτεμις, καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ*, which might look like independent confirmation, were it not for an entry in Photios and the *Suda*, to which the Aristophanic scholia are closely related; the entry strongly suggests that the whole nexus, including the citation of Xenom. fr. 2, goes back to Apollodoros: *Ταυροπόλον· τὴν Ἀρτεμιν· ὅτι ὡς ταῦρος περιέεισι πάντα, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος (FGrHist 244 F 111). Ἰστρος δ' ἐν γ' Ἀτάκτων (FGrHist 334 F 8) ὅτι τὸν ὑπὸ Ποσειδῶνος ἐπιπεμφθέντα Ἱππολύτῳ ταῦρον ἐξοίστησεν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν. οἱ δ' ὅτι ἔβαλε, διὸ καὶ ταυροβόλον. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ταυροβόλος ἐν Ἄνδρῳ· ὁ γὰρ Ἄνιος δούς ταῦρον τοῖς Ἀτρεΐδαις ἐκέλευσεν, ὅπου ἂν ἐκ τῆς νεῶς ἄλληται, ἰδρύσασθαι Ἀθηνᾶν· καὶ οὕτως εὐπλόησεν. ὁ δὲ ἐν Ἄνδρῳ ἐξήλατο.* The link with βάλλειν prevents one from thinking that the first ταυροβόλος in this entry is simply a mistake for ταυροπόλος (there is also an independent entry *Ταυροβόλος· ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ*). Since it is very surprising to find Tauropolos applied to the civic goddess Athena,²⁷⁷ one is tempted to diagnose some confusion in the course of the transmission of this Apollodoran fragment, and to preserve Tauropolos for Artemis alone, correcting 'Tauropolos' to 'Taurobolos' in Xenomedes.

²⁷⁴ Against Radt's doubts that fr. 92 really refers to the *Ixion* see Dyck in *MH* 46 (1989) 1–2.

²⁷⁵ See e.g. Lloyd-Jones, *Academic Papers* 2.321–2; Sourvinou-Inwood, *Tragedy and Athenian Religion* 31–40 on Eur. *IT*.

²⁷⁶ IG VII 2793 *ΔΑΜΑΤΡΑ | ΤΑΥΡΟΠΟΛΩ*, variously construed; Schachter, *Cults* 1.154.

²⁷⁷ M. Segre, *Rend. Lomb.* 70 (1937) 92, supplied *Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ταυροπό[λο]ς* in the Andrian inscription IG XII 5.721 (IG Suppl. XII p. 127) = LSS 47, but I do not see why he did not supply *Ταυροβόλου*, which is after all what the *Suda* entry says. In the inscription published by W. Blümel at *EA* 29 (1997) 135–42, *Ταυροπόλος* is obviously Artemis, not Athena as reported by CRESCAM, as Blümel's parallels show.

The epithet would denote the recipient of a bull sacrifice, like the later Taurobolion for Kybele.²⁷⁸ Conceptually this seems easier, though it must be admitted that literary evidence for such a sacrifice is also thin. Apart from this *Suda* entry, there is only Paus. 1.27.10, a legendary example (the bull of Marathon; sacrificed rather to Apollo according to Plut. *Thes.* 14). Schol. *Il.* 2.550 states roundly that only female victims are acceptable to Athena. However, the goddess is shown on a number of Attic vases with a bull, some of them clearly prepared for sacrifice; Jean-Louis Durand argues that symbolically a bull would be appropriate for Athena Polias, as it was for Zeus Polieus.²⁷⁹

Whether Taurobolos or Taurobolos, it is worth wondering whether Xenomedes too told the story of Anios (Pher. fr. 140, →§18.2.4), perhaps claiming it for Keos.

§1.9 Sons and Daughters of Gods

§1.9.1 TITYOS (Pher. fr. 55–6)

Tityos is the son of Zeus and Elare the daughter of Orchomenos (Pher. fr. 171; →§5.5), so he might have been mentioned in relation to him (though we do not know in what context Orchomenos in his turn figured in Pherekydes' book); or, as Tityos is grandfather of the Argonaut Euphemos (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.46 where see Braswell, *Ap. Rhod.* 1.181), he might have been mentioned in that connection; or again, in the Nostos of Odysseus (fr. 144). However, Tityos' role in myth is as one of the great sinners, who assaulted Leto and was punished appropriately in the afterlife (*Od.* 7.324, 11.576); as Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.23 works him into his account of Apollo's exploits, we consider him here, without suggesting thereby that Pherekydes did so in the context of a theogony. Homer does not actually say who killed Tityos; Pher. fr. 56 names both Apollo and Artemis, while Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.90) uniquely mentions only Artemis; in art, Apollo and Artemis are common (*LIMC* Tityos nos. 2–15), but we also find Apollo alone (nos. 17–31) and once with (?) Zeus (no. 16). Homer does, however, say that Tityos was a child of Gaia; Pherekydes' story (Pher. fr. 55) that Elare was pushed into the earth by Zeus fearing Hera's jealousy, but that Tityos subsequently emerged and was therefore known as 'earthborn', looks like an attempt to square Homer with the tradition that Tityos' mother was Elare (Hes. fr. 78 *Εἰλαρίδης* as matronymic, Simon. *PMG* 560 *Εἰλάρα*, Pind. fr. 294 *Ἀλέρα*), much like *Ap. Rhod.* 1.762 (whose scholia report our fr.). The colourful

²⁷⁸ For the Taurobolion see S. Price, *BNP* s.v.

²⁷⁹ Durand, *Sacrifice et labour* 32–41; see also *LIMC* Athena no. 574. Stengel, *Opferbräuche* 191–6 and *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* 152–3, supports the ancient view, though without reference to the visual material. G. Seiterle, *Antike Welt* 28 (1997) 201–8 also adduces visual evidence that Athena in Pergamon received bull sacrifice; indeed he boldly reassigns the great altar to her. His list includes early Hellenistic coins with Athena on one side and bulls' heads on the other; cf. the similar coins from Thourioi c.400 BC reproduced by Prieur, *Les Animaux sacrés* 14.

touch about Zeus's anxiety reveals Pherekydes' story-telling instincts. As it happens, a very similar story was told about Zeus and the nymph Thalia, used by Aischylos in his *Aitnaiai* (see the sources assembled by Radt on fr. 6), produced in Sicily and drawing on local lore; one wonders if Pherekydes knew the play. Homer, locc. cit., locates Tityos at Panopeus in Phokis or Euboia, and the inhabitants of both locations obliged later enquirers with cult sites (Paus. 10.4.5, Strabo 9.3.14). The principal ancient sources mentioning the crime and punishment of Tityos are assembled by Frazer, *Apollod.* 1.28 n. 2; exhaustive list in Waser's article in Roscher, *Lex.* s.v.

§1.9.2 ASKLEPIOS—AND ADMETOS AND ALKESTIS (Akous. fr. 17–19; Anaxim. fr. 3A; Andr. fr. 3, 17; Hellan. fr. 10; Pher. fr. 3, 35, 59, 131)

The story of Asklepios presents a series of episodes revolving around existential questions of life vs. death, mortality vs. immortality. In this perspective, the story of Admetos and Alkestis is not a sequel to the Asklepios myth, but its conclusion.

Asklepios' mother Koronis preferred a mortal husband Ischys to a god, and paid for it with her life. Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.31) portrays this as a moral failing and an insult to the divinity; Akousilaos (fr. 17), however, says that she was worried that she would be neglected by her divine mate. Akousilaos' thought is better described as realism than rationalism, and could well be derived from older tradition, if not perhaps expressed in quite his manner. 'Let no man fly to heaven', says Alkman; 'let him not seek to wed Aphrodite' (*PMGF* 1.16–17). Marpessa chose Idas over Apollo for the same reason according to Simonides (*PMG* 563).

When such an offender is at large, the gods do not scruple to punish the whole community (Hes. *Op.* 240–7). As they sank the entire Greek fleet for Ajax's crime at Troy, so they punished the whole of Lakereia for Koronis' insult. Subsequently, when Koronis was on her funeral pyre, Apollo snatched Asklepios from the flames: rebirth from the very jaws of death (ἐκ νεκροῦ / ἄρπασε· καιομένα δ' αὐτῶν διέφαινε πυρά, says Pindar). The baby is delivered to Cheiron, half-beast half-god, an in-between figure dwelling in the mountain forests, teacher of prophets, heroes and doctors, and of Apollo himself. The boy learns the art of healing, i.e. of postponing death; but he crosses the mortal/immortal line by healing those who are already dead. Consequently, he is killed—by Zeus's fiery thunderbolt, a weapon applied to others such as Salmoneus who challenge the gods (e.g. Hes. fr. 30.15–23, *Apollod. Bibl.* 1.89; his whole city was destroyed).²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ Soph. *Ant.* 127–33 states the general principle. By way of further parallels: (1) Idas and Lynkeus are destroyed by Zeus's thunderbolt when they attack Kastor and Polydeukes, the latter his son; χαλεπὰ δ' ἐπὶ ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν κρεσσόνων, says Pindar (*Nem.* 10.72). They had attempted to kill Polydeukes using the tombstone on their father's grave ('the ἄγαλμα of Hades', Pindar calls it); Kastor dies, hiding in a tree trunk (equivalent to a tomb); but Zeus grants that the brothers should alternate between the next world and this. This was the end of the whole line of Aphareus (Paus. 4.3.1). (2) Kapaneus in the *Seven Against Thebes* brags,

Apollo then kills the Kyklopes who made the thunderbolts. This would effectively dethrone Zeus, which is of course unacceptable (and as a total upheaval of natural order it is semantically equivalent to Asklepios' cancellation of death). Zeus imposes the servitude to Admetos: the god becomes temporarily mortal. In return for his piety, Apollo gains from the Moirai the favour that Admetos should live if he can find another to die in his place; this is Alkestis. Though her story is not told in detail before Euripides, and Herakles' wrestling with death may be his innovation for all we know, Alkestis' sacrifice for her husband must be its core, and was well known in Attic and Sicilian drama from Phrynichos on.²⁸¹ Also integral to the story is her safe return from the Underworld (the story is proverbial in Plato's *Symposium*, 208d). The folktale of the wife dying for the husband is worldwide,²⁸² and provides a placid, optimistic and, in the Greek context, unreal ending to the story, which as a whole has a rather different tenor, exploring and testing the great divide of gods and men that caused so much evident anxiety in myth after myth, cult after cult. The continual oscillation between desire and renunciation of the unobtainable, submission and defiance, hope and despair, piety and blasphemy, each term as potent as its opposite and impossible to reconcile with the other, is the dynamic stuff of this powerful drama. The equilibrium the tale reaches at the end, however unreal, resides nonetheless in the self-sacrifice and love of one human being for another: a thing no god can understand.

Interesting use is made of fire as a motif in this story: Koronis' pyre, Zeus's thunderbolt. This is altogether appropriate. As we learn from the myth of Prometheus, fire belongs to the gods, and its acquisition is a crime, leading to the end of the Golden Age; but it is also the stuff of immortality, the element of which (philosophers would in due course say) the human soul consists. Thetis and Demeter both used it in unsuccessful attempts to render mortals immortal, and it is a constant symbol in the myths and practices of mystery cults. The story explores the life/death boundary. In everyday life, it was Asklepios who took on the chronic, incurable cases the Hippocratic doctor would not touch; through him, people cheated death.²⁸³ Cheiron, that in-between figure who raised Asklepios, went the other way; he wanted to die, but as a god could not, until Zeus granted him special dispensation (above, §1.5).

in the messenger's words, that 'god willing or not, he would sack the city; not even the rivalry [*ἔρις*; the reading need not be doubted] of Zeus striking the ground would hold him back; lightning and thunderbolts he likened to the warmth of the noon-day sun'; he is duly blasted (cf. 444–6). He is called a 'Giant', like Typhon who threatened Zeus's supremacy and met the expected end (→§1.6.2). (3) Orpheus, according to some, was blasted for revealing mysteries—source of immortality—to the uninitiated (Paus. 9.30.5; cf. Alkid. fr. 16.24). (4) Semele is a rather special case, being incinerated by accident; yet she does ask to see the god as he is. Dionysos was snatched from her body like Asklepios from Koronis. In the Orphic myth the human race arose from the ashes of Dionysos.

²⁸¹ L. P. E. Parker, *Euripides: Alkestis*, pp. xv–xviii. Aisch. *Eum.* 723–8 is particularly revealing.

²⁸² Parker, op. cit., pp. xi–xv.

²⁸³ Wickkiser, *Asklepios* 58–61.

The variants and other noteworthy details in our corpus and other early sources are as follows:

(i) Perhaps the most serious disagreement is over the name of Asklepios' mother: not the canonical Koronis,²⁸⁴ but Arsinoe daughter of Leukippos son of Perieres (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.118). According to Pausanias (2.26.7, cf. 4.3.2), this was Hesiod's genealogy (also schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.14; Hes. fr. 50); it was the sons of this Asklepios who supposedly fought at Troy, whereas Homer was clear they were Thessalian.²⁸⁵ Pausanias does not credit this version, regarding it as invented to gratify the Messenians; he is probably right. Koronis is also attested in Hesiod (*Cat. fr.* 59–60), as is the entirety of our story sequence except for Alkestis—but the story was attached to Arsinoe (West, *HCW* 69–72). In fr. 60, the crow informs Apollo about Ischys (as in Pindar). To obviate the contradiction between fr. 59–60 and 69–72, West suggests fr. 60 may be rather from the *Megalai Ehoiai*; fr. 59, he suggests further, may in spite of appearances be not about Koronis but about some other girl residing on the 'twin hills', opposite Amyros in the Dotian plain, by Lake Boibe. This is a hypothesis of last resort, as he acknowledges; but there is no easy way to reconcile the data. If a different story was told about Koronis in the *Catalogue* we have no idea what that might be. Pherekydes fr. 3 has all the details known from Pindar (the home in Lakereia, the raven, Ischys killed by Apollo, Asklepios delivered to Cheiron), and we should normally expect these to have been drawn from Hesiod, and connected to each other there.²⁸⁶ But with so much lost one can never know; there is a passing reference to Ischys son of Elatos in *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 210 (cf. *Hymn.* 16), and Asklepios' apprenticeship with Cheiron was known to Homer (*Il.* 4.193–4, 218–19). The town of Lakereia (also *Hell.* fr. 10) looks mythical, and van Herwerden already suggested that it might be related to the formulaic (and inscrutable) *λακέρυζα κορώνη* (Hes. *Op.* 747, fr. 304.1, Stesich. *PMGF* 209 i 9, Ar. *Av.* 609). This has not prevented scholars from attempting to place it on the map.²⁸⁷

(ii) In citing among others Akous. fr. 18, Andr. fr. 17 (dub.), Anaxim. fr. 3A (very doubtful ascription) and Pher. fr. 35, Philodemos reports only the basic fact that Asklepios was killed by Zeus in these authors.

(iii) Pher. fr. 59 is the genealogy of Hippokrates, which went back to Asklepios and Herakles. Soranos is the quoting authority, who cites also Eratosthenes, Apollodoros, and Areios of Tarsos. It is extremely rare in our corpus that a mythical genealogy is brought down to the historical period; the only other examples are Pher. fr. 2/Hell. fr. 22, the Philaidai (→§16.3.1), the genealogies of Hesiod and Homer, perhaps a special case

²⁸⁴ e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* 3, *Hymn. Hom.* 16.1–3, Ap. Rhod. 4.616–17, Diod. Sic. 4.71.1, Ov. *Met.* 2.542, Paus. 2.26.6, Hyg. *Fab.* 161, 202, Astr. 2.40.2 quoting Istros *FGrHist* 334 F 66.

²⁸⁵ *Il.* 2.729–33 (E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 692–3).

²⁸⁶ Pindar in *Pyth.* 3 has Lakereia, Boibe, Ischys son of Elatos (but hailing from Arkadia not Thessaly), the death of the townspeople; he omits the raven.

²⁸⁷ *RE* 12.1.523–4; Helly, 'Le «Dotion Pedion», Lakereia et les origines de Larisa'; *IACP* p. 679.

(Dam. fr. 11, Euag. fr. 2, Hell. fr. 5, Pher. fr. 167; →§20), and that implied by Hekataios' claim to be sixteen generations from divinity (Hek. test. 4; →Part B). Hellanikos in his *Atthis* said that Andokides was descended from Odysseus and Telemachos and ultimately Hermes (*FGrHist* 4 F 170 = 323a F 24), and probably could have given a complete genealogy if pressed (cf. fr. 156). Other aristocratic families would have made similar claims, but the need for full documentation was felt only in particular circumstances (in general, Greeks were less concerned about human ancestors than Romans were). The Spartan king-list, with its concerns with legitimacy and Heraklid status, is one such circumstance, but generally, as Rosalind Thomas argues, complete genealogies were more likely to turn up in mythography than elsewhere (*Oral Tradition and Written Record* 159–60). The catalogic instinct was inherited from Hesiod. The mythographers were not, however, concerned to determine the size of the chronological gap between their day and the time of the heroes, though as we see from Herodotos this was being calculated already by the middle of the fifth century.²⁸⁸ The rarity in mythography of genealogies extending from mythical to historical times suggests nonchalance; it does not suggest the historian's anxiety that the *spatium mythicum* needs to be anchored, but rather a sense (which is ultimately significant, to be sure) that the heroic *mythoi* were the subject of this genre and nothing else. So when such links are drawn it will be for other reasons—the Philaidai, for instance, because of Pherekydes' connections with the family in historical Athens. For Hippokrates, we have no way of telling from the citation what exactly Pherekydes said about his family. Though we know little of the doctor's life, his floruit is usually placed in the 430s, so Pherekydes cannot have brought the genealogy down that far. Soranos has got it as a product of research by Eratosthenes and/or Apollodoros, who drew in some unknown way on Pherekydes.²⁸⁹ Most likely he gave some of the descendants of Podaleirios and Machaon, whose parentage and movements after the Trojan War figured in the competing claims of the Asklepiadai in different historical cities. For the variants and discussion see esp. Rubin, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*; also Thraemer, *RE* 2.2.1658–61, 1683–4, 6.1.187–9.

(iv) Andr. fr. 3 and Akous. fr. 19 are two more Philodeman snippets; of Andron, who says only that Zeus ordered Apollo to serve Admetos for a year; concerning Akousilaos, who here follows and is cited with Hesiod (fr. 54(b)), we learn that Apollo was about to be hurled into Tartaros by Zeus when Leto successfully intervened on his behalf. Tartaros is where gods go who threaten to overthrow the current king of heaven; Apollo's attempt to eliminate the supply of thunderbolts would have that effect. The incident is mentioned also by Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.122.

²⁸⁸ e.g. 2.145, Herakles 900 years before his own time; Fowler, 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 74–6.

²⁸⁹ See also Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 103. Soranos' numbers just about work: twenty generations after Herakles should mean that Hippokrates was born in 480, which is earlier than the usual date of c.460, but until the 21st generation is complete one can still count 20.

(v) **Pher. fr. 35** is a verbatim quotation; he tells the story briefly in a digression (see Part B for the place of this fr. in Pherekydes' book). The details are that Apollo killed not the Kyklopes but their sons (→§1.7.6); that he did penance for a year;²⁹⁰ and that Asklepios' offence was that he was raising the dead at Delphi. The type of offence and the location are the kinds of details that are fair game for free mythographical invention. Apart from the long list given by schol. Eur. *Alk.* 1 (which quotes Pher.) there is schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.96 (see the app. crit.), Phld. *De Piet.* N 1609 V (p. 52 Gomperz), Paus. 2.26.4–5, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.121, Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* 1.260–2, Hyg. *Fab.* 49.1 (several of these quote Stesich. *PMGF* 194 who after Hesiod fr. 54 is the earliest authority for this story). All early versions say the offence was resurrection; in the Hellenistic period variants involving healing appear (the Proitides, the Pheneidai). Pherekydes is the only writer to put the event at Delphi, perhaps because of Asklepios' father; he is writing well before Asklepios' cult arrived in Athens and maybe even before it was fully developed in Epidauros and other sites in the Peloponnese. Stesichoros placed the event at Thebes. Thessaly is the oldest attested location for Asklepios, attested in Homer and other evidence, and implied by his genealogy (whichever mother one chooses).²⁹¹ There is no evidence for Asklepios' cult at Delphi, so Pherekydes' choice must have something to do with the nature of the myth; perhaps the exploration of the life/death divide is relevant, given Delphi's place in Greek myth as the enforcer of such morality. Ironically, it is Asklepios' own father who issues the command γνῶθι σαυρόν, know that you are mortal; but Greek myth affords other examples of gods punished in order to teach the implied audience the lessons of mortality, principally in stories of rebellion against Zeus. On the cult of Asklepios, see the discussion and references of Graf in *BNP* s.v. Asclepius; Lorenz, 'Asklepios'; Bremmer, *GRC* 253–61; Wickkiser, *Asklepios*.²⁹²

(vi) **Pher. fr. 131** adds the detail that Apollo gave Hermes his wand (ῥάβδος) while he was doing his service to Admetos. In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (529), Apollo bestows the gift on Olympos, after the brothers' reconciliation. At l. 70, Hermes goes to Pieria to steal Apollo's cattle; in Sophokles' *Ichneutai* (fr. 314.30) Apollo says he has come from Thessaly in search of his herd. He catches up with Hermes at Mt Kyllene in Arkadia. Admetos is at least a northerner, but the *Hymn* imagines a different era of mythological time altogether from his. The innovative nature of the *Hymn* is well known. But Pherekydes' version is not necessarily older for that reason; his variant has the appearance of a tidy linkage between two stories: he has asked himself, where were the cattle in the tale of Hermes and Apollo? By supposing they were Admetos' cattle, he gives historical specificity to the events (in the *Hymn* the cattle are first described simply

²⁹⁰ So also Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.122; Myth. Vat. I 46.6 says 9 years, which may be his idea of the so-called Great Year. For such terms cf. Kadmos (Hellan. fr. 51; §10.3), Poseidon and Apollo (Hellan. fr. 26; §8.5.3), and Herakles (Pher. fr. 82; §8.5.5).

²⁹¹ E. Aston, *CQ* 54 (2004) 18–32.

²⁹² On the etymology of the name see now Beekes, *Etym. Dict.* s.v.

as 'cattle of the gods', 71). Yet he cannot have imagined that Hermes was born so late; therefore the wand (oddly enough) was a gift to the fully-grown god. Symbolically there is additional logic to his innovation, given the nature of Asklepios' story as read above; the wand of Hermes the psychopomp, crosser of boundaries, symbolizes his magical capacity. Cf. Richardson on *Hymn. Hom. Herm.* 528–32.

An implication of this assessment is that Pherekydes is later than the *Hymn*, unless one thinks that the wand (and the close relationship implied between the two brothers) was traditional, not an innovation of any one text. Some scholars have put the *Hymn* in the fifth century, but the latest editor (Richardson) follows those who date it to the late sixth.

§1.9.3 ASOPOS (Akous. fr. 21)

Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.156 (also e.g. Diod. Sic. 4.72.1) says that the river Asopos was son of Okeanos and Tethys, which is what one would expect to be Akousilaos' view from Hes. *Th.* 337–70 and Akous. fr. 1 (above, §1.3.2), but Apollodoros says that according to Akousilaos he was son of Pero and Poseidon, while others say Zeus and Eurynome. Either alternative is unusual, though not entirely unparalleled. In the list of sons of Poseidon compiled by Wüst, *RE* 22.1.468–77, we find Amyros (→§6.3.7), which is also the name of the city by Lake Boibe; Selinous, the Achaian river near Helike (Steph. Byz. 656); Melas, the supposed former name of the Nile (ps.-Plut. *De fluv.* 16.1); and our Asopos. Pausanias has a rationalized tale in which Asopos is a human who discovers the river, so it was named after him (2.12.4). Were it not for Selinous one might be tempted, like Pausanias, to explain these away, perhaps by arguing that the sons are eponyms of places or regions (Amyros, Asopia) rather than the rivers. But despite the rarity of parallels there is nothing intrinsically implausible about Poseidon's performing this role.²⁹³ Neither Asopos nor Selinous is listed among the sons of Okeanos by Hesiod (*Th.* 337–70). Pausanias names as mother of Asopos the mountain Kelousa (Xen. *Hell.* 4.7.7; 'Kelossa' in Strabo 8.6.24, Eust. *Il.* 291.22); Akousilaos' Pero could be related in some way to the granddaughter of Tyro who fell in love with Enipeus, and mated with Poseidon disguised as him. But the name could equally well be corrupt. Comes' suggestion, that a lacuna should be diagnosed in Apollodoros, would allow this view to be imputed to some other authority, and Akousilaos to revert to orthodoxy.

§1.9.4 THE MUSES (Anaxim. fr. 4; Eumel. fr. 9)

Eumel. fr. 9 is quoted by Tzetzes who provides other examples of non-canonical numbers of Muses: four according to Aratos (*SH* 87, cf. Cic. *ND* 3.54 with Pease); five

²⁹³ For Zeus there is only the Xanthos of *Il.* 14.434, as Skamandros a son of Okeanos at Hes. *Th.* 345, and the Hermos (Hom. *Epigr.* 1.5 ap. *Vit. Hom. Herod.* 9, imitating *Il.* 14.434); the idea could be metaphorical (cf. *Il.* 16.174 δῆμερής of the Spercheios). List of Zeus's sons in H. Schwabl, *RE* Suppl. 15.1247–58.

according to 'some'; seven according to Epicharmos (fr. 39, from the *Wedding of Hebe*), where the editors note Polyzelos fr. 9, and Myrsilos of Methymna *FGrHist* 477 F 7, who also had seven. Krates, fr. 128 Broggiato, for unknown reasons had eight; cf. Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 1.8, and Broggiato's commentary. Eumelos' three recur in Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 222, Aratos' four in Mnaseas fr. 13 Cappelletto. In art, the number of Muses on a vase is often restricted by space, but on an aryballos of the early sixth century (*LIMC* Herakles no. 3331 = Mousa, Mousai no. 122 bis), depicting the wedding of Herakles and Hebe, there are seven, exactly as in Epicharmos.²⁹⁴ Though Hesiod's nine were canonical (repeated in fact by Eumelos in another fr., 34 West; cf. *Od.* 24.60, etc.) these variants are typical of divine collectivities, who may also of course be represented by the singular, as in the opening of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; cf. Moira/i, Erinys/es, etc.²⁹⁵ Philosophers and allegorists were free to make up reasons for the numbers; a sample is given by Tzetzes, loc. cit., who refers to the three *τόνοι*, the three *προσωδία*, the four dialects, the five senses, the seven strings of the lyre, *καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα*. In this tradition belongs Fulgentius quoting the spurious 'Anaximandros of Lampsakos' (*Anaxim.* fr. 4), who says that Apollo and the nine Muses represent the ten parts of the mouth. See further R. Janko, *ZPE* 118 (1997) 78; Mayer, *RE* 16.1.687–91.

That Mnemosyne and Zeus were parents of the Muses, as in Hesiod, is also nearly universal, but Alkman (*PMGF* 5 fr. 2 ii, 8.9) and Mimnermos (fr. 14) distinguished two groups: an older one, daughters of Ouranos and Ge (like their mother Mnemosyne in Hesiod), and the younger ones, daughters of Mnemosyne. Alkman's cosmological leanings may have been responsible for this innovation. Eumelos is alone in saying Apollo was their father; if he was not inconsistent, perhaps in this particular the epitome contradicts the earlier poem. But it would not be surprising if some early poet thought Apollo was the father, as he is so constantly represented with them in art and verse. The watery names of two of the daughters as transmitted in Eumelos (Kephiso and Borsythenis) find a parallel in Epicharmos' list, which includes Achelois alongside Neilo, Asopo and others; Hermann's conjecture of 'Achelois' for 'Apollonis' as the name of the third seems highly probable. Kephissos, Acheloos and the inspirational spring Kastalia come together in Pausanias' account of Delphi (10.8.9–10), quoting Panyassis fr. 2 and Alkaios fr. 307; this does not seem coincidental. Eumelos' Borysthenis may have been inspired by Argonautic saga and exploration of the Black Sea.

²⁹⁴ See Palutan, 'Le Nozze di Ebe' 245–6, who quotes other possible examples from art of seven Muses; cf. *LIMC* s.v. Mousa, Mousai nos. 1–26, with comm. p. 679.

²⁹⁵ See e.g. Burkert, *GR* 173–4.

§1.9.5 THE THIRIAI (Pher. fr. 49)

The Thiriai are eponymous of the *thiriai*, stones used in prophecy.²⁹⁶ One strand of evidence, best represented by *Etym. Magn.* 455.34, offers an Attic connection:

θρίαί (leg. θριαί)· αἱ μαντικαὶ ψήφοι, οἷονεὶ τρίαί τινες οὔσαι· καὶ γὰρ αἱ τρεῖς νύμφαι αἱ θυγατέρες τοῦ Διὸς, εὐρηκνύαι τρεῖς ψήφους μαντικὰς, παρέσχον τῇ Ἀθηνῇ, ἥτις ἐγκαλουμένη ὡς ἀλλότριον πρᾶγμα μετιούσα (τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἔστιν), ἔρριψεν αὐτὰς εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον Θριάσιον πεδίον. Παρὰ τὸ τρία, γέγονε θρία καὶ Θριάσιον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἔρριψεν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ τὰς μαντικὰς ψήφους, αἵτινες θρίαί λεγόνταν· ὅθεν καὶ τὸ μαντεύεσθαι <θριάσθαι> λέγεται. Καὶ αὐταὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἢ παρὰ τὸ τρισσαί· ἢ ἀπὸ Θριασίου τινὸς οὕτως καλουμένου.²⁹⁷

The entry is a typical jumble of information. Athena's stone-tossing is said to account for the name of the Thriasian plain (and the deme Thria), but there is a competing explanation involving an eponym Thriasios.²⁹⁸ We are told that the pebbles and the maidens alike were three in number. The number is, strictly speaking, adventitious: the Thiriai and Athena could have done their business with the *thiriai* whatever their number; it seems unlikely, in fact, that the number of stones was everywhere invariable in oracular practice, and the mediating form *τρίαί* is the typical invention of an etymologist.²⁹⁹ One might reasonably conclude that we have to do with two distinct explanations: (1) the *thiriai* were named after the Thiriai, daughters of Zeus; (2) the *thiriai* were so called because they were three in number.³⁰⁰ Nonetheless, the sources repeatedly present these data together, so that for them, at least, they amount to a single explanation. One must also consider the well-known passage in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* which speaks of three Parnassian bee-maidens who taught Apollo prophecy; Apollo makes a gift of these maidens to his young half-brother (550–67). Apollodoros, in telling the story of their encounter, finishes by saying that Apollo taught Hermes the art of divination with pebbles (3.10.2 (115)). Apollodoros mentions neither Thiriai nor bees, but

²⁹⁶ For the use of pebbles and similar objects in prophecy, tossed and/or drawn, see Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination* 1.189–97; Halliday, *Greek Divination* 205–18; F. E. Robbins, 'The Lot Oracle at Delphi', V. Ehrenberg, *RE* 13.2.1452–6 s.v. Losung; K. Latte, *RE* 18.1.831–2 s.v. Orakel; Amandry, *La Mantique apollinienne à Delphes* 25–36; Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* 219–23; Frazer on Paus. 7.25.10; Williams on Kallim. *Hymn* 2.45. Another tradition, perhaps invented by Apollodoros (*FGrHist* 244 F 153; cf. *Etym. Magn.* 455.45), looks rather to *θρία* 'leaves'; Hsch. s.v. *θριάζω* cites Soph. fr. 466 from the *Mad Odysseus* and Eur. fr. 478 from his *Likymnios* (though we do not know whether they so etymologized the verb).

²⁹⁷ The entry is also in *Etym. Gen.* B (p. 160 Miller). Similarly Orion 72.12 Sturz; *Etym. Magn.* 455.47 ~ *Anecd. Bekk.* 1.265.11; *Etym. Gud.* 264.34 Sturz; Attic glosses in MS Vind. Phil. 172, ed. Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika* 394.31. For the Thiriai, see also schol. Kallim. *Hymn.* 2.45 *μαντικαὶ ψήφοι εἰσιν αἱ θριαί*. λέγεται δὲ αὐτὰς εὐρησθαι ὑπὸ τινων τριῶν νυμφῶν, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θριαὶ ἀνομασθήσαν οἷονεὶ τριαί; s.m. *Etym. Gud.* 266.6 Sturz, Hsch. s.v. *θριαί*, and other sources cited by Bühler on Zenob. 2.76.

²⁹⁸ He is attested also in a late inscription *IG* II^a 5007; there was also a hero Thrious (Steph. Byz. *Θβ1*; Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 170).

²⁹⁹ A device already known from the *Cratylus*, e.g. 411e.

³⁰⁰ Hence my suggestion <ῥ>, which assumed a word dropped because of the surrounding ee-sounds. In the light of the above argument this might be thought unnecessary.

already Gottfried Hermann in his edition of 1806 put these passages together and guessed that the bee-maidens of the *Hymn* were the original Thriai.³⁰¹ Whether the bees have a literal implication (reflecting the use of real bees in prophecy) or are a metaphor of some special quality the maidens possess, it is hard to see how pebbles eventually came into it;³⁰² but the coincidence between these passages is suggestive. Noting finally that Kallimachos (*Hymn. Apoll.* 45) regarded mantic pebbles as Delphic, one may be reasonably confident that the connection between the maidens of the Homeric hymn, stones, Thriai, and the number three, is at least classical.

A Delphic connection is found also in Zenobios (Ath.) 2.76, who is explaining the proverb 'many are pebble-tossers (*θριοβόλοι*) but few are prophets'. He begins by quoting Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328 F 195), who says that the three Thriai were nymphs who lived on Parnassos and were nurses of Apollo; to them we owe mantic pebbles, *θριαί*, and the verb *θριασθαι* 'prophecy'. Others, he continues, say that Athena invented pebble-prophecy, but as it gained in favour at the expense of Delphi, Zeus, to gratify Apollo, rendered its prophecies false. So when people returned to Delphi, the Pythia remarked scornfully, 'Many are pebble-tossers, but few are prophets' (or. fals. 610 Parke-Wormell; cf. Steph. Byz. 659, *Suda* 6490, π1932).

Much remains uncertain as far as Pherekydes is concerned. Jacoby saw that the Attic connection was likely to be what counted for him; perhaps the story in *Etym. Magn.*, which also shares his genealogy, is his. Jacoby probably went too far, however, in keeping Attica and Delphi strictly apart.³⁰³ It is worth noting in Jacoby's favour that Pherekydes (fr. 131) differs from the Homeric *Hymn* as to when Apollo gave Hermes his rod; this detail is in the same part of the *Hymn* as the Thriai (529). But in general the Attic story presumes the Delphic practice, and the entry in the *Etymologicum* explicitly affirms that prophecy is Apollo's affair. The story could easily have been that the maidens had come from elsewhere, looking for a home.³⁰⁴

³⁰¹ He even wrote *Θριαί* for *σεμναί* in l. 552, a suggestion in which he has not won much assent (the latest editor, M. L. West, rejects it). Càssola in his edition firmly rejects the connection.

³⁰² For discussion see J. Larson, 'The Corycian Nymphs' and *Greek Nymphs* 12; J. McInerney, *GRBS* 38 (1997) 267–8. Cf. also A. B. Cook, 'The Bee in Greek Mythology' and Scheinberg, 'The Bee Maidens of the Homeric Hymn to Hermes'.

³⁰³ See also his comments on Philochoros, where he is taking Wilamowitz to task, who has an important discussion at *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.372–3 [1.379–80]. Jacoby argues that Philochoros would have explained the name of the deme in his *Atthis*, not in his writings on prophecy, and that 'if he derived it from the Thriai it is not easy to understand why Zenobios quoted *ἄλλοι* as evidence for Athena's invention'; but who is to say that this fr. does not come from the *Atthis*, or that Philochoros did not use the other story about Athena?

³⁰⁴ The Attic Thriai who inspire the crow in Kallimachos' *Hekale* (fr. 74.9 Hollis) could be native or immigrant. The abode of Archilochos' Thriai (quoted with Pherekydes) is unknown; I do not see why it could not be Delphi.

It is set in the earliest days of Attic history, before Thria was even named. The text does not actually say whether the stones were the very first of their kind, or ones that answered an already established description. It exhibits uneasiness with the practice; Zenobios' story (surely not Attic) involves Athena in positive discomfiture. She is not, indeed, a goddess normally associated with prophecy.³⁰⁵ A clutch of authorities, beginning with Pollux 9.96, associates dice-throwing with the Skira;³⁰⁶ Frazer, among others, guessed that it was for mantic purposes. In that case, Bouché-Leclercq justly remarks, 'il faut que, bon gré mal gré, la déesse locale, Athènè, accepte le patronage de cette industrie' (1.193).

We also do not know whether the Delphic maidens were daughters of Zeus, as Pherekydes makes them; it could be mere accident that the fuller sources for the Delphic story are silent on the point. As such, however, they will belong to the earlier strata of mythological history. Hesychios s.v. *θριαί* says they were the first prophets; this could be an inference from the Homeric hymn, or, as Wilamowitz sensed, a distant echo of Pherekydes.

³⁰⁵ Williams, however (above, n. 296), notes Kallim. *Hymn* 5.121, Euphorion fr. 190, and the temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi.

³⁰⁶ The evidence is assembled by Jacoby on Philochoros 328 FF 14/16, nn. 42–3; Jacoby himself thought it was just a gamblers' district.

PELASGIANS, LELEGES, DRYOPES, AND ARKADIANS

§2.1 Pelasgians¹ (Akous. fr. 25; Hek. fr. 119, 127; Hellan. fr. 4, 91–93; Pher. fr. 156)

We take the Pelasgians first, as the most representative pre-Greek population in the mythographical tradition. The first thing to notice about them is their ubiquity. In an appendix to his book *Die Pelasger*, Lochner-Hüttenbach lists 149 localities in which Pelasgians are attested, covering most of Italy, Greece, and the Aegean; in the first part of his book he requires 93 pages to list and translate every passage in which they are mentioned. Yet, in spite of this literary record, it was impossible to point to a living, breathing Pelasgian.² No one would shake your hand in agora or forum and say 'I am a Pelasgian'. No Pelasgian ever issued a coin, manufactured an artefact, cut an inscription, or wrote a book; no Pelasgian words came to the notice of ancient grammarians; no Pelasgian even had the misfortune, like a Thracian or a Karian, to serve as a slave in a more civilized household. Not that any of this prevented people from thinking they knew who or where Pelasgians were. Just the opposite: their very elusiveness encouraged the game. The label could be attached to almost anyone. It is curious, though, that reports of Pelasgian sightings assume typical forms: they are said to be a remnant surviving in some place amid civilized people, or one among a jumble of barbarian peoples in a region, or to have lived in a town up to the day before yesterday. Very often too identifications are bound up with a theory about the Pelasgians' true origins. Dionysios of Halikarnassos, for instance, says (1.21.1) that Falerii and Fescennium in his day retained a few of the old Pelasgian ways, 'such as the Greeks used to have; for instance, the fashion of their armaments, their Argive shields and

¹ This section updates my article 'Pelasgians'. Since then Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Herodotos (and others) on Pelasgians', has contributed an important discussion. See also Munson, *Black Doves Speak: Herodotus and the Languages of Barbarians* 7–13.

² Luraghi makes a telling observation ('Local Knowledge in Herodotus' *Histories* 159): '... although the Pelasgians appear quite often in Herodotus, if we collect all the *ἀκοή* statements concerning them we immediately notice a rather strange phenomenon: it is always someone else who speaks about them, be it the priestesses of Zeus at Dodona (2.52.2–53.3), the Athenians, or Hekataeus (6.137). Apart from the populations living on the fringes of the world, the Pelasgians are the only ones who never "speak" themselves, the only ones about whom only other people "speak".'

spears ...' and so on, listing 'old' Greek customs. Dionysios' belief is that Pelasgians were in fact early Greeks who came from Arkadia. Anyone who thought differently, arguing, for instance, that the Pelasgians were identical with the Tyrsenians, would dismiss Dionysios' examples. The method of reasoning merely goes to show that identification was impossible.

Some passages of Herodotos and Thucydides might seem to make against these claims, but on closer examination they do not. In the vexed chapter 1.57, Herodotos is trying to determine what language the Pelasgians spoke. The method is necessarily roundabout. He identifies a few cities—Kreston, Plakie, and Skylake—which are Pelasgian; judging by these, he says, the language they spoke would have been 'a barbarian one'. For these cities all speak the same language ('a barbarian one') as each other, but a different one from their immediate neighbours; therefore they kept the language they originally spoke when they were forced out of Thessaly and Attika. Neither the method nor the answer inspires confidence, and the whole discussion takes place in the context of a general theory of origins, just as in Dionysios. One may wonder too whether Herodotos' ear for barbarian languages was fine enough to distinguish them from each other, and it is cause for concern that Thucydides (4.109) clearly implies that the Krestionatai, one of Herodotos' three Pelasgian groups, were *not* Pelasgian.³

Thucydides in the same place says that Akte was occupied by a mixture (NB) of barbarians, but mostly Pelasgians—Tyrsenians, he says, who once occupied Lemnos and Athens. The identification of Pelasgians with Tyrsenians reflects the influence of Hellanikos (fr. 4), who probably first made the equation.⁴ If Herodotos knew this theory, he implicitly rejects it when he refers to the 'Pelasgians who live beyond the Tyrsenians' in 1.57. So more theorizing lies behind Thucydides' remark.

These Pelasgians of Akte are said to have come from Lemnos and Athens; this presumes the eviction of the Pelasgians from Athens described in Herodotos 6.137, who reports an anti-Athenian account of the incident from Hekataios (fr. 127).⁵ Suspiciously,

³ On the variant Kreston/Kroton in Herodotos see Jacoby on *FGrHist* 265 F 35; Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 2.226; Briquel, *Les Pélasges en Italie* 101–13. The reading Kreston is correct; Thucydides is obviously speaking of the same folk (Asheri ad loc. does not even consider Kroton). Plakie is mentioned nowhere else except by Dionysios (*Ant. Rom.* 1.29.3), quoting Herodotos; of Skylake, we know only that it was mentioned by Hekataios in the *Periodos* (*FGrHist* 1 F 218), which raises the suspicion that Herodotos is working here with second-hand information. *Contra* Meyer, *Forschungen* 1.24–5, 119 (citing also Hellan. fr. 4), Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* 1.2.51, and Beekes, *The Origin of the Etruscans* 38–9.

⁴ Briquel, *Les Pélasges en Italie* 291–3 thinks the tradition may have been older. Perhaps Soph. fr. 270, which refers to *Τυρσηνοὶ Πελασγοί*, is earlier; both Jacoby on Hellan. fr. 4 and Lochner-Hüttenbach (*Die Pelasger* 103) think Sophokles is the debtor.

⁵ According to Jacoby on Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 FF 99–101, Herodotos was the first to combine two originally separate stories: one about the Pelasgians and the Akropolis wall, and another about the Lemnians who raided Brauron (6.138–40), which was obviously concocted to justify the Athenian conquest of the island. By making the Lemnian raiders Pelasgian, he actually made it easy for someone to equate the real Tyrsenians of Lemnos with the Pelasgians (Jacoby p. 413). However, Jacoby's long chain of reasoning is not entirely persuasive: he argues that Hekataios knew the raiding story, but said the Lemnians were Tyrsenians

the Pelasgians were all gone from Lemnos in Herodotos' day. Miltiades had supposedly cleared them out at the end of the sixth century. Perhaps they were still there when Hekataios wrote, if he wrote before Miltiades took the island. But even if they were, it is interesting that these Pelasgians are not native to the island, but have come from Athens. This is typical. Pelasgians have no home; they are always people who have come from some place else, and live under a standing order of eviction (*πολύπλανον καὶ ταχὺ τὸ ἔθνος πρὸς τὰς ἀπαναστάσεις*, says Strabo 13.3.3).⁶ In any scenario of upheaval, change of dynasty, or turbulent pre-history, Pelasgians, like Leleges (Pher. fr. 155), Aonians (Hellan. fr. 51a), and others (Hek. fr. 119), are very apt to figure in the accounts of fact-starved historians. If the Lemnians evicted by Miltiades were non-Greeks and relative newcomers to the island, their true ethnicity might have been doubtful, and we note that when they left the island for Akte they were merely one among a crowd of barbarians. Again one wonders how good Greeks were at distinguishing barbarians under such circumstances.

We see then that in all these early historians references to the Pelasgians are very problematic. They existed no more than the Amazons or Atlantis. This has not discouraged scholars ancient and modern from trying to identify the true Pelasgians. Guesses have ranged from Hellanikos' Tyrsenians—to which an inscription on Lemnos at least lends some colour⁷—to pre-Hellenic Indo-Europeans, pre-Hellenic non-Indo-Europeans, Philistines, Hungarians, Indians, Poles, *Urfinnen*, etc. Lochner-Hüttenbach's own candidate is the Illyrians, for whom he builds a superficially impressive case, but much of it rests on precarious foundations, and other cases could be made from the same data.⁸ Even if the sources were not fundamentally vitiated by *Tendenz*

(p. 411), and did not draw the connection with the Pelasgian wall story for which Herodotos cites him; and (p. 410) that Herodotos knew the Lemnians only as Pelasgians, not Tyrsenians, for his Tyrsenians went directly from Lydia to Italy without a stopover (1.96). Yet the Tyrsenians of Lemnos were 'real' (n. 5), a fact 'we may trust Hekataios to have known' (n. 30), though not, apparently, Herodotos. Easier to suppose that Hekataios thought of the Lemnians (or at least some Lemnians) as Pelasgian—that is, that he rounded off his story of the wall by saying where the Pelasgians had emigrated to (a supposition Jacoby, n. 16, must needs deny). His ultimate point is that the Lemnian victims of Miltiades had already been persecuted once by the Athenians. The story serves as hostile propaganda in the context of Athenian aggression. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Reading a Myth, Reconstructing its Constructions' argues persuasively that elements of the story are older, but it was reshaped after the conquest of Lemnos to provide justification.

⁶ De Simone, *I Tirreni a Lemnos* 49 endorses Bader's view, *Langues indo-européennes* 67, that the etymology of the word Πελασγοί itself is 'wanderers'. But R. Beekes, *Mnem.* 54 (2001) 361, offers powerful objections against this. See also below, n. 31. Cf. the description of the Leleges at Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.10.2 ('the ancients called any group of mixed exiles unable to inhabit any country securely as their homeland "Leleges"').

⁷ IG XII 8.1 (6th c.). The language and script, though not identical with Etruscan, are similar. See Heurgon, 'À propos de l'inscription «tyrrhénienne» de Lemnos'; G. and L. Bonfante, *The Etruscan Language* 60–2; R. Drews, *Historia* 41 (1992) 25. Recent excavations at the Kabeirion have turned up another brief text: see SEG 45.1194; De Simone (above, n. 6); Beekes, *Mnem.* 54 (2001) 359–64; Bremmer, 'Hephaistos Sweats' 198 n. 33. Beekes, *The Origins of the Etruscans*, supports with his usual vigour Herodotos' view that the Etruscans came from Lydia (cf. further below, n. 31).

⁸ The Illyrian cause is most recently taken up by G. Bonfante, 'A Note on the Pelasgians'.

they were situated at a time when the putative original strain of the Pelasgians had long been diffused beyond recognition. Wilamowitz had it right in 1880: '[Pelasgian] is only a relative ethnic term. Pelasgians exist only to be displaced; they are only there in connection with some other tribe.'⁹

To be a foil is their normal function. Like other barbarian folk already mentioned, they typically play a role in the troubled prehistory of a nation, which ends when the rightful owners arrive and lay claim to the land. The interesting thing about the Pelasgians is that they are consistently a foil to the Greeks themselves. The Pelasgians are the pre-Greek population in Greek consciousness; and insofar as there certainly was a pre-Greek population, one might feel justified in calling them Pelasgian. But this is merely to substitute one name for another. We can say nothing whatsoever about this group as an *ethnos*, and it is hardly likely that the entire pre-Greek population of the Balkans and the Aegean basin was a single undifferentiated people.

The real interest, then, of the Pelasgians, is their role in debates about Greek ethnicity. These debates continued throughout the archaic period and were still a live issue in the classical period. Each text touching on these issues comes from a particular place and time, and offers a different take. Unfortunately we rarely have sufficient evidence to assess the precise meaning of every change in a genealogy, or to catch the subtleties implicit in a particular choice of words or approach to the problem. Those alive at the time and fully familiar with the contemporary political map would have understood the language. Even non-political considerations might affect what an author has to say. In the case of the historians, one comes to realize that they are not always motivated not only by their particular *Sitz im Leben* or the changed realities of their own day, but also by a compulsion to disagree at all costs with what other historians or poets have said.

The Pelasgian story begins in Homer. In the *Catalogue of Ships* we learn that those who live in Pelasgian Argos, Alos, Alope, Trachis, Phthia, and Hellas, are called Myrmidons, Hellenes, and Achaians (*Il.* 2.681–4). At *Il.* 2.840 we learn that there were Pelasgians on the Trojan side, led by Hippothoos and Pylaios sons of Lethos the Pelasgian, son of Teutamios from Larisa. They are mentioned again among the Trojan allies at 10.429. Hippothoos himself dies at 17.301 'far from Larisa'. This suggests confusion, for if the Thessalian Larisa is meant, it is an odd place for a Trojan ally to call home, but on the other hand, if the Larisa in the Troad is meant, Hippothoos is not far from it.¹⁰ Finally in the *Iliad* at 16.233 Achilles prays to Pelasgian Zeus of Dodona, whose prophets are the Selloi of the unwashed feet. In the *Odyssey* there is one mention of the Pelasgians; they are one of several peoples who make up the population of Crete (19.177).

These Homeric references do not suggest a people of any distinct outlines. The confusion about the Pelasgian allies of Troy is revealing, and the Cretan Pelasgians have

⁹ *Aus Kydathen* 144; cf. *Aristoteles und Athen* 2.73 n. 4, *Euripides: Herakles* 2.1 n. 2.

¹⁰ Cf. Lochner-Hüttenbach, *Die Pelasger* 153.

already established their role as part of a crowd. More helpful are the references to Pelasgian Argos and Pelasgian Zeus, each in association with sites of very great antiquity in Greek tradition. 'Pelasgian Zeus' is a religious appellation, and 'Pelasgian Argos' has the air of an epic formula; we may take these as traditional and primary. There is no reason, unless we read the later texts back into Homer, to think that the adjective in these passages refers to an ethnos—i.e. that 'Pelasgian Zeus' is the Zeus who used to belong to the Pelasgians, who, we should infer, were once much in evidence in Dodona (the 'seat of the Pelasgians' according to Hesiod fr. 319); that is one possible interpretation, but not the only one. The other is that the adjective simply means something like 'ancient' or 'primeval', and that the Pelasgoi, the 'ancient people', owe their name to the epithet rather than the other way around. Such ancient people there had once been, and Greeks had to have a name for them, but to think that the designation 'the ancient race' is historically helpful is to put cart before horse.

Both Phthia and Dodona are sites associated with the birth of the name 'Hellenes'. Phthia eventually won, but there were scholars in antiquity who thought that the Selloi of Dodona were the original, true Hellenes; some scholars today agree with them, appealing to linguistics and archaeology for support.¹¹ It seems possible that these very passages of Homer were the warrant for the later role of the Pelasgians as the precursors of the Greek race. If their name really meant 'the ancient people' then it was all the easier.

Support for this understanding of the adjective 'Pelasgos' comes from the *Catalogue of Women*, where we learn that Pelasgos was the first inhabitant of Arkadia, sprung from the earth.¹² One cannot get any older than that; the Arkadians after all were already in Arkadia before the moon was in the sky.¹³ The Arkadian claim is acknowledged by historians such as Dionysios who say the Pelasgians emigrated from Arkadia to various locations. The claim is implicitly acknowledged by Akousilaos (fr. 25) when he worked Pelasgos into the Argive stemma by making him a brother of Argos and son of Niobe, daughter of Phoroneus, son of Inachos the river. Argive tradition as established in the archaic epic the *Phoronis* held that Inachos was the beginning of all things, and Phoroneus was the *Urmensch*;¹⁴ Akousilaos' treatment of Pelasgos looks like a rejection of Arkadian claims (the implicit acknowledgement). Apollodoros, who cites Akousilaos, adds the revealing detail that this Pelasgos gave his name to *all* the Pelasgians in the Peloponnese, which would include of course the Arkadians.¹⁵

¹¹ See §4 n. 32.

¹² Fr. 160; so also Asios fr. 8.

¹³ References for this idea, and for the Arkadians as primitive 'acorn-eaters', in Burkert, *HN* 84 n. 1 (*HN* 98 n. 1); Nielsen, *Arkadia* 71–2; Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan* 7–8; Roy, 'On Seeming Backward' 74.

¹⁴ *Phoronis* fr. 1. See §7.1.1.

¹⁵ Jacoby ad loc. thinks this point cannot be from Akousilaos, who according to him agreed with Hesiod (fr. 161.2) that Pelasgos was father of Lykaon; but one can imagine Akousilaos saying both these things.

To judge from his prominence in Herodotos, Hekataios was a major player in these discussions (*Hek. fr. 127*).¹⁶ Certainly he had strong and unorthodox opinions about the genealogy of the Hellenes (frr. 13, 16; →§4.4). Hekataios is a very good example of the dictum that historians were motivated by a desire to contradict their predecessors. Having unearthed authoritative local information he did not hesitate to reject the Hesiodic account, in which the Aitolians were allied closely to the Aioliens. Furthermore, Hekataios separated the Ionians from the Dorians and Aioliens more sharply than the Hesiodic *Catalogue* had done. In his account, Ionian unity received full stress.

The Lemnian story involves Pelasgians living among the Athenians, on land given by them in return for building the wall on the acropolis. The wall was known in Athens as the Pelargic or Stork wall. Hekataios' story may imply the connection made in later sources, beginning with Philochoros, between Pelasgian and Pelargian, but as Dunbar and others argue this piece of local folk-etymology is not relevant to the general mythical tradition.¹⁷ Probably Hekataios drew the connection from Pelasgian to Pelargian rather than the other way around: for him the Pelasgians were not native to Athens; they got their land in return for services rendered. Therefore they already had their name when they came to Athens, and built a wall originally called Pelasgic, but later called Pelargic. Before they came to Athens they probably lived in the Peloponnese.

Strabo's quotation of *Hek. fr. 119* on this point is not quite as clear as one could wish. Whether the whole of his disquisition about pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece comes from Hekataios may be doubted. His contribution may end after the first sentence. But the general thrust of the argument must have been similar (cf. §14.1). Hekataios will have been the man, then, who contributed to the mainstream of discussion the idea that, generally speaking, details apart, Greece was Pelasgian before it was Greek—or at least the Peloponnese, from which the Pelasgians spread further afield.¹⁸ Thus both Herodotos and Thucydides, in various casual remarks;¹⁹ and Aischylos, in the *Suppliants*

¹⁶ See also above, n. 5.

¹⁷ Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 99; Dunbar, *Aristophanes: Birds* 497–8. *Contra* Paraskevaïdou, 'The Name of the Pelasgians'. Granted, the propensity of birds to contribute the names of some of these groups is curious; apart from Pelargoi, there are Dryopes 'woodpeckers' and Meropes 'bee-eaters'. (Pace Paraskevaïdou, *Leleges* does not mean 'storks' in ancient Greek; modern Greek *λέλεκας/λελέκα* comes by way of Turkish *leylek*.)

¹⁸ Cf. Jacoby on *FGrHist* 4 F 4. If Strabo's comment about Eumolpos and his invading Thracians comes from Hekataios, it has implications for Attic myth; see §16.2.3.

¹⁹ Hdt. 2.56 (Pelasgie the former name of Greece); Thuc. 1.3.2 (Greece was mostly Pelasgian in the early days). See further in Herodotos 1.146 (Pelasgians from Arcadia only one of many ethne who make up the Iones); 2.50 (names of the gods come from Egypt except for a few which they do not recognize; these came from Pelasgians, except Poseidon's, which came from Libya); 2.51 (herms are Pelasgian; Pelasgians are the former inhabitants of Samothrace); 2.52 (more on Pelasgians and the names of the gods); 7.94 (Iones living in the Peloponnese before the Dorian invasion were called Pelasgoi Aigialees); 7.95 (the islanders were Pelasgian but became Ionian; the Aioliens were once called Pelasgian—one would like to hear more about this!); 8.44 (Athenians were Pelasgian in days of the Pelasgoi; on this passage more below, p. 92).

of 463 B.C., about the date of Pherekydes' book, makes Pelasgos claim the whole of Greece as his kingdom (250–9). If this was Hekataios' attitude, then he did not confine Pelasgians to Arkadia like the *Catalogue*; he would have been more sympathetic to Akousilaos' idea that Pelasgos gave his name to all the Pelasgians of the Peloponnese, though he may not have agreed with the notion that he was Argive, and his own thesis differed crucially in suggesting a notion of historical evolution.

Turning to Pherekydes we may say that he laid down the point of view on which Hellanikos was to expand in reaction to Herodotos. If Herodotos' talk of Pelasgians turning into Ionians and Athenians was already current in Pherekydes' day, and not merely a personal theory, Pherekydes was having none of it. (One would like to know what Aischylos said about this problem.) From *Pher. fr. 156* it is clear that for Pherekydes the Pelasgians are a specific people, not a vague and diffuse pre-Hellenic mass. Dionysios, who quotes the fragment, is interested in the branch that emigrated to Italy. Pherekydes (*fr. 12*) placed some Pelasgians also in Thessaly, at Larisa, in Pelasgiotis (cf. *Hell. fr. 91*, which makes Larisa daughter of Pelasgos; → §7.2.5).²⁰ It is a reasonable conjecture that they emigrated there from Arkadia, perhaps with a sojourn at Argos; for the connection of Argos and Thessaly is a primary datum of tradition evidenced not only by the Homeric *Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος* of the northern district but also by Larisa itself, which is the name both of the Thessalian town and of the acropolis of Argos. The Athenians for Pherekydes were surely autochthonous, and had nothing to do with the Pelasgians (autochthonous *Arkadians*, as in *Hesiod fr. 160*). A later reworking of Pherekydes' book was called 'The Autochthones' (*FGrHist 333*), probably taking its cue from the genuine Pherekydes, and it seems a safe inference from *fr. 2* of Pherekydes, the famous genealogy of the Philaidai, that he discussed Attic saga in book 1 of his work.²¹ Thus he began with his own country, celebrating its autochthony and antiquity, and countering the claims in particular of Argos as made by Akousilaos. Pherekydes probably accounted for the way the Athenians became Hellenes in the simple manner of the *Catalogue*, by saying that Xouthos had an Athenian mother. It was not in his interest to make it out as a problem.

For Herodotos, however, it was the whole problem. We need to consider his views in detail if we are to understand the mythographers. He bought into the theory that Greece was generally Pelasgian before it was Hellenic; indeed, he sees the Greek world as divided between these two ancestries, quite logically, for the Dorians, of all Greeks, were the only ones who had no one in their ancestry besides Hellen.²² But in 1.56 he seems to equate these two groups with the Dorians and the *Ionians*, i.e. Spartans and Athenians, reflecting the power structures of his own day. As the lines between the

²⁰ Also Paus. 2.24.1. Cf. *Soph. fr. 379* (from the *Larisaioi*) *Λάρισα μήτηρ προσγόνων Πελασγιδῶν*. Further on *Pher. fr. 156* see below, §2.4 and §17.5.

²¹ See Part B on the structure of Pherekydes' book.

²² Meyer, *Forschungen* 1.115.

groups had become even more sharply drawn than Hekataios had imagined, the problem of how one came to be the other was that much more acute. Figuring also in this discussion of Herodotos' is new thinking about the relation of language to ethnicity, and about the evolution of human societies; Herodotos has been having conversations with Sophists.

Here is the text:

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς ἂν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἔοντας προσκτῆσαιτο φίλους. ἱστορέων δὲ εὗρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένους, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα, ἔοντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικόν, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ καὶ ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλείᾳ οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσάν τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλύμπου χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰσθμιαίῳ. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰσθμιαίτιδος ὡς ἐξανεστή ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδόνων καλεόμενον. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἔλθον Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

(57) ἦντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἔσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἐτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκόντων, οἱ ὅμοιοι κοτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοις (οἴκεον δὲ τὴν καὶ γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλίῳ καλεομένην), καὶ τῶν Πλακίῳ τε καὶ Σκυλάκῳ Πελασγῶν οἰκισάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἱ σύνιοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοις (καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικά ἔοντα πολίσματα τὸ σύνιομα μετέβαλε),²³ εἰ τοῖσι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἔντες. εἰ τοῖσιν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐὼν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλληνιστὴν καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστῶναι οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφεας περιουκόντων εἰσι ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι, δηλοῦσι τε ὅτι τὸν ἡνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ. (58) τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλῶσση μὲν, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο, αἰεὶ κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχράται, ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι. ἀποσχισθὲν μὲντι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἐὼν ἀσθενές, ἀπὸ μικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρμώμενον αὔξεται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνῶν, Πελασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρὸς δὲ ὧν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὔξηθῆναι.

Next Kroisos, inquiring as to the most powerful, considered which Greeks he might befriend. His inquiries revealed the pre-eminence of the Lakedaimonians and the Athenians, the one being a Dorian people, the other Ionian. These were the leading societies of the day; anciently one had been Pelasgian, the other Hellenic. The former had never yet migrated, the latter had moved about a great deal. In the time of King Deukalion they lived in Phthiotis; in the time of Doros son of Hellen they inhabited the territory around Mounts Ossa and Olympos, known as Histiaiotis. When the Kadmeians evicted them from Histiaiotis they took up residence on Pindos, and were called Makednoi. From there they moved again to Dryopis, whence they came to the Peloponnese, and so acquired the name Dorian.

I cannot say for certain what language the Pelasgians spoke. But if one can reason from those Pelasgians still living in Kreston beyond the Tyrsenians, who were at that time neighbours of the present-day Dorians—they lived then in the country now called Thessaliotis—and also those living in Plakie and Skylake in the Hellespont, who were in those days dwelling among the Athenians; if, as I say, one can base one's conclusions on these, the Pelasgians spoke a barbarian tongue. If this holds true of all Pelasgians, the Attic people, being Pelasgian, must have learnt a new language at the time that they became Hellenic. Neither Krestonians nor Plakians

²³ For the deletion see below, n. 25.

speak the same language as any of their neighbours, but they do speak the same language as one another, which shows that they have retained the tongue they spoke when they emigrated to these regions. The Hellenic people, I think, have always spoken the same language from the start. When they split away from the Pelasgians, they were weak, but from small beginnings they grew to a multitude of peoples, Pelasgians and many other barbarian nations swelling their ranks. Furthermore, in my view the Pelasgian race never attained any great size, being barbarian.

Herodotos begins by saying that one group, the Hellenes (Dorians) had wandered much, the other not at all. This seems to contradict what he says below about Pelasgians who once lived next the Dorians, and others who once lived with the Athenians, but had now migrated; it also seems at odds with the later view of Pelasgians, expressed for instance by Strabo (13.3.3) and Diodoros (5.80.1), that Pelasgians are the great travellers of antiquity. But in this part of his account by Pelasgians he means Athenians, and when he says they have never migrated, he reflects the Athenian self-image. Elsewhere in his book (8.44) he says that the Athenians were Pelasgians in the time of Pelasgos, but were called Kranaoi, then became Kekropidai in the time of Kekrops, then Athenians in the time of Erechtheus, and Ionians in the time of Ion.

He next tells us the history of the Dorian migrations, before turning rather abruptly to the question of the Pelasgian language, through which he seeks to prove his main point, that the Pelasgians were not Greek. His proof is that two different groups of Pelasgians, living in different locations, still speak the same barbarian language as each other, but not the same one as their immediate neighbours. Herodotos might have appealed to just one of these communities, but obviously the claim is strengthened if he can appeal to two groups. A single group might have picked up a barbarian language during some unknown stopover after leaving mainland Greece, but with two groups the possibility of such accidents is much reduced, and the supposition becomes fairly irresistible that they have preserved the language they used to speak when living together. (Note that the argument assumes that the Pelasgians are in Herodotos' day a scattered people, no longer living in their original homeland.) In this part of his discussion he is speaking of Pelasgians after they have become differentiated from Greeks of all kinds, whether Dorian or Athenian. That is the end-point of the evolution; in the beginning, there were no Greeks, only Pelasgians. Language defining the ethnos, he reasons that when the Athenians became Hellenes, they switched their language from Pelasgian to Greek. He might have said the same thing about the Dorians, that when they became Greeks they too switched their language from Pelasgian to Greek (just as he might have said at the beginning of 1.57, 'what language the *Hellenes* of those days spoke, I do not know'); but he does not, because in his view, as in the traditional view, the Dorians are more Hellenic than the Athenians, and it is too much to admit outright that the Hellenes were once un-Hellenic. But that the Dorians *were* at one time Pelasgian is implied by his remarks in ch. 58. There he says rather vaguely that since the Greek race came into existence, it has always spoken the same language; when it split from the

Pelasgians (and perhaps Herodotos thinks it was always a distinct group, just waiting to break off), it was but weak at first, but with time it grew to a great size, as many other barbarian tribes converted to Hellenism. 'Other' means in addition to the Pelasgians, which Sauppe added into the text; some alteration is necessary on any reading, but even if one does not add Pelasgians, they are implied. One might think at first that this chapter refers to the Athenians only, and that when Herodotos speaks of the Hellenic group splitting off from the Pelasgians, he means the point at which some Athenians converted to Hellenism, isolating the Pelasgians among them, who eventually left.²⁴ But this makes nonsense of the remark about the accession of many other ethne. Rather, Herodotos is thinking of how the original tiny nucleus of Hellenes, i.e. the Dorians, gradually expanded to include Aioliens (who are called Pelasgians at 7.95) and Ionians (who are called Pelasgians from the Peloponnese at 1.146 and 7.94), and then other groups such as Pelopidai, Inachidai, Kadmeians, Aitolians, Arkadians, Eleans, Dryopes, all in addition to the Pelasgians. The last sentence in ch. 58 clearly contrasts Greeks and barbarians, not Athenians and barbarians; and so does the rest of the chapter.²⁵

On this reading of his argument, let us see what it tells us about Herodotos' views of Pelasgians and Greeks. Once established, the Greek ethnos was an immutable essence. The language never changed, he says. The group grew bigger as others join in, and to that extent it evolved, but the vital step, the evolution from Pelasgian to Greek, was not a matter of imperceptible change by degrees. It simply happened, and after that you were either one or the other. Herodotos' theory is very satisfying from a Greek point of view, because the traffic between the groups is all one way. The Greek nation was strong from the start, whereas the barbarians were unstable. Everyone secretly longs to be a Greek, and in those early days a lot of lucky people got the opportunity to make the change. No one would become a barbarian by choice.

Herodotos is necessarily vague about how the Greek race came into existence (ch. 58); it just suddenly appears. His ideas also lead him into difficulty, as we have seen, in places like Athens which had once been Pelasgian, but became Greek; there is no real distinction between these and the first Greek race, the Dorians, which had also been Pelasgian, except that the Dorians converted first. His understanding of the evolution commits him to the view that there was a general substratum of Pelasgians living in Greece which as a whole turned into Greeks. But in ch. 56, when he speaks of Pelasgoi who were living with the Athenians he seems to echo a different view, whereby the Pelasgians were temporary immigrants only. One can save his consistency in this part of his book

²⁴ McNeal, 'How did Pelasgians become Hellenes?', after others.

²⁵ I can see no way that the words *καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἔοντα πολίσματα τὸ οὐνομα μετέβαλε* make sense in the context of Herodotos' argument on any reading, and have concluded that they are interpolated. A plethora of Pelasgian cities is potentially confusing, and having Pelasgians who no longer call themselves Pelasgian is unhelpful at best, damaging at worst (how could they be recognized except by their language, which is the point under contention?). Otherwise the text is Hude's, which does not differ from Rosén's except in allowing Sauppe's *Πελασγῶν* for *πολλῶν* of the MSS in 1.58.

by assuming that at this point in ch. 56 he is thinking of those Pelasgians who refused to convert; I think that is probably what he does mean at this point, but when at 6.137 he repeats Hekataios' story about the expulsion of the Pelasgoi from Attica, and the Athenian response to it, he presupposes the temporary immigrant theory. Then at 2.51, when he reports that the worship of herms was taken over by the Athenians from the Pelasgians, he comments 'The Athenians at that time still counted as Pelasgians, who lived with them in their country, and as a result came to be considered Greeks themselves'; his confusion is complete.

Herodotos may not have won through to perfect clarity, but he could not have done so without admitting various inadmissible propositions, e.g. that even the Dorians had once been Pelasgian. Ultimately, the problem of reconciling the claims of the Hellenic nation with the ethnicity of the poleis was insoluble. To Herodotos' great credit, he has contributed the useful notion of evolution to the debate, and faced up to a problem other historians avoided, of just how all these different groups came to be Greek. One can even say that Herodotos has found the best possible way of squaring this particular circle.²⁶

When we turn finally to Hellanikos, we find a treatment at first glance more sophisticated than that of Herodotos, if we may assume that the account in Dionysios of Halikarnassos (1.11–30) owes much ultimately to him.²⁷ Dionysios' account has not been taken from Hellanikos directly, since it contradicts him in one important respect—for Dionysios, the Pelasgians are definitely not Tyrsenian—and is hard to reconcile with him in another (Dionysios' and Myrsilos' Pelasgians suffer extinction in Italy, whereas Hellanikos' Pelasgians presumably live on as Tyrsenians). One of Dionysios' more immediate sources is Myrsilos of Methymna (*FGrHist* 477 FF 8–9), whose account of the Pelasgians' decline he says he has copied more or less verbatim (1.23.5, except of course that Myrsilos called them Tyrsenoi, not Pelasgoi), and who was dependent on Hellanikos for a good deal of information, but also made changes in order to assert his independence. Nevertheless, one or two details suggest the hand of Hellanikos: the way that the chronology is carefully measured in terms of generations before the Trojan War, and the way that key names have been doubled (Lykaon, Pelasgos) to fill out the necessary number of generations. Dionysios/Hellanikos' basic story (**Hell. fr. 4, 91, 92**) is that the Pelasgians, under Pelasgos II, emigrated from Argos to Thessaly, where

²⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Herodotos (and Others) on Pelasgians', assesses Herodotos' text more generously than this. She contributes the useful observation that the Pelasgians have 'ambiguous ethnicity': they are sometimes barbarian, but at other times are proto-Greek (as they are for Dionysios, for instance, or Aischylos' *Suppliants*; on the latter cf. E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* 168, 171–2; Georges, *Barbarian Asia* 164). One might add that the polis/pan-Hellenic tension can affect the degree of ambiguity; the polis, within its own internal frame of reference, can admit affinity with Pelasgian ancestors with less embarrassment than would be the case if other poleis were listening in. But even within the polis' frame of reference the Pelasgians can never be wholly 'Greek' (wholly 'Hellenic', children of Hellen).

²⁷ For discussions of this passage see Musti, 'Etruschi e Greci'; Sánchez Jiménez, 'Helánico y Dionisio'.

the district Pelasgiotis was named after them.²⁸ After a few generations of prosperity they were evicted by the 'Hellenes'.²⁹ Some went to other parts of Greece, some to Asia, but most went to Italy, landing by the river Spines in the Po delta (cf. Dion. Hal. 1.18.3) and proceeding from there to Kroton (Cortona) in the heart of Etruria. Here Dionysios and Hellanikos diverge; the latter says that the Pelasgoi changed their name to Tyrsenoi, whereas Dionysios seeks an indigenous origin for the race. Some Pelasgoi in time returned to Greece; Hellanikos fr. 92 reports a resettlement on Lesbos (Metaon, founded by 'Tyrsenian' Metas), and it seems possible that Lemnos was colonized or recolonized at this time too.³⁰ This means that according to Hellanikos the people of Lemnos, Etruria, Metaon on Lesbos, and many another spot, could be called either Tyrsenian or Pelasgian with equal accuracy, and thus we come full circle, for that just goes to show that no one really knew what a Pelasgian was.

The report in **Hell. fr. 93** that Pitana (founded by Amazons, Diod. 3.55.6) was enslaved by Pelasgians and freed by the Erythraians stands isolated. Jacoby (after Meyer, *Forschungen* 1.23 n. 1, cf. 35) thought 'Pelasgians' must have replaced 'Tyrsenians' in the tradition, so that the conquerors of Pitana will have been these Tyrsenians on Lesbos; hence he put fr. 92 and 93 together. Pitana was to become Aiolian in due course, Erythrai Ionian; but these events will have taken place before the migrations.

Hellanikos seems to have thought harder about the big picture and tried to account for everything, reconciling competing traditions by various ingenious conjectures. His detailed account is superficially more impressive than Herodotos'. We have various stages of Pelasgian migrations, dozens of destinations, elaborate genealogies, and carefully calculated chronology. The crucial thing we should like to know is how Hellanikos handled the question of conversion to Hellenism. His barrage of facts may have

²⁸ For Pelasgos I see **Hell. fr. 36** (§7.1.2). It appears that Hellanikos, unlike Pherekydes, did not acknowledge originary Arkadian Pelasgoi (cf. below, p. 108), since Pelasgos I came from Argos to Arcadia. According to Hyg. *Fab.* 225, Pelasgos son of Triopas (Hellanikos' genealogy in fr. 36) built the first temple of Olympian Zeus in Arkadia. *P.Oxy.* 42.4306 fr. 1 i.21–5 adds that this was the Zeus 'called Lykaos'; this is a confused combination of Zeus Lykaos first honoured by Lykaon, and Zeus Olympios first honoured by Pelasgos. The latter could be good Arkadian tradition, appropriated by the Argives.

²⁹ So Hellanikos in the verbatim fr. 4. Dionysios credits the Kouretes and Leleges 'who are now called Aitoloi and Lokroi', and 'many others who lived around Parnassos; the commander of these forces was Deukalion son of Prometheus and the Okeanid Klymene'. Together these are the nascent Hellenes; perhaps this is Myrsilos' expansion of Hellanikos. Herodotos' words at 1.57 *Πελασγῶν* ... οἱ ὅμοιοι κοτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι (οἴκεον δὲ τηρικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην) (above, p. 91) may imply that he knew a similar story (so Meyer, *Forschungen* 1.106; cf. Diod. 14.113.2, schol. *Il.* 2.841). In fr. 91 the detail that Akrisios founded Larisa cannot be from Hellanikos, for it is inconsistent with the report that the city was named after Larisa daughter of Pelasgos II. Nor did Akrisios found Larisa in Pher. fr. 12. Hellanikos' Teutamides recalls the Pelasgian of that name in *Il.* 2.843.

³⁰ Jacoby suggested that the wanderers of fr. 71a who settled on Lemnos after their eviction from Thessaly were the Pelasgians mentioned by Dionysios at 1.18.1; see §17.8. Whether in historical fact Lemnos was recolonized from Etruria is a different question: see Heurgon, *CRAI* 1988, 26 and R. Beekes, *Mnem.* 54 (2001) 359–64 (against); R. Drews, *Historia* 41 (1992) 27 (for). Eichner, 'Neues zur Sprache der Stele von Lemnos', tentatively concludes in this first of a promised series of studies that the language came from Italy to Lemnos.

concealed a failure to come to grips with the real problem, which Herodotos at least tried to solve.

Hellankos' Tyrsenian connection is intriguing and raises the possibility of contact between Greeks and Etruscans. The king in whose reign the Pelasgians were evicted from Thessaly Hellankos calls Nanas, which may be an Etruscan name.³¹ Etruscans had been trading with Greeks for centuries by the time Hellankos wrote, and there would have been plenty of opportunity to exchange traditional lore. A little further south in Latium Greek legends took root with the first Greek settlers, influencing the young city of Rome, which had come to the attention of the Greeks already in the fifth century.³² Wiseman has made a strong case that Roman legend is much older than we think, and informed Greek accounts at an early date;³³ perhaps the same might be true of the Etruscans. Briquel (*Les Pélasges en Italie* 629–30) suggests that the Etruscans were happy to connive in the idea that they were Pelasgian, because it could be very useful in promoting friendly relations with Greeks; he thinks that on this basis the people of Agylla, later Caere, were able to build a treasury at Delphi. So we are told by Strabo, at any rate (5.2.3); but curiously enough, Pausanias passes round the site without noticing any Pelasgian treasuries, and it seems unlikely that the archaeologists will ever find one.³⁴

§2.2 Leleges (Hek. fr. 18A)

As Strabo (7.7.2) turned from Pelasgians to Leleges so shall we. At first glance they appear to be a people with a clearer historical outline, being fairly closely associated with the Asia Minor seaboard (the Troad and Ionia).³⁵ But confidence could be misplaced. They are characterized first and foremost as wanderers by Strabo (loc. cit.; also 12.7.3, cf. 12.8.4) and Dionysios (*Ant. Rom.* 1.10.2), sharing this essential nature with the Pelasgians (Dionysios also calls them *μυγάδες*); they are of course barbarian. Strabo (7.7.2) frankly states that they have died out, like the Kaukones, once so ubiquitous. He fairly reflects

³¹ See Briquel, *Les Pélasges en Italie* 149–55 citing earlier authorities. According to schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 1242b, 1244b *vāvos* in Etruscan meant 'wanderer' and was their name for Odysseus. (In Lykophron's poem it means 'dwarf' and refers to Odysseus' short stature; → §18.6.) It is unclear whether the word *nanus* in a (lost) Etruscan inscription is a proper name (Briquel 150); contrariwise, and suggestively, names like it are common in Asia Minor.

³² Hellan. fr. 84; → §18.6; Antioch. fr. 6; → §17.5.

³³ Wiseman, *History and Imagination* esp. ch. 2; *Roman Drama and Roman History* 1–16; *Remus. A Roman Myth* esp. ch. 4; → §18.6.

³⁴ For attempts to identify the building see Jacquemin, *Offrandes monumentales à Delphes* 73, who, following G. Pugliese Caratelli in *SE* 33 (1968) 225–6, suggests that the report might be connected with the events recorded by Herodotos 1.167 (expiation enjoined by Delphi upon the people of Agylla for sacrilegious treatment of Phokian prisoners).

³⁵ Rumscheid, 'Die Leleger: Karer oder Andere?', reviews the evidence; see also Descat, 'Les traditions grecques sur les Lélèges'.

the state of the sources when he says that according to some people they are identical with the Karians, whereas others said they merely lived among them; these attempts to assimilate the Leleges to a historical people are revealing. Herodotos (1.171), echoed by Strabo (12.8.5, 14.2.27), says that the Karians originally came from the islands, at which time they were ruled by Minos and were called Leleges. Kallimachos/Xenomedes (fr. 1.62) says that Karians and Leleges together settled Keos; they are evidently different, but closely associated. The story perhaps implies (if Xenomedes knew the tradition Herodotos reports) that Keos was not part of Minos' thalassocracy, as the settlement took place after the Karians had come into existence; a pleasant thought for Keans, but belied by archaeology, as the island has Minoan remains. Pherekydes (fr. 155) more clearly distinguishes the two people, assigning specific geographical domains to each. Pausanias (7.2.8) says the Leleges were a part of the Karian race and occupied most of Lydia; Philip of Theangela (*FGrHist* 741 F 1; third century BC?), who wrote a book 'On the Karians and Leleges', claimed that the latter were slaves of the former; however, Theangela being a Karian city, chauvinism could have played a role here. Steph. Byz. s.vv. *Μεγάλη πόλις* and *Νιόη* records that Aphrodisias, now a Karian city, had been a city of Leleges.

To remain in Asia Minor for the moment, the *Iliad* places the Leleges at Pedasos near Mt Ida (*Il.* 21.87), later said to have changed its name to Methone/Mothone (Strab. 8.4.3, Paus. 4.35.1), and nearby Gargaros (or Gargasos, as Hellan. fr. 158 apparently had it) had once been a city of the Leleges (Alkman *PMGF* 154, *Etym. Magn.* 221.26). Also in the Troad was their city Antandros (Alk. fr. 337).³⁶ Old Smyrna belonged to the Leleges, says Strabo (14.1.4). In the *Iliad* the Leleges are allies of the Trojans, encamped in book 10 along with the Pelasgians, Paiones, Karians, and Kaukones; their 'famous' king Altes gave his daughter Laothoe as wife to Priam (21.85, 22.51). Further south, Strabo (7.7.2) says that all Ionia was occupied by Karians and Leleges until the Ionians evicted them; more specifically, Pherekydes (fr. 155) places the Karians in Miletos, Myous, the peninsula of Mykale, and Ephesos, and the Leleges on the coast as far as Phokaia and on the islands Samos and Chios.³⁷ The Milesian connection is reinforced by Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 F 127 ap. Strab. 14.1.6). On Samos, the earliest recorded inhabitants are Leleges (of unclear origin) ruled by Ankaïos son of Poseidon and Astypalaia. Asios fr. 7 ap. Paus. 7.4.1 gives the genealogy: the Aitolian Oineus' daughter Perimede marries Phoinix; their daughters were Astypalaia and Europe. As part Phoenician, but mostly Greek, Ankaïos constitutes a legitimizing presence in advance of the Ionian occupation. Both

³⁶ Herodotos (7.42) calls it Pelasgian; the terms are interchangeable. Hellankos probably named Gargaros in connection with the Aitolian migration (→ §19.4); also Lamponion (fr. 159) and Assos (fr. 160). Leaf thought Assos was the same as Lelegian Pedasos, but as J. M. Cook pointed out, *The Troad* 245, Strabo's report (13.1.59) that Pedasos no longer existed in his day rules this view out.

³⁷ Pausanias (7.2.8), perhaps carelessly, says Ephesos was occupied by Leleges and 'Lydians' (i.e. Karians); 'Karians and Leleges', Strabo 14.1.21. Strabo 14.1.15 says vaguely that Karians first inhabited Samos.

for the date and clarity of their reports Asios and Pherekydes seem to reflect good old traditions.³⁸

The firm association with the Troad and Ionia might, as remarked above, tempt one to think of the Leleges as a historical people, until one turns one's eyes back to the mainland and finds them paving the way for a number of Greek nations. The association of Leleges with Lokroi was traditional.³⁹ Boiotia was home to a jumble of Aones, Temmikes, Leleges, and Hyantes before Kadmos' Phoenicians arrived (Strab. 9.2.3). Aristotle (fr. 473, ap. Strab. 7.7.2) places them in Akarnania; he also says that the Lokroi who had been Leleges lived in Aitolia. An Aitolian connection is suggested by the genealogy of the Samian Ankaïos (above; cf. Dion. Kalliphontis 71, GGM 1.24), and Dionysios (*Ant. Rom.* 1.17.3) has them also bursting into Thessaly, in co-operation with the Kouretes (the later Aitolians). The historical mingling of Aitolians and Lokrians is behind this. The eponym Lelex was autochthonous in Lakonia according to Pausanias (3.1.1, 4.1.1; cf. schol. Eur. *Or.* 626, Apollod. 3.10.3), but Strabo knows another one in Leukas, father of Teleboas and hence the Teleboans (7.7.2). Pausanias (1.39.5–6) has a quite detailed story (of uncertain date, as often) according to which Kar son of Phoroneus (!) was first king of the Megarid; twelve generations later Lelex came from Egypt, and the people were called Leleges after him; four generations later Megareus son Poseidon and Iphinoë (the woman and the god make him a new lineage-founder in the standard way) acquired the kingdom from Nisos, son of Pandion, Iphinoë's father, thus ending Athenian domination. Aristotle also recognized Leleges/Lokroi in the Megarid, and indeed the spreading of the Lokroi from Opous to Aitolia westward and Boiotia and the Megarid southwards makes a plausible picture; Pausanias' story could be a Megarid revision of a myth offensive to that city's sensibilities. The Leleges of Leukas could, in turn, be an Aitolian outpost, so that all spring from a common origin—but the autochthonous Lakonian figure remains unaccounted for, and no surviving story connects the Leleges of Asia Minor with those on the mainland.⁴⁰ The picture is further confused by stories in Pausanias linking Megarian Leleges with Pylos in Messenia and Elis (4.36.1, 6.22.5); Ovid knows of them at Troizen (*Met.* 8.567). Like the Pelasgians, the Leleges are a convenient name for pre-Hellenic inhabitants of one kind or another, perhaps originating in some firm historical context, but one which is no longer recoverable.⁴¹

³⁸ For Ankaïos see also §19.2.2, at n. 66, and §6.3.6.

³⁹ Hes. fr. 234 (West, *Cat.* 52 n. 42; → §4.1).

⁴⁰ The Lokrian city of Physkos had a homonym in Karia (Strabo 14.2.4). Calame, 'Spartan Genealogies' 158, well writes: '... the Lelegian ruler embodies the otherness that will allow the assertion of identity. Hence his initial, aboriginal position. As with every tale, genealogy begins its narrative process with a lack-situation ...'.

⁴¹ A. H. Sayce, *JHS* 45 (1925) 163, thought the Lulahhi, foreign mercenaries in some Hittite inscriptions, might be the Leleges. The name is at least derived from a pre-Greek (non-IE) language: Beekes, *Etym. Dict.*, p. xxxiii.

Hek. fr. 18A puts the Leleges also in Thessaly at a fairly early stage. If the attribution is safe,⁴² he said that the people of Amyros were originally called Eordoi, then Leleges, and that these were the same as the (Hippo)kentauroi. The second part of this stands in some relation to a scholion on Pindar, *Pyth.* 2.78d, which offers a rationalizing explanation of the Centaurs: εἰσί γε μὴν οἱ τὸν ὄλον μῦθον παρεγκεχειρήκασιν⁴³ ὥς οὐ γεγονότων διφυῶν. Λέλεγας γὰρ αὐτοὺς προσαγορευομένους διὰ τὸ ἀποκεντῆσαι τοὺς ταύρους προσαγορευθῆναι Ἴπποκενταύρους. (The whole story is found in Palaiphatos 1.) The first προσαγορευομένους looks awkward (Jacoby deleted it) but it is paralleled by the phrasing in Hekataios (ἐκαλοῦντο Λέλεγες ~ Λέλεγας προσαγορευομένους); whoever wrote the scholion had his eye on the same source used by Stephanos. The scholiast as it stands, in its abbreviated form, says that 'they' (unspecified antecedent) were called Leleges, then Hippokentauroi. But as the Leleges are not mentioned by Pindar, the combination Leleges–(Hippo)kentauroi was found in this common source, together with the antecedent of 'Leleges', which is presumably the Amyraioi. We may believe (with all caution in view of the mangled state of the sources) that the Amyros–Leleges–Centaur combination comes from Hekataios—which does not commit us to thinking that the rationalizing is also his, although it is possible.

So many changes of name is slightly unusual but can arise when a polis's traditions are themselves an amalgam, as at Athens (Hdt. 8.44); or it is the mythographer who combines competing traditions. For Leleges in the middle like this, the Megarian story reported by Pausanias (see above) offers a parallel, and perhaps also Samian tradition if unadulterated barbarians preceded Ankaïos and his Leleges on the island. The Kentauroi are at home in Thessaly, perhaps especially at Amyros (*IACP* no. 445), which lay close to the Dotion plain, home of their traditional enemy the Lapiths. Hippokentauroi is a common alternative form (first in Pl. *Phdr.* 229d, Xen. *Kyr.* 4.3.17), but if the Kentauroi in this fragment are horsey, one wonders how they ever became anthropoid. Perhaps Hekataios distinguished human Kentauroi, from whom the present-day Amyraioi ultimately descend, and an equine branch (whose existence he might well have doubted); note that according to Pindar (*Pyth.* 2.25–48) Ixion's son Kentauros was human, and that his mating with a mare, not his father's, produced the beastly breed. Kentauros could have had human progeny as well.

The historical Eordoi were expelled from Eordaia in western Makedonia by the Temenid dynasts at some unspecified date in the archaic period (Thuc. 2.99.5);⁴⁴ they

⁴² Jacoby, introduction to Soudas *FGrHist* 602, resisted it. It is difficult to think that an author of the 4th c., much less the 3rd, failed to entitle his work, so that alternatives had to be provided; or, if so, that 'Genealogies' would be a likely candidate for something elsewhere called *Thessalika*. Jacoby suggests that Pherekydes is as possible as Hekataios for the lacuna, but his work is never called *Genealogies*. The only post-classical work I can find so called is the doubtful 'Sicilian Genealogies' of Hippostratos (*FGrHist* 602 T 1). On the other hand Soudas did discuss Centaurs (F 1). In l. 3 of Hek. fr. 18A οἱ δὲ τοὶ denotes οἱ Ἀμυραῖοι, as I should have made clear in *EGM* 1.

⁴³ 'interpret symbolically': *LSJ* coll. schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 2.40b = Pher. fr. 51a.

⁴⁴ c.650? (Hammond, *A History of Macedonia* 1.435–8); c.510, or even after the Persian Wars? (Fantasia on Thuc. 2.99.5).

went to live in Physka in Mygdonia. It is presumably these displaced remnants who marched with Xerxes (Hdt. 7.185.2). Primeval-origin hunters might see this sudden appearance of another Physk-word as confirmation of the Leleges' historicity, but one ought not to build much out of a place apparently called 'Pudding'; the name, indeed, could have suggested to Hekataios his hypothesis that the vanished Thessalian Eordoi became Leleges.

Lykophron (*Alex.* 1342) also mentions the Eordoi in connection with the European expedition made by the Mysians and Teukrians before the Trojan War, which reached as far as the Peneios; this is based on Hdt. 7.20.2. The mention of the Eordoi (whose region he says was devastated) could be Lykophron's inventive supplement, but this fragment of Hekataios suggests that he had some warrant. One may conjecture that the Eordoi had been shunted south of the Peneios by this incursion. Cassandra says the leader was her grandfather, which is to say about the time of the Argonautic expedition; one would then surmise further that Amyros founded his city and joined the Argonauts. Equally consistent with these meagre data, however, would be the speculation that the Eordoi had once been Thessalian, and moved north to Makedonia, subsequently to be harassed by Teukrians and Temenids. Some stayed behind and were subsumed by the Leleges.

§2.3 Dryopes (Herod. fr. 36; Pher. fr. 8, 19)

The Dryopes, in contrast to Pelasgians and Leleges, succeed in moving out of the shadows of myth into something like a clear historical identity.⁴⁵ The case is instructive. Like the others, they have a history of forcible eviction and migration, and they figure in the pre-history of various Greek cities; but not nearly so many, nor so far-flung. As with the Leleges, there was a historical Greek nation willing to claim them as ancestors; but unlike the Lokroi, whose descent from the Leleges was of little more than antiquarian interest, the Dryopian ancestry of certain Dorians or semi-Dorians was a genuine part of ethnic awareness in the archaic and classical periods. In question are the people of Asine, particularly the Messenian one, who rejoiced in the name Dryopes 'even in our time', says Pausanias (4.34.11). They had lived originally in Dryopis, later called Doris, the small region between Oita and Parnassos, which was believed to be the last staging-post in the migration of the Dorians to the Peloponnese (→§9.1).⁴⁶ They

⁴⁵ For overviews of the tradition see Fourgous, 'Les Dryopes' and Strid, *Die Dryoper*.

⁴⁶ There is some vagueness as to the precise location, as might be expected; Pher. fr. 8 has them spilling over into the Spercheios valley, but still 'on the borders of Malis' (fr. 19), i.e. on the slopes of Oita. Berkel's emendation in fr. 8 is certain ('Peneios' is a nodding scribe's substitution of one famous river for another). Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1.121c, Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 980 name Dryope as one of the six cities in the Dorian hexapolis between Oita and Parnassos, confirmed for the 2nd c. BC at least by the ethnic *Δρυοπαῖος* in inscriptions (SIG³ 610.52, 53, IG IX.1.229.2, 230.2; IG IX.2.1.1.25.14; D. Rousset, *BCH* 113 (1989) 233). About the ethnicity of the residents we can say nothing.

were evicted from their home by Herakles and resettled in the Argolid in Hermion(e) (Hdt. 8.43, 73), Asine (many sources), and presumably Dryope itself (Herod. fr. 36), if it ever existed.⁴⁷ Kallimachos (fr. 705) also puts them in Halieis, Diodoros in Eion, Nicolaus Damascenus in Troizen, all in the eastern Argolid. The Asinaioi were then chased out by the Argives, not long after 776 BC according to Pausanias (4.8.3); archaeology shows that the city was in fact sacked in the late eighth century.⁴⁸ They then founded their new city in Messenia, where they were protected by, and fought for, the Lakedaimonians. Their history is completely bound up with that of the Dorians, but a serious falling-out with the Argives created a strong wish to assert a separate identity, which some of them stoutly maintained in succeeding centuries. Herodotos emphatically distinguishes Dryopes from Dorians; yet Dryopis was the motherland of the Dorians (8.31), and only later came to be called Doris (8.43).

Of interest therefore are the variant versions of the contretemps in Dryopis, and the ultimate ancestry of the clan. The involvement of the Dryopes in the ragged progress ('return') of the Dorians to their homeland, like that of other groups, was traditional, and it was agreed on all sides that Herakles defeated the Dryopes in the region of Parnassos. The *casus belli*, in the commonest story, was the beastly behaviour of the Dryopian king Theiodamas. Herakles, travelling with Deianeira and infant son Hyllos, asked the king, who was engaged in ploughing with two oxen, for some sustenance for the baby; rudely refused, Herakles seized one of the oxen and enjoyed a family feast. Pursued to Trachis by Theiodamas at the head of an army of Dryopes, Herakles had a good deal of trouble defending the city; he even had to arm Deianeira, who was wounded in the breast (so schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1212–19a). Prevailing in the end, he killed the king, took his son Hylas under wing, and transported the whole nation to the Peloponnese, so that by being mixed with a number of other peoples, and no longer living as brigands, they would become civilized. Kallimachos (fr. 25) says this is why they were called 'Asineis', i.e. 'not harming'.⁴⁹

The savage character of the Dryopes is stressed by Pher. fr. 19 and other sources (Apollod. 2.155, Kallim., Ap. Rhod. and schol., Ov. *Ibis* 486). Herodotos is silent on the events that led to their eviction, merely reporting the fact, as does Pausanias, who,

⁴⁷ Attested nowhere else. Possibly the account in Stephanos has been confused, and Herodotos referred to the town near Oita. Stephanos' entry is Epaphroditos fr. 64, where see Braswell and Billerbeck.

⁴⁸ P. Courbin, *La Céramique géométrique de l'Argolide* (Paris, 1966) 14, 26, cited by R. Hägg, 'Geometric Sanctuaries in the Argolid', in Piérart, *Polydipsion Argos* 9–21 at 18. For Asine and the legends see now Kowalzig, *Singing for the Gods* 132–60; see also Barrett, 'Bacchylides, Asine, and Apollo Pythaieus'.

⁴⁹ The legend has a doublet in the story of the ploughman at Lindos, told by Kallimachos in the same part of the *Aitia*, which was the aition for a festival involving consumption of quantities of beef and ritual cursing; Kallim. fr. 7.20–1, 22–3 (where see Harder); Konon, *Dieg.* 11 (see Brown ad loc. and Blakely's *BNJ* commentary). Hylas' adoption by Herakles prepares the way for his fatal encounter with the nymphs during the Argonautic expedition, so it may be regarded as an addendum to the Dryopes story (→§6.3.2). Strid, *Die Dryoper*, argues that in Pher., if we had his version, Herakles would have battled the Dryopes to rid the world of these brigands; the story about Theiodamas not giving him a meal is later, and incompatible with the first.

however, also reports an argument about the immediate sequel: the Messenian Asinaioi did not agree that they were imprisoned by Herakles and sent to the Peloponnese on order of Delphi; rather, they escaped after the battle and made their own way to Eurystheus, Herakles' arch-enemy and taskmaster, who gave them their new home. This of course redounds to the credit of the Asinaioi, who probably would not have agreed about the *casus belli* either.⁵⁰ The same point of view is evident in the paean Bacchylides wrote perhaps for the Argives in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaios in Asine (fr. 4). In Antoninus Liberalis' idiosyncratic tale (*Met.* 32 = Nik. fr. 41) there is nothing barbaric about the Dryopes. Pausanias' informants also proudly noted their piety towards Delphi and Apollo, who was in fact Dryops' father. This touches on the other point of disagreement. **Pher. fr. 8** makes Dryops a son of the river Spercheios and Polydore, daughter of Danaos; that is to say, an Argive by maternal affiliation. So too Antoninus. A different tradition makes him son of Arkas (Aristotle fr. 482) or of Apollo and Dia, daughter of Lykaon, i.e. Arkadian in the end;⁵¹ the nineteenth Homeric *Hymn* (34) makes Pan himself a son of Hermes and a nymph, daughter of Dryops. Either ancestry places the Dryopes at home in the Peloponnese, whither they could be said to 'return', like the Dorians. But the Arkadian genealogy repudiates any link with Argos and would have been useful for pro-Asinaian purposes, perhaps already in the early archaic period.⁵² That Pherekydes called the Dryopes a 'tribe of robbers', and gave them the Argive genealogy, are sufficient hints that he told the story of the transplantation in the anti-Asinaian mode. Presumably the other details (the *casus belli*, Hylas) were there too (the business over the oxen, at any rate, is in Apollodoros), but that is no more than surmise.

The Dryopes turn up in only a few other places. In archaic poetry, a man named Dryops is killed at *Il.* 20.455; accordingly, he is listed among the sons of Priam (Apollod. 3.152), and Strabo (13.1.8) says there were Dryopes on the Propontis west of Kyzikos. This reflects (as does Strabo in Hek. fr. 119) a clearly hostile view of the Dryopes as outright barbarians. Stesichoros allows them an appearance at the Kalydonian Boarhunt (*PMGF* 222). In the historians, there are Dryopes on Euboia, at Styra (Hdt. 8.46; Paus.

⁵⁰ Though the conflict of Dryopes and Dorians seems to go back to the early archaic period, the triumph of the Delphic Amphiktion in the First Sacred War might have had an effect on the myth-making: the involvement of Delphi in the story might date to this period, and it is interesting that in Anton. Lib. 4 (= Nikandros fr. 38, Athanasias *FGH Hist* 303 F 1) Dryops has a son Kragaleus. Though the story in Antoninus is not entirely consonant with the archaic situation (Kragaleus is a just man; though he decides against, and is punished by, Apollo, he decides in favour of Herakles), K. O. Müller already drew the connection with the Kragallidai, villains in the Sacred War. Cf. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie* 1.99–100; Fowler, 'Genealogical Thinking' 14–15 (where 'perfectly unHellenic Dryopes' is overstated).

⁵¹ Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1212–19d, *Etym. Magn.* 288.32 (*Etym. Gen.* p. 93 Miller, adding οὗτως Ἀπολλώνιος, i.e. *Argon.* 1.1213; but this wrongly imputes what the scholia say to Apollonios), Lykoph. 480 with schol.

⁵² The link between Dryops 'oak-man' and the acorn-eating Arkadians (Hdt. 1.66 etc.; above, n. 13) might have been embraced in Arkadia itself, even with its hints of savage origins (Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan* 7). The brief report in Strabo (8.6.13) combines traditions: Asine was founded by Dryops, he says, either by Dryops son of Arkas coming from the Spercheios region as Aristotle says (fr. 482), or by the Dryopians whom Herakles evicted from Doris by Parnassos.

4.34, who adds that they did not like to be reminded of their identity) and nearby Karystos (Thuc. 7.57.4, Diod. 4.37.2); not too far away was the island of Kythnos (Hdt. 8.46). These are easy migrations from the original home. At the other end of the Argolid, Stephanos s.v. Νεμέα reports them in that city. Further afield, Diodoros (loc. cit.) has them migrating to Cyprus after Herakles' eviction. Herodotos (1.146) says that, like many other groups, the Dryopes joined the Ionian migration.

All in all this is a much clearer history than that of either Pelasgians or Leleges, and the associations with the eastern Argolid are particularly strong. Because of the history of conflict, the people of Asine chose to nurse their sense of difference; that it was anchored in something real is suggested by some distinctive features in the material culture of the Argive city.⁵³ Other Dryopes who remained in the Argolid were reticent about their status, preferring to be assimilated to the Dorians though, as Kowalzig argues (*Singing for the Gods* 132–60), the myth, and performances such as Bacchylides' ode, shows that Dryopian ethnicity was not lost sight of. But it remains true that not even the Asinaioi called themselves straightforwardly 'Dryopes'; they were Asinaioi, who had been Dryopes. The latter remain creatures of dim pre-history, who probably existed but whose real historicity lies in the use the Asinaioi, and the Argives, made of them.⁵⁴

The mythographers might have told the story of Theiodamas and Hylas in connection with either Herakles or the Argonautic saga. For Pherekydes, we know from the book-number of fr. 19 that the former option holds true. Apollodoros, who is indebted to Pherekydes for much of his account of Herakles, briefly sketches the encounter with Theiodamas in that context; conversely, after telling the story of Hylas and the Argonauts, he goes on immediately to say that according to Pherekydes (fr. 111) and Herodoros (fr. 41) Herakles did not actually sail with the Argonauts.⁵⁵ Pher. fr. 8, on the other hand, occurs in the context of the Inachid genealogy.

§2.4 Arkadians (Eumel. fr. 7–8; Hek. fr. 9; Hellan. fr. 37, 161–2; Pher. fr. 5, 156–61)

It is admittedly hard on the Arkadians to bracket them with Pelasgians and such folk, yet their genealogies place them outside the line of Deukalion and Hellen, and their association with Pelasgians is old in the sources. The only link with Hellen's line seems

⁵³ J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 136–7. For slight evidence that Demeter was especially worshipped by them (a hypothesis already of K. O. Müller) see *ibid.* 101.

⁵⁴ The grammarians quote some 'Dryopian' words; perhaps they knew some words from Asine, but they all look factitious (e.g., πόποι means 'gods' in Dryopian). See schol. Hom. *Il.* 1.591c, 13.390a1–2, *Od.* 1.32, 63. Of uncertain antiquity is the tradition that Ambrakia was called Dryopis: ps.-Skymnos 453, Dion. Calliphontis 30, Anton. Lib. 4 (above, n. 50); Hammond, *Epirus* 425, accepts it as ancient. If so, it is interesting that the two geographers in the same breath define this region as the limit of Hellas; beyond lie barbarians.

⁵⁵ After the story of Theiodamas Apollodoros relates Herakles' help to Aigimios, and a further battle with Laogoras, king of the Dryopes and ally of the Lapiths, ὑβριστήν ὄντα. Perhaps this too is Pherekydes.

to be a quite oblique one: at the time of the return of the Herakleidai, the then ruler of the Arkadians, Kypselos son of Aipyros, married his daughter to Kresphontes, first ruler of Messenia. We have this from Pausanias (8.5.6), and it seems probable that it is a mytheme of the fourth century, reflecting Arkadia's involvement in the liberation of Messenia in 369.⁵⁶ The isolation of Arkadia is doubtless exaggerated, and they certainly counted as Greeks in many contexts; but the absence of the genealogy is remarkable, and does count as evidence of a certain distance between them and the Hellenes. The usual dynamic whereby cities found ways to attach themselves to the descent of Hellen was delayed here, or invisible to us. The example of Kresphontes does show that a link could be forged if desired; it may be that Arkadians on the whole felt less compelled than others to do so. The image of isolationism is not completely without foundation, though we may be dealing here also with the difficulties the Arkadians themselves had in forging a group identity amid competing internal loyalties to region and tribe.⁵⁷

Like Sparta and Crete, the mythology of Arkadia is told to us largely by outsiders. Their history began according to the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 160) and Asios (fr. 8) with the autochthonous Pelasgos; Hesiod (fr. 161) makes him father of Lykaon. Pelasgos signifies immemorial antiquity, and it is this claim that was contested by Akousilaos in fr. 25. The story of Lykaon and his sons was told in the *Catalogue* (fr. 161–8), which lies behind Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.96–109) and *Pher.* fr. 156.⁵⁸ The latter is quoted by Dionysios of Halikarnassos, who informs us also that Pherekydes listed the sons of Lykaon and all the places they inhabited; Dionysios says Lykaon had 22 sons, and perhaps this was Pherekydes' tally. We also have an account of early Arkadian history in Pausanias (8.2–4), and the crime of Lykaon is famous from Ovid (*Met.* 1.196–240).⁵⁹ In Ovid, Lykaon serves Jupiter human flesh to test his claim that he is a god. He is punished by being turned into a wolf; but since he is emblematic of the impious age, not only he and his house are annihilated, but, through the flood, the whole human race save Deukalion and Pyrrha. In Apollodoros, Zeus arrives in disguise, and Lykaon serves him human flesh on the advice of Mainalos, his oldest son. Zeus destroys the house with his thunderbolt, except for the youngest son Nyktimos, at the intercession of Gaia. In his time, Apollodoros says, the flood came; 'some say' it was inflicted because of the crimes of his brothers. The hesitation reveals that the flood story was imposed on the older tradition some time between Hesiod and Apollodoros, and indeed it is not mentioned in fr. 160 of the *Catalogue*. Unfortunately we cannot be completely confident about what 'Hesiod' did say in that poem. The fragment comes from the Eratosthenic *Katasterisms*. The

⁵⁶ Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians* 62–3, 215–16.

⁵⁷ Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis* 38–42, 155–62; Roy, 'On Seeming Backward'. Cf. below, p. 108.

⁵⁸ The implications of *Pher.* fr. 156 for his view of the Pelasgians have been discussed above, §2.1, and its implications for Italian history are discussed in §17.5.

⁵⁹ See also Nik. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 FF 37–9, Hyg. *Fab.* 176–7, schol. Eur. *Or.* 1645–6 (on which see below); further references in Frazer, *Apollod.* 1.390 n. 1. Complete testimonia in Piccaluga, *Lykaon*.

reason given for the awful feast is that Lykaon was angry with Zeus for having seduced his daughter Kallisto; the child served up in the stew was none other than Arkas, her son. Lykaon is turned into a wolf, and Arkas is pieced back together by Zeus. There follows the story of Kallisto, who, transformed into a bear, accidentally wandered onto forbidden ground; pursued by the Arkadians, Arkas among them, she was rescued by Zeus and placed among the stars. The problem is that in the *Library* (3.100) Apollodoros says that according to Hesiod Kallisto was a nymph; if so, Lykaon's motive for the feast according to fr. 160 is removed, since she was not his daughter. Robert supposed that the genealogies came from different Hesiodic poems; Apollodoros would have drawn on the *Catalogue*, while Eratosthenes drew on the *Astronomy*.⁶⁰ This is a plausible explanation of the discrepancy, but we remain unenlightened about the motivation for the feast in the *Catalogue*, and about Lykaon's relationship to Kallisto.

Murderer, cannibal, werewolf: this is not a good start for the nation. Yet Lykaon was a figure of obvious importance in Arkadia, since most of his sons are eponyms of Arkadian towns.⁶¹ Pausanias' account, derived from Arkadian sources, begins by stressing Lykaon's foundations (the polis of Lykosoura, the sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus, and the Lykaian games). These are the basic institutions of civilization, after the pastoral, acorn-eating life of Pelasgos.⁶² Pausanias then gives a version of the human sacrifice that minimizes the offence so far as possible: Lykaon was in fact the first person to bring a sacrifice of meat to the altars of the gods; but he brought a human baby. For this he was punished by his metamorphosis into a wolf. The crime seems to be an innocent mistake, and even the punishment is represented as characteristic of a more virtuous age: the gods in those days dealt their justice immediately, and, conversely, pious men became gods themselves (Aristaios, Britomartis, Herakles, Amphiaraos, Kastor, and Polydeukes are instanced). Nowadays, says Pausanias, wickedness is so monstrous that adequate punishment must be reserved for the next world. Nikolaos of Damaskos also paints Lykaon in a good light, attributing the crime to his sons; this shift of the blame is reflected also in Apollodoros. Hyginus, *Fab.* 225, says he built the temple of Hermes Kyllenios (Paus. 8.17.1).

Pausanias' is clearly a revisionary account, which makes use of the motif popularized by Euhemerios that gods were but great men of old. But we may reasonably suppose that

⁶⁰ Preller–Robert, *GM* 304 n. 2; cf. W. Sale, *RhMus* 102 (1962) 133–41; West, *HCW* 92.

⁶¹ Over 70 are named in various sources; some are eponyms of places or peoples outside Arkadia (such as Oinotros and Peuketios), some simply bear good heroic names, while others have no obvious *raison d'être* or their names are corrupt. They are listed in both Roscher, *Lex.* and *RE* s.v. For a study see Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.152–6. Nielsen, *Arkadia* 235 n. 36, advances reasons for thinking that Apollodoros' list predates the Arkadian League of 370, and suggests Pherekydes as its source (but note Dionysios' 22 sons, above). Kallisto is the only daughter of any importance, but two others are attested: Dia, mother of Dryops (above, p. 102); Helike, eponym of the Achaian town (Steph. Byz. ε56; *IACP* no. 235).

⁶² In the *Suppliants* (250) Aischylos feels it necessary to give his Pelasgos, a king in charge of a fully developed nation, an autochthonous father Palaichthon. Gourmelen, 'Le crime de Lykaon', gives a nuanced account of this ambiguous figure.

a sympathetic portrait like his would have been embraced by earlier Arkadians. The dreadful sacrifice, whether intentional or not, was clearly a fixture of the tradition, and could not be ignored. It related directly to rituals in the sanctuary of Lykaian Zeus, which was a kind of amphictionic sanctuary for the Arkadians.⁶³ To be sure, it is hardly unusual that a hero should have blemishes on his record; on the contrary, it is hard to name one who has not. Perhaps the unsavoury past is less of a problem than it might appear to be. Moreover, there is a familiar dynamic of ethnogenesis: out of dark, somewhat chaotic beginnings emerges the founder Arkas; Arkadians as a group take their start from the bright new hero, but they do not lose touch with their primeval roots. The positive progression is the main point, and is the sort of thing that annual festivals would re-enact and reinforce. A similar progression obtains on Keos and Rhodes with respect to the myths of the Telchines (→§1.7.4).

One can admit all of this, but some slight problems remain. The historical inhabitants of towns named after Lykaon's sons were in a metaphorical sense descendants of these founders, or closely identified with them. Accounts such as Apollodoros' or Ovid's, in which all the sons perish, leave one wondering how all these cities explained their history after the first generation. Pausanias, one notices, omits all mention of the flood, and Lykaon's sons thus found their cities unmolested. But lest one think that this must be the true (or only) Arkadian myth, the odd fate of Nyktimos needs to be considered. He is the son of Lykaon who in both Pausanias and Apollodoros succeeds to the throne. But then he simply dies, to be succeeded by Arkas. Of his own progeny we hear almost nothing. In another section of his Arkadian book (8.24.1) Pausanias gives a genealogy of the founder of Psophis, who traced his ancestry six generations back to Nyktimos.⁶⁴ This has the appearance of coming from an altogether different local tradition; at any rate, Nyktimos' failure to leave a successor as king of Arkadia remains unexplained.

One version, surfacing first in Lykophron, says that it was actually Nyktimos whom Lykaon killed.⁶⁵ This would work better with respect to the logic of ethnogenesis if at the

⁶³ Burkert, *HN* 84–93 with references to earlier treatments; Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* 183–4, 258–69; Hughes, *Human Sacrifice* 96–107; Bremmer, 'Myth and Ritual in Greek Human Sacrifice' 65–78.

⁶⁴ Psophis son of Arron son of Erymanthos son of Aristas son of Parthaon (Musurus: Parthion codd.) son of Periphetos son of Nyktimos. Steph. Byz. s.v. (704.18 Meineke) says that Psophis was a son of Lykaon; in the same entry he quotes Hek. fr. 6 on the Erymanthian Boar (→§8.4.4), so this might be his genealogy.

⁶⁵ *Alex.* 481 (cf. schol. ad loc., Nonn. *Dion.* 18.22, Clem. *Alex. Protr.* 36.5, Arnob. 4.24). Older scholars (e.g. Usener, *Götternamen* 199–216; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* 1.63–81) naturally thought in terms of Light vs. Dark, and nature mythology (compare Lykos and Nykteus in Boiotia, §10.2 n. 18: an intriguing parallel, but we know of no connection with our Arkadian pair). There is some evidence for the play of light and dark in the Arkadian ritual (cf. Buxton, 'Wolves and Werewolves in Greek Thought' 78 n. 49), and the etymology has been defended by reference to *λυκαυγής*, *ἀμφιλύκη*, *λυκοειδής* (Hsch. λ1383–5), *λυκόφως*, *λυκάβας* (but the latter is surely pre-Greek; Beekes, *Etym. Dict.* s.v.). But the alpha is recalcitrant and others relate *Lukāwōn to Hittite *Lukkawanni*, inhabitant of Lycia (Bremmer loc. cit. (n. 63) 76–7). In Lykaon's case, at least, wolves had long since won out in popular imagination, and such folktale names need not carry the heavy burden of theology placed upon them.

same time Kallisto, mother of Arkas, were daughter of Lykaon. This she is in *Eumel. fr.* 7 and in some part of the Hesiodic corpus (above). The old regime is terminated by the death of the only heir, but Arkadians retain a link to these aboriginal times through the founder's mother; the father is a god as usual. Another early authority makes Kallisto a daughter of Nyktimos, which works nearly as well (*Asios fr.* 9, assuming his 'Nykteus' is the same person). But we have seen that in another part of the Hesiodic corpus she was simply a nymph, which breaks the link with Lykaon; then there is *Pher. fr.* 157, which says she was daughter of one Keteus.

That the name is not corrupt is guaranteed by two other sources. First, there is the version of Ariaithos of Tegea (*FGH Hist* 316 F 2 ap. Hygin. *Astr.* 2.1, 2.6)—an Arkadian historian at last; but one already responding, it seems, to a pan-Hellenic conversation. He said that Kallisto was rather named Megisto, and her father was Keteus son of Lykaon, thus confirming Keteus as Arkadian.⁶⁶ Secondly, there is a scholion on Euripides' *Orestes* 1646, a rather idiosyncratic and doubtless Hellenistic version of Arkadian history, but one which has various points of contact with other accounts. It begins with Pelasgos (son of Arestor, son of Iasos) coming from Argos, civilizing the hitherto savage natives of Arkadia, and founding the city Parrhasia; his wife was Kyllene, eponym of the mountain, and his son was Lykaon, who founded the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaeos in Parrhasia. He leaves his kingdom to his son Nyktimos, in whose time the flood occurred. Next there ruled Dorieus (!) son of Eikadios and Koroneia.⁶⁷ His son was Parthaon,⁶⁸ his sons were Keteus and Paros;⁶⁹ and Keteus was father of Kallisto by one Stilbe.⁷⁰ Kallisto bore Arkas to Zeus, and his sons by Leaneira were Elatos, Apheidas, and Azan. This cannot be Pherekydes' story, if only because of the premature presence of Dorians, but it again confirms that the mysterious Keteus was an Arkadian figure and, in this version at any rate, has no relation to Lykaon.

Like Pausanias, the scholion presents a positive portrait of Lykaon. Unlike Pausanias, it includes the flood and acknowledges the break that followed Nyktimos. Thus, on the one hand we have a primeval ruler whose sons found cities all over Arkadia, but none of whom has overall dominion, and all of whom perish in some accounts; on the

⁶⁶ Ariaithos' date is undetermined; at least 4th-c., very likely later. (See now M. Jost's and J. Roy's *BNJ* commentary.) He probably cited *Pher. fr.* 58 elsewhere in his book (→§4.5). According to Istros, *FGH Hist* 334 F 75, Arkas was son of 'Themisto' and Zeus (cf. Eust. *Il.* 300.29 and on *Dion. Per.* 414). Bremmer points out to me that *καλή και μεγάλη* is a common description of female beauty (*καλή τε μεγάλη τε* is a Homeric formula, *Od.* 13.289, 14.7, 15.418, 16.158), so Ariaithos has simply substituted one term for the other; W. Verdenius, *Mnem.* 2 (1949) 294–8.

⁶⁷ For Eikadios see §1.8.1.

⁶⁸ 'Parthion' codd.; cf. Paus. 8.24.1 (above, n. 64); Schwartz suggested 'Porthaon' (*Apollod. Bibl.* 3.97 has 'Porthaus').

⁶⁹ Cf. Kallim. *fr.* 710.

⁷⁰ The name recurs as a daughter of Heosphoros, by Hermes mother of Autolykos (schol. *Il.* 10.266–7a1), and as a daughter of Peneios, mother by Apollo of Lapithes (schol. *Il.* 1.266–8, schol. *D Il.* 12.181, schol. *Ap. Rhod.* 1.40–1).

other hand we have a federal eponym Arkas who may or may not be related on his mother's side to his predecessor. From some points of view, the myths of Lykaon and Kallisto might have been originally quite separate from each other, combined only at a late stage, and perhaps only by mythographers;⁷¹ yet the genealogical link was forged already by Eumelos, as we have seen, and perhaps too in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, i.e. by the sixth century at the latest; the establishment of the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios c.600 BC gives a *terminus ante quem* for at least that part of the construct. If it reflects Arkadian views in any way, one might diagnose competing attitudes to the ethnos' own coherence. The ambiguous nature of an eponym could be worked to advantage: on a strong view, an ancestor; on a weak view, one who simply gave his name to the people, as Pelops gave his name to the Peloponnesians. Retaining a strong relationship with both Lykaon and Arkas leaves one with the most to explain in mythological terms. In different contexts one could choose one or the other according to need. Taking Pher. fr. 156 and 157 together, we might infer that in his account the sons of Lykaon were more important than Arkas. The sons did not all perish; subsequently Arkas somehow gave his name to the people. If this Arkas was not a son of Lykaon, as he was in Ariaithos the Arkadian, it does not suggest a strong corporate presence of Arkadians in Pherekydes' day.⁷²

Some details may be remarked on. In fr. 156, Pherekydes has made Kyllene, the eponym of the Arkadian mountain, wife of Lykaon (and mother of all his children?), whereas in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.96 Kyllene is Lykaon's mother, wife of Pelasgos.⁷³ Apollodoros gives Meliboia daughter of Okeanos as an alternative mother, which West suggests (*HCW* 91) may be from Akousilaos, as he and Hesiod had just been contrasted with respect to their accounts of Pelasgos himself (see Akous. fr. 25, app. crit.). Pherekydes names Deianeira as Lykaon's mother; an arbitrary invention, it would seem. It recurs in Dionysios *Ant. Rom.* 1.11, in a passage that may owe something to Hellanikos; Deianeira there is daughter of Lykaon I and mother of Lykaon II. Concerning Hellanikos' account of Arkadia we are very poorly informed; in *Hellan.* fr. 161 we learn only that he said the Arkadians were autochthonous. This is a commonplace;⁷⁴ yet, if the surmise is correct (above, p. 94 and §7.1.2) that Hellanikos, like Akousilaos, placed the first Pelasgos in Argos, we may be able

⁷¹ Cf. Henrichs, 'Three Approaches to Greek Mythography' 261–2 (an important discussion); West, *HCW* 154–5; Bremmer, 'Myth and Ritual in Greek Human Sacrifice' 75–6. The progeny of Arkas cluster in eastern Arkadia whereas Lykaon abides in the western part. The literary and artistic sources for the Kallisto myth are discussed also by I. McPhee, *LIMC* 5.1.940 and by Gantz 725–9. Epimen. *Vors.* 3 B 16 said that Arkas and Pan were the sons of Kallisto and Zeus (→§11.2.2).

⁷² Jacoby on fr. 156 went so far as to infer that because of the decisive break Pherekydes must have included the flood in his account, but this is surely too bold an inference. Nonetheless that break was clearly there in some versions and whoever subsequently inserted the flood at this point had good warrant.

⁷³ Schol. Eur. *Or.* 1646 also gives Kyllene as wife of Pelasgos. Paus. 8.4.6 oddly says the mountain was named after Kyllen son of Elatos.

⁷⁴ In addition to texts mentioning the autochthonous Pelasgos e.g. Hdt. 8.73, Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23, Dem. 19.261, *CEG* 2.824.2 mention Arkadian autochthony (references from Nielsen, *Arkadia* 70 n. 134).

to draw an inference, for if the Pelasgians are not the autochthones in question, somebody else must be. Possibly it is Lykaon, but he is a figure associated with the beginning of civilization rather than aboriginal condition; more probably it is the mysterious Aizeios who appears only in Dionysios 1.11.2, 1.12.1. One is tempted to suppose the name has something to do with the Azanes, but there is no evidence to support such a view.⁷⁵

The remaining Arkadian fragments in our corpus are brief. We take them in order of the edition:

Elatos and Apheidas (*Eumel.* fr. 8). Fr. 8a, from Apollodoros, merely quotes Eumelos for the different name he gave to the mother of these sons of Arkas; his nominee, a nymph Chrysopeleia, corresponds to the Dryad Erato named by Pausanias (8.4.2), prophetess of a once oracular Pan (8.37.11), depicted on the Arkadian monument at Delphi found in modern times (Paus. 10.9.5; *CEG* 2.824). That the story in fr. 8b was also found in Eumelos is highly unlikely; as Wilamowitz supposed, and Leone's new edition of the scholia to Lykophron confirms, Tzetzes has added Eumelos from Apollodoros, and only then for the name of the nymph; for the main story he cites Charon *FGH Hist* 262 F 12, on which see Jacoby, and J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs* 73–5. Apheidas and Elatos had a brother Azan, eponym of the Azanes of northern Arkadia (Paus. 8.4.1).⁷⁶ Pausanias also says that Apheidas ruled in Tegea, while Elatos had Mt Kyllene (as yet unnamed). He adds an illegitimate brother Autolaos (cf. 8.25.11); at 10.9.5 he adds Triphylos, a consequence of Triphylia's joining the Arkadian League in 370 BC. In *Eumel.* fr. 8b there is another son Amphidamas (cf. schol. *Il.* 2.603–9). Apheidas was father of Stheneboia, who married Proitos, and Aleos, the father of Auge, Kepheus and Lykourgos (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.102) and Amphidamas (Paus. 8.4.8, Ap. Rhod. 1.161).

Arkadian Supper. According to Hekataios (*Hek.* fr. 9), this consisted of barley-cakes and pork. Athenaios, who quotes the fragment, is working his way through regional menus, and one may doubt whether Hekataios himself used the phrase 'Arkadian supper' as if proverbial. The menu is very simple (cf. Archil. fr. 2), so perhaps from early times (the fragment is of course from the *Genealogiai*); the context could be the feast of Lykaon, human flesh having been mixed in with the pork.

Kepheus. Apollonios (1.161–3) in his catalogue of Argonauts includes Kepheus and Amphidamas sons of Aleos; his scholiast tells us that there were two Kepheis, the son of Aleos and, according to *Hellan.* fr. 37, the son of . . . somebody else. Wendel noted Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.37 where Kepheus son of Lykourgos is a Kalydonian Boarhunter; Jacoby on the other hand assumed the father was Poseidon (fr. 99; →§12.3.3). One would normally assume the Boarhunter and Argonaut to be the same person, however, and we may wonder if Apollodoros' genealogy in 1.37 is simply a confusion (Amphidamas is

⁷⁵ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.153 n.1.

⁷⁶ On the Azanes see Nielsen and Roy, 'The Azanians of Northern Arkadia'.

another Arkadian figure about whom genealogists were uncertain). The son of Poseidon, eponym of Kaphyai and living long before either adventure, would certainly be a different person.

Mt Mainalon. The scholiast on Ap. Rhod. 1.769–73, elucidating a reference to Atalante ‘who once on Mainalon gave Jason the gift of a far-flying spear’, explains that Mainalon is a mountain in Arkadia where Atalante roamed; it is named ἀπὸ Μαινάλου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος according to **Hell. fr. 162**. The eponym everywhere else is son of Lykaon, and it is in this era that he belongs; Jacoby well suggests that when the scholiast says ἀπὸ Μαινάλου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος he means not ‘Mainalos son of Arkas’ but ‘Mainalos the Arkadian’. The scholiast’s main point here is that there were two Atalantai, one Arkadian, the other Boiotian, the daughter of Schoineus, whom Hippomenes married when he won the famous race; ‘the Arkadian’ may be the scholiast’s addition.⁷⁷ The two girls have the essential point in common that they shun marriage; perhaps they were in fact one figure to begin with. The Arkadian Atalante is a huntress like Artemis stalking her prey in the wilds of Mainalon; she also participates in the Kalydonian Boarhunt and the Funeral Games of Pelias, and sometimes even accompanies the Argonauts. In the course of time the two Atalantai inevitably became confused, or put back together (e.g. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.105–9). When Apollodoros (3.109) says she was daughter of Mainalos according to Euripides, this is merely a misreading of *Phoin.* 1162.⁷⁸

Hysia. Stephanos tells us that Pherekydes mentioned Hysia, the polis ‘in Arkadia’ (**Pher. fr. 5**). The place in question (also called Hysiai) is on the road from Argos to Tegea, and is normally considered part of the Argolid.⁷⁹ The border of Arkadia was somewhat flexible, changing over time, as we see also from **Pher. fr. 161** (below); see Nielsen in *IACP* p. 505 and *Arkadia* 89–112. Nielsen (110) suggests that Hysiai might have been part of Arkadia following the Argive defeat at Sepeia, 494 BC, until Argos was sufficiently strong again to take the field against Sparta with Tegea (466?). This tallies well with a date in the 460s for Pherekydes’ activity. There is no known mythological context for the fragment.

Areithoos. At *Il.* 7.8–10, Paris kills Menesthios of Boiotian Arne, son of Areithoos ‘Clubman’ and Phylomedousa. At 7.131–56, during one of Nestor’s ‘would I were young’ speeches, he tells how he killed Ereuthalion during a fight between the Pylians and the Arkadians (mentioned also at 4.319); Ereuthalion was bearing Areithoos’ arms. These had been given him by his master Lykourgos, then an old man, who had killed Areithoos

⁷⁷ This counters Nielsen’s well-taken point, *Arkadia* 273 n. 15, that Hellanikos would not need to add ‘the Arkadian’ in a work *On Arkadia*. There is a striking parallel for the story of Schoineus in the Grimm Brothers’ ‘Six Soldiers of Fortune’, no. 71 in the usual numeration.

⁷⁸ For the sources of the myth of Atalante see Robert, *GH* 83–4, 93–6, Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.92–7, Boardman, *LIMC* 2.1.940, Gantz 335–9, and Barringer, ‘Atalanta as Model’, for her son Parthenopaïos, §12.3.3.

⁷⁹ Thuc. 5.83.2; Strab. 8.6.17; Paus. 2.24.7 (in ruins by his day); Bölte, *RE* 9.1.540; Shaw, ‘Olympiad Chronography’ 284–5; *IACP* p. 601.

by confronting him in a defile where he had no room to swing his club. The Mythographus Homericus on the first Homeric passage provides the *historia*, which is merely a paraphrase of the second Homeric passage with some additional narrative ornaments: he says there was a border dispute between the Boiotians and the Arkadians; Areithoos invaded and carried off much booty; Lykourgos roused the Arkadians and laid his ambush.⁸⁰ The *historia* is attributed to Pherekydes (**Pher. fr. 158**), and it appears from fr. 159 that he did mention it (see below). We have no further knowledge of this story from any other source.⁸¹ One thing Pherekydes cannot have said, even if he was vague about the limits of Arkadia (fr. 5, 161), is that there was a border dispute with Boiotia. Boiotia is MH’s surmise from the fact that Areithoos’ son resides at Arne. More likely the border dispute was with Triphylia or Messenia, as suggested by Nestor’s history. Homer’s commentators broke their heads over the chronological puzzle: Nestor, ancient of days, says that when he was young he killed Ereuthalion, and even then the death of Areithoos lay long before—yet here is Paris killing Areithoos’ son at Troy. One solution was to assume that there were two Areithoos, one Arkadian and one Boiotian. Another was to suppose that Lykourgos was already old when he killed Areithoos, and left a very young Menesthios behind at home (‘one year old’, specifies the scholiast), who then lived a very long time and was the oldest fighter at Troy after Nestor.⁸² In Pausanias’ king-list (8.4.10), Lykourgos is king at about the right time for his enemy’s son to fight at Troy (Lykourgos’ great-nephew is contemporary with Herakles’ son Hyllos, 8.5.1). In truth we have a free-standing story about a primitive Arkadian warrior,⁸³ worked into the *Iliad* without concern for chronology. We cannot know how Boiotia came into the picture, or how Pherekydes handled these problems, if he did.

Phera; River Dardanos. In his telling of the battle with the Arkadians (above, on **Pher. fr. 158**) Nestor places it, according to the received text, ‘beside the walls of Pheia, by the river Iardanos’ (*Il.* 7.135) but also ‘by the swift-flowing Keladon’ (133). The two lines consort ill together; moreover, Pheia in Elis has no river to speak of, and is altogether in the wrong place for the battle. Conversely, no river Iardanos is known in the Peloponnese; but the Cretan Kydones live Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα at *Od.* 3.292. The Keladon is in exactly the right place for this border-fight (Paus. 8.38.9, cf. Kallim. *Hymn* 3.107), near Theisoa (*Barrington Atlas* 58 B2). Christ and after him West deleted l. 135. Ancient scholars tried other remedies; Strabo offers a particularly violent one at 8.3.21, substituting ‘Akidon’ for ‘Keladon’ and ‘Chaa’ for ‘Pheia’. Didymos suggested ‘Dardanos’ and ‘Pherai’. As his authority he quotes **Pher. fr. 159**. Now ‘Dardanos’ would produce an

⁸⁰ On the text see Part B.

⁸¹ Pausanias says Areithoos’ grave was shown near Mantinea (8.11.4); of Lykourgos king of Arkadia he says this cowardly killing was all he was remembered for (8.4.10).

⁸² A version of this is supported by Kirk ad loc.

⁸³ Primitive: Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan* 22. Free-floating story, going back to the Dark Age or beyond: Bremmer, ‘What is a Greek Myth?’ 1–2; A. Hoekstra, *Med. Ned. Ak. Wet. Afd. Letterk.* 108 (1981) 54–66.

hexameter with no caesura,⁸⁴ and is nowhere attested as a river. If Pherekydes wrote 'Pherai' he is likely to have meant the town at the mouth of the Nedon, modern Kalamata, even if it is a little far south for a fight with Arkadians.⁸⁵ Strabo says (8.4.4) that Nestor got his epithet 'Gerenios' from nearby Gerena, which has been located (*IACP* p. 556). Now though we may suspect this association to be somewhat artificial—the origins of Nestor's epithet are lost in the prehistory of epic—it was quite possibly believed in the classical period, and could have influenced Pherekydes. Unfortunately, the Nedon will not go into the hexameter without further rewriting. Maybe, after all, we should believe Didymos, that Pherekydes said 'Dardanos': he does seem to have taken a stand on various Homeric names (→§18.3.9), and would have known that the Iardanos was in Crete. To save Homer's credibility he made a minimal alteration. His standards of versification might have been no better than those of many inscriptions ('often atrocious': West, *Greek Metre* 36, noting for lack of caesura *CEG* 1.83.1).

Diopē (Pher. fr. 160). The entry in Stephanos is now δ91 Billerbeck. Nothing else is known about this 'polis' (on this term see Part B, introduction to Hellanikos).

Phrixa (Pher. fr. 161). Stephanos tells us that Pherekydes put this polis (*IACP* no. 309) in Arkadia; it is normally considered to be in Triphylia. On the shifting border of Arkadia, see Shipley in *IACP* p. 505 (cf. on Hysia above). Jacoby noted Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μάκιστος* (428.11 Meineke), who says the city was named after Makistos the brother of Phrixos, the eponym of Phrixa. He then notes Herodotos 4.148, according to whom the Minyans who had been chased from Lemnos by the Pelasgians, and were then evicted from Lakonia, settled Phrixos, Makiston, and other towns in this area.⁸⁶ The Lemnian Minyans were descended from the Argonauts. Jacoby therefore suggested that a tradition lies behind Stephanos in which Triphylia was colonized directly from Thessaly,⁸⁷ by a descendant of Phrixos son of Athamas (cf. Pher. fr. 101). This seems very possible; although Stephanos does not say who Phrixos' father was, to call him 'brother of Makistos' would be odd if they were two of the many sons of Lykaon. That is of course the other possibility; Mekisteus is one of Lykaon's sons at Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.97 (Kaukon, eponym of the Kaukonēs who are also resident in this region, immediately precedes). Phrixos, however, is not so named in any surviving source.

⁸⁴ *Φηρὰς πὰρ τεύχεσσι Δαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.*

⁸⁵ Pheraia in Elis seems too obscure, and would require one to think that the Pylians of Elis are the combatants: Strab. 8.3.32; Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* 3.35–7. Its river is the Erymanthos. Yet at 6.21.6 Pausanias notes a ruined temple of Athena Kydonia near Phrixa (which is close to Pheraia, and in Arcadia according to Pher. fr. 161), founded by Klymenos, a descendant of Herakles the Daktyl, who came from Kydonia in Crete 'and the Iardanos river': a seemingly gratuitous addition; is the Arkadian Iardanos close by?

⁸⁶ See Corcella on 4.145.3, 148.1–3.

⁸⁷ On the legendary links between the regions cf. §5.3.1.

§3

DEUKALION

THIS section concentrates on the myth of Deukalion and Pyrrha in its own right, particularly the flood; their progeny and appropriation by Thessaly are discussed in §4.

§3.1 Names and Genealogy (Akous. fr. 34)

Both 'Deukalion' and 'Pyrrha' occur as names in Linear B (PY An 654.12, *de-u-ka-ri-jo*; KN Ap 639.11 *pu-wa*). The etymology of Deukalion's name is disputed; Bader, 'De Pollux à Deukalion', favours 'briller, voir', with reference primarily to brightness, whereas Janko, 'Polydeukes and Deukalion', argues for a connection with *γλυκύς/γλεύκος*.¹

In myth, Deukalion is everywhere the son of Prometheus, but the mother's name varies. Corruption unfortunately affects the Hesiodic fragments. Fr. 2 (see Hellan. fr. 6), according to the MSS, astonishingly names Pandora, but in a work purporting to be Hesiodic this seems incredible.² Hes. fr. 4 (see Akous. fr. 34) names *†Πρυνείη*, for which various emendations have been proposed; if the true form began with a P, it would have been easy for a sleepy copyist to write 'Pandora' by mistake in fr. 2. The woman's name in the *Catalogue* is thus unrecoverable.

Akousilaos' candidate (Akous. fr. 34) is an Okeanid Hesione, which might be taken for free invention did it not recur in the *PV* (560); if the latter is not dependent on the former, one may speculate that their common source was the *Titanomachy*, which perhaps mentioned the flood (see below), and which has long been thought to lie behind the *PV* (→§1.5). Another possibility is the *Phoronis*, one of Akousilaos' main sources, or (less probably) Mousaios (*Vors.* 2 B 18; see Pher. fr. 90c, e), who gave Prometheus' brother Atlas an Okeanid wife. Someone else even more boldly suggested Asia as

¹ Bader also in *REG* 99 (1986), pp. xii–xiv. Epicharmos has the curious variant *Δευκαρίων*, perhaps for comic reasons ('white man' vs. 'red woman': so Wilamowitz apud Kaibel); Deinolochos of Syracuse (test. 2.4, *PCG* 1.177) also wrote a play of this title. Oldfather, *RE* 13.1.1176 thought *λεύειν* 'to stone' might be relevant, in view of the *λαός/λαός* story; cf. *Et.Gud.* s.v. *λευρόν*.

² Admittedly, it is worrying that Pandora figures as Deukalion's mother again in Strabo 9.5.23 p. 443; perhaps as a mother-of-mankind figure she was wife of Prometheus in some local traditions. In Hes. fr. 5 she is mother of Graikos, for whom see §4.2. Cf. West on *Op.* 81; Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen* 119 n. 1; Bremmer, *GRC* 32–4; Hirschberger ad loc. (her fr. 2). The report in schol. Hes. *Op.* 158a that Deukalion and Pyrrha were the offspring of Epimetheus is another strange aberration; could it come from Eumelos, who, as we saw (§1.5), had a quite different view of this Titan's attainments?

Prometheus' mate (Hdt. 4.45), which Sturz (in Sturz³) implausibly wanted to substitute for Hesione in Akousilaos.³ Klymene, who according to the scholiast who quotes Akous. fr. 34 was the wife of Prometheus in 'most' authorities, is otherwise attested in late sources only (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.173, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.79c(?), 81, schol. Pl. *Ti.* 22a), though Jacoby on fr. 6 and 117 thought Dionysios' source might have been Hellanikos. In Hesiod *Th.* 510 she is Prometheus' mother.

§3.2 The Flood Myth: Who knew what, when? (Akous. fr. 35; Andr. fr. 8; Hellan. fr. 6, 117a)

Deukalion and Pyrrha survive the great flood and repopulate the earth, partly by normal procreation, partly by casting stones over their shoulders which turn into men and women. In Lokrian Opous, as we see from Pindar, the distinction was turned to political advantage; the aristocracy claimed descent from Deukalion himself, whereas the people could do no better than the stones. The story played on a popular etymology of λαός 'people' from λᾶος/λάας 'stone' (Hes. fr. 234, Akous. fr. 35, Pindar, Epicharmos fr. 120; possibly also *Il.* 24.611). As West points out (*HCW* 55, following Preller–Robert, *GM* 84 n. 2), this creation myth is no different in kind from stories of men being created from ants on Aigina (Hes. fr. 205) or from a serpent's teeth in Thebes, and need not presuppose a prior flood. The flood is first brought into relation with the stone story explicitly in Epicharmos and Pindar.⁴

That the story of the flood is intrusive in Greece has long been recognized. There is no mention of it in the genuine Hesiod, nor apparently in the *Catalogue* (West, *HCW* 55). It sits uneasily with the usual Greek idea of two ages of history, which proceed from one to the other without the agency of any natural cataclysm: an age of heroes descended from various autochthonous, divine, and immigrant figures; and the present age.⁵ In its

³ In Lykoph. *Alex.* 1283 and Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8 Asia is Prometheus' mother (a dual role reminiscent of Klymene); she starts life as an Okeanid in Hes. *Th.* 359. Caduff, *Antike Stinfyltsagen* 119, after Gruppe *Griechische Mythologie* 1.90–1 and Wilamowitz, *Aischylos* 136–7, regards the two names as alternative forms of the same word, but the linguistic argument is quite precarious. Tzetzes on Lykoph. loc. cit. gives Axiothea as yet another alternative, which points to a cult connection on Samothrace; see §1.7.2 n. 159.

⁴ If the wording in Akous. fr. 23 can be trusted, he no doubt connected them too (see below). For anthropological parallels to the stone story, see Röhrich, 'Anthropogonie' and Gaster, *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament* 586 (and 82–131 for the flood). Buxton, *Imaginary Greece* 103 suggests that the motif of throwing the stones behind them stresses the mysterious and sacred quality of the act; Caduff, *Antike Stinfyltsagen* 228 more mundanely thinks of agricultural practice. Cf. Bremmer, *GRC* 124–5. For the world-wide flood myth Dundes, *The Flood Myth*, provides an overview; for the myth in Greece, the Near East, and India, orientation and bibliography may be found in Versnel, 'What's Sauce for the Goose is Sauce for the Gander' 86 n. 156; West, *EFH* 489–93; Hirschberger on Hes. fr. 5 M.–W. (fr. 2 H.); Bremmer, *GRC* 101–16.

⁵ Hesiod's Five Ages are plainly grafted onto this scheme; how successfully is a matter of debate: against the assessment that this myth is inconsistent with his own view of Pandora (e.g. West on *Op.* 106–201; Buxton, *Imaginary Greece* 177–8) see Sourvinou-Inwood, 'The Hesiodic Myth of the Five Races'. That the careers of the offspring of these *Urmenschen* (Hellen, then Doros and the others) must take place after the Trojan War is a clear sign of the difficulty.

original Near Eastern home the flood myth is found in several versions, most famously for modern audiences the relatively young one of Noah. For whatever reason it attached itself to Deukalion, perhaps because, as a Lokrian (Hes. fr. 234, Pind. *Ol.* 9), he was geographically the closest of various Greek *Urmenschen* to Euboia, an important conduit of Eastern materials and ideas to Greece in the Dark Ages.⁶ It is attractive to think that the *Titanomachy* already assigned this role to Deukalion, since it knew other stories from the Akkadian *Atrahasis*, and in all probability the epic of Gilgamesh as well (whose influence has been detected also in Homer).⁷ Both of these epics contained the flood story. Bremmer further suggests that fr. 4 Bernabé of the *Titanomachy* (fr. Davies, Eumel. fr. 14 West), which speaks of fish in the sea, might even come from a description of the flood. Early Greek knowledge of *Atrahasis* is also implied by the plot of the *Cypria*.⁸

The story of the flood, therefore, although not native mythology, was certainly known in archaic Greece. Its occurrence already in Pindar and Epicharmos—and surely *PV* 231–3—points to an archaic predecessor. Among mythographers, it is unambiguously attested in Hellanikos (fr. 117a) and Andron (fr. 8). That the earliest mythographers (Hek., Akous., Pher.) knew the myth seems probable, but it is very difficult to show that they did. Hekataios (fr. 13–16) certainly had strong and novel opinions about Deukalion's progeny (→§4.4), but we do not know what he said about the flood; Pherekydes fr. 23 looks reassuringly orthodox, but is once again silent on the key point.⁹ The citations of Akousilaos fr. 23 (and Hellanikos fr. 47) are unfortunately less helpful than one might wish. Behind the blithe statements of a Julius Africanus or a Clement lie Alexander Polyhistor and Kastor of Rhodes (both first century BC), who land us squarely in the swamp of ancient chronography.

Before attempting to find our way through that quagmire (below, §3.3) let us offer one or two general comments. Given that the story was certainly current in Greece, as we have just seen, this presented a problematic choice for the mythographers: either to ignore it, or to reconcile it with their local traditions. If their local tradition was not north-central Greek, and they were therefore loath to think of Deukalion as their primal ancestor, such reconciliation would necessarily involve some modification of the original story, since Deukalion and Pyrrha could not be the flood's only survivors. They had either to find some way for their true ancestors to survive the flood (thus Apollodoros says that all men perished, 'except for a few who sought refuge in the

⁶ See especially M. L. West, *JHS* 108 (1988) 166–72 and Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes*.

⁷ See S. R. West, 'Prometheus Orientalized'; M. L. West, art. cit. last note and *EFH* index s.v. Gilgamesh; Bremmer, *GRC* 103–6; Janko on *Il.* 14.200–7, 15.185–93.

⁸ See Scodel, 'The Achaean Wall', and Burkert, *OR* 88–91 ~ *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis* 34–40; West, *MH* 52 (1995) 211–13 ~ *EFH* 377–80. S. R. West (*per litt.*) notes that the present *παύροις* makes against Bremmer's reading; other contexts are imaginable for the fragment.

⁹ Jacoby on fr. 156 thought that Pherekydes included the flood; see §2.4 n. 72.

highest mountains in the vicinity'), or they had to confine the flood to other regions; for instance, Aristotle, *Met.* 352a32–b3 restricts it to the region of Dodona. By making the flood a less than universal catastrophe, such modifications fatally undermine the original point of the myth, which is that the flood marks a totally new beginning of human civilization. The survivor of the flood should be a culture-hero who invents various technologies and founds human institutions such as sacrifice. These functions in Greek myth are usually given to Prometheus or to a local *Urmensch*; Phoroneus, for instance, brought fire to man according to the Argives (Paus. 2.19.5), caused them to live in towns (2.15.5), and founded the cult of Hera (Hyg. *Fab.* 143, 225). These or similar claims no doubt played a part in Akousilaos' book.¹⁰

One hint of Deukalion as culture-hero survives in the mythographers: Hellanikos fr. 6 says that he established an altar of the twelve gods in Thessaly (Phthiotis).¹¹ This act certainly followed hard on the end of the flood to mark the restitution of order. Deukalion's post-diluvial sacrifice turns up in several places: according to Apollodoros, he sacrificed to Zeus Phyxios, who was worshipped in Thessaly (schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.1147, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.48); according to Arrian, *FGrHist* 156 F 16, he sacrificed to Zeus Aphetios after landing in Argos; according to the Marmor Parium (*FGrHist* 239 A 4), he sacrificed to Zeus Olympios in Athens (and built his temple); according to the recently published *P.Oxy.* 62.4306 fr. 1 i 19 ff. (first or second century AD), a list of those 'who first constructed the altars of the gods', Deukalion built the second of all altars (Pelagos built the first), amazingly, at Dion in Makedonia. These stories once again reveal the attempts made to graft the flood myth onto local traditions. Similarly, in Hellanikos fr. 135 Iasion is the only man after the flood with seed grain, and so must re-establish agriculture; normal tradition places him in Crete, but Hellanikos seems to have put him in Samothrace (→§18.1.1). Other stories, of various dates and origins, attest the same process: in Megara, Megaros was guided to the summit of Mount Gerania after the flood by the sound of cranes (*γέραναι*; Paus. 1.40.1); Makar built the city of Karides on Chios after the deluge (Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 11); Makareus resettled Lesbos (Diod. Sic. 5.81.3); the cult of Zeus Hellenios was established by Aiakos on Aigina in gratitude for salvation from the flood (schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5.17b); Zeus sent the flood because of Lykaon of Arkadia's wickedness (Ov. *Met.* 1.163–323); and so on.¹² Some of these stories no doubt

¹⁰ See Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen* 217–39 for the evidence concerning Deukalion, Phoroneus, Merops, Inachos, and others.

¹¹ For Deukalion and sacrifice see Rudhardt, 'Les mythes grecs'; Bremmer, *GRC* 112–14; Georgoudi, 'Les Douze Dieux' (for the twelve gods see also on Herodotos fr. 34, §8.4.5). Plutarch, *Adversus Coloten* 31 makes Deukalion responsible for religion generally among the Hellenes. Jacoby on Hekataios fr. 2 wondered whether Hekataios represented Deukalion as founder of the city Iton in Phthia and its cult of Athena Itonia (→§1.8.4).

¹² Secondary too is the use of the flood myth as an aition for various rituals; numerous instances, none attested early, in Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen* 239–58.

figured in old mythography. If Hekataios mentioned the flood in connection with Deukalion (fr. 13–16), he too would have regarded it only as a local nuisance, no global catastrophe. The absence of the Deukalion saga in Homer (and much other epic), art, and tragedy, also suggests that it was not well established as a national myth; that it flourished at a different level is perhaps suggested by its popularity in comedy (not only Epicharmos and Pherekrates fr. 125, from the *Myrmekanthropoi*,¹³ but in the fourth-century Antiphanes fr. 78–9, Euboulos fr. 23, and Ophelio test. 1).

There are two further reasons, admittedly slight, for thinking that Akousilaos mentioned the flood. First, Plato in the *Timaios* mentions Phoroneus, Deukalion, and Pyrrha in the same breath, and Phoroneus points to Akousilaos, whom Plato certainly knew (he preserves fr. 6a for us). However, Plato in the same sentence speaks of calculating the number of years since the days of Deukalion; it would be surprising to find this in Akousilaos, though not impossible so far as his date is concerned, for Hekataios (test. 4) had the same chronographical misadventure in Egypt as Solon did according to Plato. Akousilaos was not a man to devote much thought to scientific method, and the only point really securely attested for him in these citations is that Phoroneus was the first human. Akous. fr. 23c is particularly clear proof of this; fr. 23b (= Hellan. 47a) is no less transparent, for Akousilaos certainly did not calculate years before the first Olympiad. In fr. 23a the word γάρ after Akousilaos' name is a giveaway, for it imputes to him a reasoning that belongs rather to Clement's authority; indeed, it appears to make Akousilaos say that the first man Phoroneus was preceded by Inachos (in Akousilaos we may assume Inachos was the river). Certainly Akousilaos did not concede that there had been earlier kings in Sikyon; this, rather, is Kastor's reconstruction (*FGrHist* 250 F 2), and perhaps Alexander's as well.

Secondly, Bremmer (*GRC* 111) has noticed a suggestive detail in Apollodoros: Greece, he says, was inundated outside the Isthmus and the Peloponnese (1.47). The beneficent deity who thus protected the Peloponnese was possibly an Argive one, and Akousilaos might be the ultimate source of this statement.¹⁴ Similarly, an Athenian source will lie behind the Marmor Parium's view that Attika remained dry (*FGrHist* 239 A 4). However, Heyne took Apollodoros' 'Greece' here to be Thessalian Hellas, a survival of the earlier, more restricted use of the word (Hellas being Deukalion's son: →§4.1); this view has recently been restated by Dräger ad loc. and Trzaskoma and Smith, "Hellas" in the *Bibliothèque* of Apollodoros'. Apollodoros also tells us that on this occasion the mountains of Thessaly were rent asunder. The perspective is simply that of northern Greece, and the Peloponnese is not relevant.

¹³ See Kaibel's comment, *PCG* 7.161.

¹⁴ Note, however, Faber's conjecture ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ for ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ, discussed by M. Huys in Van der Stockt, *Plutarchia Lovaniensia* 157–9; accepted by Paphomopoulos.

§3.3 Ogygos (Akous. fr. 23; Hellan. fr. 47)

We turn now to assess how much we can learn about early flood traditions from the difficult Akousilaos fr. 23 and Hellanikos fr. 47. The answer will be, unsurprisingly, 'nothing certain', but we can make some modest progress.¹⁵ Both fragments mention Ogygos, not Deukalion, as the hero of the flood. Clement's truncated quotation of the *Timaios* makes it look as if both Plato and Akousilaos meant a flood in the time of Ogygos, but Plato in the immediate sequel specifies Deukalion. As for Julius Africanus and pseudo-Justin, Jacoby (on *FGrHist* 328 F 92; cf. on 323a F 10, and *Atthis* 127) argued that Ogygos did not figure as a king of Athens in either Hellanikos or Philochoros, retracting his earlier support (on 4 F 47) for even this minimal inference. It is certainly true that the earliest surviving authority to mention a flood during the reign of 'King Ogygos' is Varro, *Res Rust.* 3.1.2, and his Ogygos was king of Thebes.¹⁶ Kastor seems to have posited an Ogygian flood too (see Jacoby on *FGrHist* 250 F 9), but considered Ogygos a Titan (F 1). The first writer to say that the flood occurred in the time of an Attic Ogygos is actually Tatian, *ad Gr.* 39. Jacoby accordingly argued that Ogygos as an Attic flood hero is a creature of Hellenistic chronographers, who posited two (or more!) floods in their efforts to work Greek and Jewish traditions into a consistent universal history. Caduff strongly supports him, pointing out that the sources for Ogygos' flood are all synchronizers and system-makers; Ogygos' flood has no independent existence. Plato in the *Timaios* (23b) knows but one great flood, Deukalion's; this yields a *terminus post quem* for the invention of a second (earlier) flood of which Ogygos was the hero. (Indeed, this passage in Plato may be the warrant for later inventions; the Egyptian tells Solon that there were many other floods before Deukalion's. Thus Plato himself in *Critias* 112a.) In Attica, Ogygos was originally a local ruler only; specifically, his associations were with Eleusis (Paus. 1.38.7 says that 'some' authorities make him father of Eleusis; Pausanias himself is sceptical).

These arguments are broadly persuasive, but admit some revision. It remains possible (a) that some earlier authority placed Deukalion's flood in the time of Ogygos, without distinguishing two floods, and (b) that this Ogygos was king. Indeed, if these conditions did not obtain, it would be hard to see what warrant later chronographers would have had for treating Ogygos in the manner they did. Certainly Ogygos was known to the early Greeks; Panyassis fr. 24 (quoted with Hek. fr. 10) is fairly clear evidence of

¹⁵ Amid his many writings on the subject, Jacoby provided a brilliant outline of the history of chronography in his comments on Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 92, which may serve as a guide. Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists* 8–15, also has a short overview; Clarke, *Making Time for the Past*, discusses chronography in instructive detail at various points in her book; and see Möller, 'Epoch-Making Eratosthenes'.

¹⁶ Ogygia is a Niobid in Hellan. fr. 21; cf. Soph. OC 1770 ('Ogygian Thebes'), Eur. *Phoin.* 1113 (the Ogygian gates at Thebes). Korinna PMG 671 actually names Ogygos as king of Thebes, but her date is still contested.

this,¹⁷ and Korinna, PMG 671 would be even clearer if we could be sure that she was a fifth-century writer. The adjective *ωγύγιος* meaning 'primeval', 'of immemorial antiquity', and sometimes possibly 'awesome' occurs from Homer onwards; its associations are suggestive.¹⁸ There are grounds for connecting Ogygos with the Og of *Deuteronomy* 3, last of the giants.¹⁹ If he is not in fact native to Greece it might explain why he has no clear place in the framework of Greek myth, and why his outlines are so vague.

Early sources, then, show that Ogygos was known in some capacity; his kingship can perhaps be inferred from later writers. Shortly after his quotation of Hellan. 47a, Eusebios (i.e. Julius Africanus, fr. 34 Wallraff) says *μετὰ δὲ Ὀγυγον διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ πολλὴν φθορὰν ἀβασίλευτος ἔμεινεν ἡ νῦν Ἀττικὴ μέχρι Κέκροπος ἔτη ρπθ'· τὸν γὰρ μετὰ Ὀγυγον Ἀκταῖον ἢ τὰ πλασσόμενα τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐδὲ γενέσθαι φησὶ Φιλόχορος* (*FGrHist* 328 F 92a, *ad fin.*). Though the connection with the flood and the calculation cannot safely be imputed to Philochoros, the second sentence is his.²⁰ (If the first sentence reflects Philochoros in some way, then of course he did acknowledge Ogygos.) Philochoros is arguing with someone who claimed that Aktaios and others unnamed had been early kings of Athens, that is, before Kekrops; his argument cannot have been that only one king, Aktaios, did not exist.²¹ That Ogygos was among them is probable enough in view of his prominence in later chronography.

If the locution *Ἑλλάνικός τε καὶ Φιλόχορος* in Julius Africanus' and Justin's citations of fr. 47 can be pressed at all (Jacoby on *FGrHist* 328 F 92, n. 13), then Philochoros depended on Hellanikos in this part of his history, and may have derived the polemic from him too. But on reflection this seems improbable. Firstly, Jacoby (on *FGrHist* 4 FF 38–49) argued that the consistency of the Attic king-list from the fourth century on, which begins with Kekrops, bespeaks a decisive treatment, which was very likely Hellanikos'. If so, the target of the criticism may be Pherekydes; but if he (or Hekataios,

¹⁷ In connection with Panyassis note that the Praxidikai are daughters of Ogygos in the *Suda* s.v. *Πραξιδική* = Dionysius Chalcidensis *FGH* 4.394; these Underworld guarantors of oaths, invoked in curse tablets, have associations with the Erinyes and Persephone: H. Ehrlich, *RhM* 63 (1908) 638–9; van der Kolf, *RE* 22.2.1751–61; Eidinow, *Oracles, Curses, and Risk* 148. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ὀγυγία* says the Lycians were called Ogygian; so too were Boiotia and Thebe (*sic*) after Ogygos son of Termera (cf. Tremileis). One suspects Hekataios knew all this.

¹⁸ 'Ogygie' is the name of the eerie Kalypso's island in the *Odyssey*; used as an adjective of the river Styx at Hes. *Th.* 806 (where see West); cf. Empedokles *Vors.* 31 B 84.10; Aisch. *Sept.* 321 (where see Hutchinson); fr. 273a 7 (of *Χθών*); Soph. *Phil.* 142; Kallim. *Hymn* 1.14, 4.60; Simias fr. 24.12 Powell; schol. Pind. *Nem.* 6.71d. For the Underworld connection see last note.

¹⁹ Fauth, 'Prähellenische Flutnamen', after others. In Pherekydes of Syros, 'Ogenos' is Okeanos; Schibli, *Pherekydes* 14 n. 2, 54 n. 7. But pre-Greek is another obvious possibility (*o-ku-ka* is a personal name in Linear B, PY Cn 719.5). See also §1.3.1 on Okeanos.

²⁰ Jacoby, *Atthis* 320 n. 168, writes 'I should not like to decide with certainty whether Philochoros expressly exercised criticism or whether Africanus wrote as he did only because he did not find the names in Philochoros'; the second possibility is worth raising (the 'does not say' idiom; cf. Fowler, 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 77), but the wording seems strong enough to decide against it.

²¹ Apart from Ogygos and Aktaios, other possibilities are Kolainos (→§16.1.3), Porphyron, Mounichos (→§16.1.2), Mopso(po)s (→§18.5.2) and Periphas (cf. Jacoby, *Das Marmor Parium* 28–9).

for that matter) had made Ogygos and all the others kings of Attica before Kekrops, we should expect to find some echo of it in mainstream mythography.²² Secondly, there is the awkward fact that in fr. 42b Hellanikos seems to suggest that Mounichos was king of all Attika; it is a rather feeble evasion to respond that being an Attic king 'does not necessarily mean the same as "king of Athens"' (Jacoby on *FGrHist* 323a F 5), especially if Athens was where he lived. However, if Hellanikos synchronized his Attic with his Boiotian history, Mounichos almost certainly postdates Kekrops, and we need to find another way to understand fr. 42, perhaps allowing Mounichos to be a lesser king in Peiraieus alongside the king in Athens; see §16.1.2.

One can at least say that a quiet but persistent undercurrent of stories about kings before Kekrops goes back a considerable distance and keeps surfacing in the Atthidographic tradition (Pher. fr. 60?, Aisch. *Eum.* 1011, Hdt. 8.44, Skamon *FGrHist* 476 F 3, Marmor Parium *FGrHist* 239 A 1, Paus. 1.2.6, 1.5.3, 1.14.7). Someone, perhaps after an ambiguous lead given by Hellanikos, made the strong claims that provoked Philochoros. This person's motive would have been to boost Athens' and Eleusis' claims to antiquity vis-à-vis Argos; this will be the origin of the universally attested synchronism with Phoroneus. It is possible that in both Pherekydes and Hellanikos Ogygos figured as an Eleusinian, and that Deukalion's flood was placed in his time, or at least that such an inference could be got out of their books. But we must finally be content to remain agnostic with respect to these two writers.²³

§3.4 Miscellanea (Akous. fr. 46; Andr. fr. 8; Hek. fr. 35; Hellan. fr. 196, 202)

First, the word *λάρναξ*. Andron (fr. 8 = Hellan. fr. 196) offers the adventurous etymology *λάρναξ* > *Λαρνασσός* > *Παρνασσός* in defence of Parnassos as the landing-site after the flood;²⁴ he is perhaps arguing with Hellanikos, who derived the name of the mountain from an eponymous hero (fr. 196)²⁵ and said (fr. 117a) that the drifters landed rather on Mt Othrys in Thessaly (see §4.1). *λάρναξ* is the word used by Hellan. too in fr. 117a and everywhere else in connection with Deukalion (repeatedly in the Epicharmos papyrus,

²² Pherekydes mentions an Aktaios father of Telamon in fr. 60 (→ §16.3.1, at n. 99), but this is probably not the Attic king; such obvious anachronisms are avoided even in early mythography.

²³ Hellanikos and the other early Greek writers did not of course mention Moses; what is really being said is that their own chronological schemes, when aligned with Hebrew history, show that Moses was older. It is very doubtful that the interval in fr. 47a should be attributed to Hellanikos; see §19.3 n. 107.

²⁴ Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Παρνασσός* = Alexander Polyhistor *FGrHist* 273 F 83; *Etym. Magn.* p. 655.5 (*Etym. Gen.* p. 237 Miller) which also cites Andron fr. 8 (this should be added to the app. crit.).

²⁵ Little is said about this hero elsewhere; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Παρνασσός* says that he was the first to prophesy at Delphi, quoting Alexander Polyhistor *FGrHist* 273 F 83; Paus. 10.6.1 says the oldest city near Delphi was named after him, and that he invented orinthomancy. His mother was a nymph Kleodora, his divine father Poseidon, and his human father Kleopompos. His city was destroyed in the flood.

where the chest is the object of comic business). The *λάρναξ* is nothing like Noah's ark or the vessel of most eastern versions, but it is the usual container for Greek hero(in)es putting to sea (Danae, Thoas, Auge, Rhoio), leading Bremmer to comment that 'Greek tradition . . . adapted the Near Eastern ark to one of its own stock motifs' (GRC 110). Some oriental versions do, however, envisage an ark which is more like a chest than a boat (West, *EFH* 491–2), and the floating baskets containing babies like Moses are not dissimilar; this is a folk-tale motif found in various cultures (ibid. 439–40; Bremmer, 'Romulus, Remus and the Foundation of Rome' 30).

Second, the strange report in Hekataios fr. 35 = Akousilaos fr. 46 = Hellanikos fr. 202 that the ancients lived 1,000 years might have something to do with the flood; in the Bible (*Gen.* 6:3), God limits man's life to 120 years just before the flood, and in the Sumerian king-lists antediluvian monarchs live to fabulous ages (cf. West on Hes. *Op.* 130; Scodel, 'The Achaean Wall' 41; Berossos *FGrHist* 680 FF 4–5). In this respect antediluvian humans resembled those of Hesiod's earlier races (*Op.* 114, cf. 130, fr. 1.10; fr. 356, quoted with our mythographers), and indeed of the Golden Age in many traditions.²⁶ Apollodoros attempts to combine the two stories by saying that Zeus used the flood to destroy the Bronze Race; perhaps other mythographers before him did so too, but we have seen that Hellanikos and the others allowed the flood only limited efficacy. For all we know they might have told the story of the Golden Age wholly separately from Deukalion and his doings, and in that connection reported the marvellous lifespan of our predecessors. Or (most probably) the fragment is wholly fictitious; at best it is a product of careless memory, for Josephus wants merely to defend the longevity of certain biblical figures (post-diluvial, as it happens) by making the general point that Greek writers also report the longevity of early humans. He did not need to be more accurate than that. Hekataios in fr. 35 may even be the Abderite, or someone under that mask (see the app. crit.).

²⁶ Gatz, *Weltalter* 18–21, index s.v. *absentia morbi*; McCartney, 'Longevity and Rejuvenation'. For bibliography on the Golden Age see M. Davies, *Prometheus* 13 (1987) 265 n. Hellan. fr. 195 and Dam. fr. 5 offer other instances of longevity; → §4.2.

§4

DEUKALIONIDAI

§4.1 'Hellenism'¹ (Hek. fr. 14)

THE principal son of Deukalion is Hellen, eponymous ancestor of the Hellenes. The process whereby all Greeks came to be Hellenes is of fundamental importance not only to the mythographical tradition, but also to the way that tradition relates to the lived history of the archaic and classical periods. It is necessary therefore at this point in the commentary to explain the dynamics of this process, and to date its various stages. The major branches—Aiolidai, Dorians/Herakleidai, Ionians—will receive treatment in separate sections (§§5, 9, 19 respectively), as do the ancient lineages such as the Inachidai who preceded, and then were attached to, the Hellenic line. In this section we discuss first the creation of the Hellenes themselves (§4.1), then other branches of the Deukalionid line not immediately or obviously connected to the Aiolid, Dorian, Achaian, or Ionian branches: Eleians and Aitolians (§4.2), who bring with them the Kalydonian Boarhunt (§4.3); Lokrians (§4.4); and finally the Thessalians themselves, together with the Makedonians (§4.5).

We need, as often, to start with the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. In it Deukalion and Pyrrha are parents also of three daughters: Thyia, who by Zeus was mother of Magnes and Makedon; Pandora (fr. 5: a homonym of Epimetheus' wife);² and (by reasonable, though not certain conjecture) Protogeneia (as in Pher. fr. 23), mother of Aethlios, ancestor of the Aitolians through his grandson Aitolos (Apollod. 1.49, Paus. 5.13; below, §4.2). To this early generation belong also the Leleges (→§2.2), who sprang from the stones; at some point they became known as Lokroi under the leadership of Lokros (fr. 234).³ The sons of Hellen were Doros, Aiolos, and Xouthos; Xouthos' sons were Achaïos and Ion.

¹ In the following pages I draw upon and adapt some of the material in my article 'Genealogical Thinking'.

² I follow West, *HCW* 52; *contra* e.g. P. Dräger, *Gymnasium* 99 (1992) 409–21. Nevertheless, a second Pandora is decidedly odd. Perhaps at one time Pandora I bore Graïkos to Epimetheus, or even Prometheus. The *Catalogue* poet found the implications of that too much to bear and created Pandora II in order to move Graïkos to a more suitable place in the stemma (below, n. 32).

³ Lokros' parents are not identified in the surviving fragments; M. L. West, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 29, suggests his name might have stood among the sons of Aiolos in fr. 10a.28. He could also have descended from Protogeneia; see below, p. 145.

This genealogy, which became standard, has several tendentious purposes: it accounts for the principal subdivisions of the Greek race in historical times; it also explains (or claims) that the Ionians and Achaeans were more closely related to each other than they were to the other two groups by making their eponyms the sons of one Xouthos, a genealogical cipher existing only for this purpose; finally, while stressing the close relations of Ionians and Achaeans, it puts them further away than the others from the common ancestor Hellen, and therefore implies that they are not quite as Hellenic. A hundred or so years later Herodotos has an even blunter version of this scheme, reflecting the distribution of power in his day: the Spartans are Dorians, the Athenians are Ionians; the former are Hellenic, the latter were Pelasgian, but became Hellenic (Hdt. 1.56).

That this stemma is a recent innovation is apparent from Homer, who, though he is not unaware of the new order,⁴ calls the Greeks variously Argeioi, Danaoi, and Achaioi, according to metrical convenience; the interchangeability of the terms suggests no very firm doctrine about genealogical relationships between the groups. Within the *Catalogue* itself the secondary nature of the Deukalionid stemma is patent: these eponyms sit very poorly with the other great stemmata—Inachidai, Pelopidai, etc.—which are in fact the primary ones; if the Argives and the Athenians had always been Hellenes, they would have claimed original descent from Hellen. In due course, they found ways to claim descent, or at least affiliation. The Argives gave Doros a native wife, daughter of Phoroneus (Hes. fr. 10b; West, *HCW* 59). The Athenians gave Ion an Athenian mother (Hes. fr. 10a.23) and a role in a crucial war of Athens' early history (Hdt. 8.44.2), as a result of which they named their four tribes after his sons (Hdt. 5.66, Eur. *Ion* 1575–81). They shared these tribal names, of course, with the Ionians of Asia Minor, as well as the names of many months and festivals, especially the Apatouria, and a dialect. To bolster their claim to paternity of this kinship group they said that the leader of the Ionian migration, Neleus, was a son of an Athenian king. This king (Kodros) was a Neleid from Pylos, and thus ultimately a descendant of the Hellene Aiolos (Hellan. fr. 125, Pher. fr. 155; →§19.2.2).

The situation with the Dorians is somewhat different at first glance. Greek tradition, followed by many modern scholars until recently, held that they were invaders who came from north central Greece at the beginning of what we call, or used to call, the Dark Ages; the Athenians, by contrast, were autochthonous, and had never migrated (so e.g. Herodotos). For the Athenians to become Hellenes, some process of accommodation was necessary, whereas the Dorians had been Hellenes all along. Yet this understanding could just as easily be the result of retrojection and accommodation as the Athenian one. In other words, at some point in their history the Argives, Spartans, and others felt the same need as the Athenians to claim Hellenic status, but did so by

⁴ For the details see below, p. 127.

different means. The Athenians, who would not give up their claim to autochthony, could produce Hellenic credentials of only doubtful value.⁵ The Dorians, or (to take the same point a step further) groups who chose to adopt this label, more boldly claimed that they had always had this affinity with each other and with Hellen. That entailed claiming that their original homeland lay elsewhere. They were thus obliged to say also that they had supplanted the 'earlier' kings of Messenia, Sparta, and Argos, whereas in fact the earlier people of these cities may in some cases have been their own ancestors. The removal of the 'earlier' kings was legitimized by a story which made the usurpers the descendants of an even earlier king, Herakles, the rightful heir to power.⁶

Of course, to allow full scope for the revision of genealogies is not to close the door on history altogether. These revisions are made in the light of contemporary realities, and these realities have a history.⁷ Greeks did migrate in the Dark Ages; the Ionians did cross the Aegean. There was a break and a new beginning, and the upheaval was greater in the Peloponnese than in Attica. But it must be admitted that the evidence of archaeology and dialectology provide a very imperfect fit with the claims of Greek legend.⁸ The latter have long shaped the standard view of Greek history; had archaeology been the only guide this view would have been quite different. 'Dorian' and 'Ionian' are cultural terms above all. The sixth-century account of their history is a massive simplification of a centuries-long process. Even if archaeology showed an influx of people into the Peloponnese in the Dark Ages, sometimes violent, sometimes gradual, it can tell us nothing about the blood ties of these people to their predecessors. It cannot give us the fine details of the picture: the thousand tiny but accumulative comings and goings, subtle shifts in the balance of power from year to year, assimilation of non-material

⁵ On Athenian autochthony see §16.1.4.

⁶ Herakles may count as a king for this purpose; the story was of course that he was meant to rule over his fellow men, but was deprived of the chance by Hera's stratagem. The pattern here described is common; Henige, 'Oral Tradition' 374, writes '... changes in dynasty ... may well be masked as stories of "lost", "hidden", or "exiled" heirs who reappear when necessary to carry on the dynasty', and quotes African examples as well as classical ones (Kynos in Herodotos 1.108-30 is said to be a grandson of the last Median king).

⁷ With the addition of this second clause I modify slightly Osborne's (*Greece in the Making* 47-51) and J. M. Hall's similar assessment. As Pietro Vannicelli points out to me, the three tribes of the Dorians, despite occasional variations, can hardly be attributed to independent and arbitrary invention by all the people who suddenly decided to call themselves Dorian. These tribes have a history. There are also the shared month names, religious festivals, and other institutions (*νόμιμα*). Cf. Malkin, *Myth and Territory* 43-5. Ulf, 'Griechische Ethnogenese versus Wanderungen', argues too radically that the Hellenic ethnogenesis actually started in Asia Minor and worked its way westward across the Aegean.

⁸ For a recent survey of the archaeological record see Deger-Jalkotzy, 'Decline, Destruction, Aftermath', who writes simply that the 'classical view that the Dorians were responsible is refuted on archaeological grounds' (391); similarly Dickinson, 'The Collapse at the End of the Bronze Age'. Blakely, *BNJ* commentary on Konon, *Dieg.* 26 gives bibliography for discussion of the Invasion; see esp. J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 114-28; *Hellenicity* 73-82. The geographical spread of the West Greek dialect group clearly suggests affinity, but not by descent from a single dialect but from a long period of geopolitical and cultural interrelation and linguistic diffusion beginning at the end of the Mycenaean period. A lucid overview of the dialect issue in Horrocks, *Greek: A History* 6-15; cf. J. Méndez Dosuna, 'The Doric Dialects' 444-5.

culture, changes in self-definition. These can all alter radically in a single generation; that oral legend should be a safe guide to cultural, political, and biological relationships over six centuries is simply impossible.

The different situation in Homer and the internal inconsistencies of the *Catalogue* compel us to admit that a retrojective revision has occurred. Anthropology provides abundant parallels for this process. Changing relationships in a traditional society result in constantly revised genealogies. The inevitable contradictions, unexplained links, and chronological problems resulting from these revisions are gaily tolerated. Indeed people are usually unaware of them, since they know only that small fragment of their society's total genealogical lore which concerns them. Greece like every country had its own special conditions affecting this universal behaviour. Had the various groups of Greeks been more cohesive, forming in effect a single tribe, one can expect that over time this new understanding of their relationship to Hellen would have had a greater effect on the genealogies; Inachos, Kekrops, Kadmos and the others would have become Deukalionids. But they were not so cohesive; they were, instead, a collection of independent societies, which created strong centrifugal forces.⁹

Another pertinent consideration is the fixing of the genealogies. Had they remained fluid, as in a fully oral society, further homogenization could be expected. Writing often plays a role in the fixing process, but need not be the only cause; it may be itself part of a larger process. Indeed, to say that because genealogies become fixed (say, by writing), homogenization stops, may be to reverse cause and effect; it is more correct to say that once the desire to homogenize no longer exists, the genealogies become fixed (if remembered at all). Fluid genealogies are characteristic of an oral, tribal society. The Greeks by the sixth century BC had ceased to be either, but were rather in transition. The dynamics of the polis were different from those of the Dark Age tribes. Genealogies did not vanish, but played new roles within and without the polis. The Hesiodic *Catalogue* did much to fix the Greeks' understanding of their relations to each other. At a minimum, they were all Hellenes. The Persian Wars confirmed this proud self-image. There would always be room for argument over details, but there would never again be the kind of sea-change that occurred between the ninth and seventh centuries, as order finally succeeded the chaos of the post-Mycenaean period.

We must therefore seek to account for the change between Homer and the *Catalogue* in terms of shifting political and cultural relationships of the time. As we must state what that time was, a brief discussion of the dates of these poets is in order. To take the *Iliad* first:¹⁰ the indications are slight (else the issue would have been settled long ago),

⁹ Cf. Cassola, 'Le genealogie mitiche' 9 (an article which I find anticipates some of my remarks in 'Genealogical Thinking'; I thank Alessandro Pagliara for the reference).

¹⁰ For convenient overviews of the evidence see M. L. West, 'The Date of the *Iliad*', *The Making of the Iliad* 15-19, and (even more emphatically) 'Echoes of Hesiod and Elegy in the *Iliad*'; see further Osborne, 'Homer's Society'.

but point to the early seventh century. Most persuasive are the allusions to hoplites and their various accoutrements; this type of warfare was introduced in the late eighth century and common by the second quarter of the seventh. The Gorgon device on Agamemnon's shield (*Il.* 11.36–7) is first exemplified around 670 (*LIMC* s.v. Gorgo, Gorgones no. 159). The strange absence of artistic representations of anything in the *Iliad* before c.625 is suspicious, but ultimately inconclusive; the interplay between literary texts and (stubbornly independent) artistic traditions is full of surprises. Walter Burkert argued that *Il.* 9.381–4 cannot be a reminiscence of Bronze Age Egyptian Thebes, but refer rather to the city restored in 715;¹¹ he had originally suggested further that the lines would have made best sense after the destruction of the city in 663, but he has since abandoned this refinement.¹² As West notes, the splendours of that city could well have come to the Greeks' attention while it yet thrived. Moreover, not all critics have accepted the impossibility of a Bronze Age reminiscence.¹³

Similarly open to the vagaries of individual judgment are the allusions to Hesiod West detects in the *Iliad* and uses to support his long-held view that Hesiod (whatever his date) came first. The same argument that West uses to deny allusions in lyric poetry to Homer before c.600 (Alkaios fr. 44.6–8)—an argument with which the present writer is wholly in sympathy¹⁴—applies equally to Homer's allusions to Hesiod: the fabulous riches of oral poetry lost to us, but circulating in every agora and every panegyris in the Greek world, must make us very cautious in detecting these connections. West himself advances the arresting hypothesis that the passage describing the destruction of the walls of the Achaean camp at 12.17–33 is inspired by the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib in 689 BC, who records in an inscription how he diverted waters to level the buildings so that no trace would be left for future generations to see. In the same way the gods divert the rivers of the Troad and demolish the Achaean wall.¹⁵ This is not the whole of West's argument, but suffice it to say that though the similarities are interesting, it seems to me that the scene in Homer is well within the bounds of the poet's own highly gifted imagination, by extrapolation from ordinary Greek experience. Conversely, West dismisses too easily Janko's linguistic arguments for the relative order *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Theogony*, *Works and Days*.¹⁶ In sum, a date between 700 and 680 for the *Iliad* will not be far wrong.

¹¹ Burkert, 'Das hunderttorige Theben'.

¹² 'Oriental Myth and Literature', and at p. 82 of the same volume; id. *OR* 49 (the *Iliad* dates to 'around 700 BC').

¹³ A. Heubeck, *Schrift* 109–16 and *Gymnasium* 89 (1982) 443; Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary* 4.14.

¹⁴ *The Nature of Early Greek Lyric*, ch. 1.

¹⁵ West, *EFH* 377–80. Cf. Janko, *CQ* 48 (1998) 1 n. 5.

¹⁶ *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*. In his most recent essay, 'Echoes of Hesiod and Elegy in the *Iliad*', 212 n. 12, West addresses Janko's arguments directly; the objections there raised were already met by Janko in the original publication. Most scholars will continue to agree with Aristarchos that Hesiod got his list of rivers in the Troad (*Theog.* 340–2 ~ *Il.* 12.20–3) not from his father the sailor (as West), but from the *Iliad*.

For the date of the *Catalogue* a *terminus post quem* is probably provided by the references to Kyrene in fr. 215–217A; the city was founded about 620, so allowing some time for its mythology to develop and become known would give us a date of about 600.¹⁷ That Sikyon is made son of Erechtheus in fr. 224 looks like a reflection of the anti-Argive policies of the tyrant Kleisthenes (c.595–575), which included the marriage of his daughter Agariste to the Athenian Megakles. The fate of Phokos and his two sons suggests the circumstances of the First Sacred War.¹⁸ A *terminus ante quem* of about 510 is provided by Hekataios' reference to the *Catalogue* in fr. 19. The appearance of a block of verses from the *Catalogue* in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* of c.570 would provide an even higher *terminus ante quem*, if we could be sure that the original author put the two poems together.¹⁹ However, Kleisthenes may also provide the lower *terminus*; it seems unlikely that the poet would have excogitated this role for Sikyon after the tyrant's demise. A date of c.580 thus seems likely to be right.

The victory of Hellenism, if it may be so termed, was assured by the time of the *Catalogue*, in which its implications have been fully worked out. When we look more closely at Homer we find that he is not quite at the beginning of the development. He is aware of Aioliens, Dorians, and Ionians, even if he very rarely mentions them.²⁰ As regards the term 'Ελλάς itself, there is a progressive extension of its application from *Iliad* to *Odyssey* to Hesiod, from Achilles' small kingdom around the Malian gulf in the first work (closely associated and apparently contiguous with Phthia), to north-central Greece in the second, to the whole of Greece in the third.²¹ The term *Πανελλήνιος* undergoes a similar extension, from 'northern Greeks' (*Il.* 2.530) to 'all Greeks' (Hes. *Op.* 528, fr. 130, Archil. fr. 102).

On this showing we may place the birth of Greek ethnic identity, if not its widest diffusion, at a time slightly before Homer, in the late eighth century BC. The question

¹⁷ West, *HCW* 130–6; D. Marcotte, *REA* 57 (1988) 249–57; March, *The Creative Poet* 157–9; Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary* 4.14; Rutherford, 'Mestra at Athens' 114–16; Cingano, 'The Hesiodic Corpus' 116–18. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns* 248 n. 38, argues after others, esp. Drexler, *Hermes* 66 (1931) 455–64, that Kyrene's story is older and that the *Catalogue* might have told it without any reference to Libya (cf. West, *HCW* 87; Dräger, *Argo Pasimelousa* 221–8). This is clearly possible; but see further below pp. 148–9. Janko's statistical methods make the *Catalogue* contemporary with the genuine Hesiod, but if as many scholars believe the *Catalogue* as we have it is based on a fixed Hesiodic original, it will contain many frozen archaisms. It must be admitted that if the Kyrene-Ehoie is actually from the *Megalai Ehoiai*, it is irrelevant for the dating of the original poem; but this is not known (D'Alessio, 'The *Megalai Ehoiai*' 206–7).

¹⁸ Fowler, 'Genealogical Thinking' 13–15.

¹⁹ Most (Loeb edn.), adheres to the view that a later editor combined them; see also West, *HCW* 136. Contra R. Janko, *CQ* 36 (1986) 39; March, *The Creative Poet* 159. A different solution in Martin, 'Pulp Epic' (both by the same poet).

²⁰ Descendants of Aiolos: *Il.* 6.154, *Od.* 11.235–59; Dorians: *Od.* 19.177, and perhaps *Il.* 2.655; Ionians: *Il.* 13.685–9. Details in Fowler, 'Genealogical Thinking'.

²¹ Achilles' kingdom: *Il.* 2.683, 9.395, 9.478, cf. *Od.* 11.496; northern Greece: *Od.* 1.344, 4.726, 4.816, 15.80; Greece as a whole: Hes. *Op.* 653. See S. R. West on *Od.* 1.344; *Lfgre* s.vv. 'Ελλάς, τὸ Ἀργος; Wathélet, 'L'origine du nom des Hellènes'; Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* 1.1.332 n. 1.

then becomes, what circumstances at that time induced the people, first of north-central Greece, then of all Greece, to accept the new name 'Hellenes', rather than some competitor? To answer, 'because they knew that the Hellenes of Phthia were the purest descendants of the original Indo-European immigrants of a millennium before', is merely to compound pleasant romanticism with worrying racism, and to overlook the embarrassing fact that these pure Hellenes disappeared from historical view just at the moment of their onomastic triumph. The tribe did not exist in historical times. The answer will lie instead in the genealogy: in whose interest is Hellen said to be a son of Deukalion and father of Aiolos, Doros, and Xouthos? In a word, the Thessalians.

Although to judge from Hesiod fr. 234 and Pindar's ninth *Olympian*, the story of Deukalion was originally Lokrian, Thessaly appropriated him at an early stage. The *Catalogue* (fr. 6) and **Hek. fr. 14** say that his descendants ruled in Thessaly; Hellanikos (fr. 6) also says he was king there. The same fragment of Hellanikos reports the building of the altar for the twelve gods, an act signifying the establishment of society itself under the heavenly corporation (→§3.2). The Thessalian cities mentioned in the first book of Hellanikos' *Deukalioneia* (frr. 8–9; below, §4.5) belong in this connection; they will have got their names from eponymous descendants of Deukalion. Herodotos (1.56.3) says Deukalion was king of (Achaia) Phthiotis, the southern part of Thessaly closest to Lokris. According to Rhianos fr. 25 Powell, the oldest name for Thessaly was Pyrrhaia, after Deukalion's wife.²² When Apollodoros of Athens, following Hellanikos (fr. 117a), says that Deukalion had 'lived' at Kynos in Lokris, it probably means after the flood (at the end of Pyrrha's life) rather than before; either way, it reduces the Lokrian claim by saying that Deukalion had not always been in Lokris, or did not forever stay there. Pindar's Opous is cut out altogether. In defiance of tradition Hellanikos also makes Deukalion land at Mt Othrys in Thessaly (on the edge of Phthiotis) rather than Parnassos.²³ All these data confirm Thessaly's connection with Deukalion.

As for Hellen, there was never any doubt about his Thessalian status; Thessalian Phthiotis is the heir of Iliadic Phthia.²⁴ The same is true of Hellen's son Aiolos; Thessaly was predominantly Aiolian in historical times. The ultimate homeland of the Dorians in Herodotos 1.56 and Andron fr. 16a, before Doris, was Thessaly, first Phthiotis in the time of Deukalion, then Hestiaiots in the time of Doros. Hekataios' mention of the 'Dorian city' Amphanai (fr. 3; →§9.2) may belong in this context. The Aleuads of Pindar's day were clear that they were Heraklids (*Pyth.* 10.1–6).

²² She made her way back to Lokris, if she did not start there, to be buried at Kynos according to Apollodoros *FGrHist* 244 F 183; if the scholiast can be trusted, Hellanikos said the same thing (fr. 117a). Her son Hellen, according to Strabo 9.5.6 p. 432, was buried in the Thessalian city Melitaia, once called Pyrrha.

²³ *νύμφη Ὀροπίης*, Hellen's wife in Apollod. 1.49, is in fact a *νύμφη Ὀθρυίης* (cf. the corruption in Hellan. fr. 125); this might come from Hellanikos. Amphiktion king of Athens is in the same sentence.

²⁴ Ancient references, beginning with Thuc. 1.3.3 (Hellen king of Phthiotis), in West, *HCW* 53 n. 43. Hellen's tomb was shown in Melitaia (Strabo 9.5.6 p. 432).

The stemma Deukalion→ Hellen→ Doros/Aiolos may therefore be taken as a Thessalian creation. In 'Genealogical Thinking' I argued that this creation ought to be connected in some way with the Pylian amphiktiony in northern Greece whose dominant members were Thessalian, and whose territory corresponded roughly to that of 'Hellas' in its intermediate, half-extended stage. Tausend's thorough study of archaic amphiktionies establishes that they were above all ethnic associations;²⁵ J. M. Hall's book on ethnic identity in Greek antiquity establishes that a belief in common descent is the most typical characteristic of any Greek ethnic group (a view defended in detail in *Hellenicity*).²⁶ The ethnos of this amphiktiony was τὸ Ἑλληνικόν itself. 'Hellen' of 'Hellas' was the ideal progenitor, precisely because the Homeric Hellenes existed only in legend and could be accepted by everyone without invidious quarrel.

The final step was to persuade the southern Greeks to accept this new label. But to persuade the Athenians, Argives, Spartans and the rest, over whom Thessaly had no political clout, that they too were 'Hellenes', would have required the authority of religion. Delphi may have been involved in the amphiktiony from its inception;²⁷ it was certainly involved after the First Sacred War, when it became the nominal headquarters of the league. It no doubt played a central role in propagating this new idea.²⁸ The panegyreis at Delphi would have been a natural venue for such activity.

Regrettably we are poorly informed of their nature before the reorganization of the Pythian games in the early sixth century.²⁹ We are better informed about the other great site of early pan-Hellenic gatherings, Olympia, where similar developments were afoot. The progress of this festival from a local to a regional to a pan-Hellenic event has been brilliantly charted by Catherine Morgan.³⁰ The expansion of horizons took place in the

²⁵ *Amphiktionie und Symmachie*. On the Pylian amphiktiony see Lefèvre, *L'Amphiktionie pyléo-delphique*; Sánchez, *L'Amphiktionie des Pyles et de Delphes*.

²⁶ *Contra* Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Greek Perceptions of Ethnicity'. Her counter-examples on pp. 179–80 are not cogent: we do not know what position the Arkadians might have taken on their relation to Hellen (→§2.4); as for the Lokrians, the story about the *laos* applies only to the *laos*, who would have ridden to Hellenic status on the coattails of the aristocracy. See also §5.2.1 n. 14. Ethnicity has been much discussed in recent years; in addition to the titles already mentioned see for instance Hall, "Culture" or "Cultures"?; Fromentin and Gotteland, *Origines Gentium*; Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus*; id., *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*.

²⁷ Cf. Caduff, *Sintflutsagen* 80. We do not know how old the tradition is that the priests of Delphi called Hosioi were descendants of Deukalion (Plut. *Mor.* 292d). The principal cult of the amphiktiony was, however, that of Demeter at Anthela (Hdt. 7.200; Sánchez, *L'Amphiktionie* 32–7). Perhaps the ancient cult of Athena Itonia, at Iton(os) (both the one in Achaia Phthiotis, and the federal cult in Thessaliotis: Helly, 'Décrets de cités thessaliennes à Cos' 95–7), was also connected with it in some way, since Itonos was son of Amphiktion according to Armen. fr. 1; see §1.8.4.

²⁸ So Beloch (above, n. 21) 331; detailed discussion in J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity* 134–54.

²⁹ The date of the first Pythia is uncertain. For 586 see K. Brodersen, *ZPE* 82 (1990) 25–31; for 582 see A. Mosshammer, *GRBS* 23 (1982) 15–30. Further discussion in Sánchez, *L'Amphiktionie* ch. 3.

³⁰ *Athletes and Oracles*; see also 'The Origins of Pan-Hellenism', in N. Marinatos and R. Hägg., *Greek Sanctuaries* 18–44; J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity* 154–68. (In the Olympian victor lists, names from central Greece and Thessaly begin to appear about the mid-5th c. (Hall 160); if Olympia had taken the lead in promoting Hellenism, rather than following Delphi, and if the list is in its broadest outline reliable, these names should have started to appear earlier.)

course of the eighth and seventh centuries. Had Elis had the religious prestige of Delphi, the Greeks might have been known under a quite different name. As it was, the Eleians had to find a place in the Hellenic stemma.

§4.2 Eleians and Aitolians (Akous. fr. 36; Dam. fr. 5; Epimen. fr. 12; Hek. fr. 15, 25, 35; Hellan. fr. 118, 187b, 187A, 195, 202; Pher. fr. 121)

The *Catalogue* brought together independent lineages headed by men, by means of the women. In the case of the Eleians there were several such linkages, because they were brought into the Deukalionid stemma at the same time as, and through, their Aitolian cousins across the Corinthian Gulf. To appreciate all the nuances of this operation we need to return to the other offspring of Deukalion and Pyrrha, Hellen's sisters (Fig. 4.1).

The eponyms who descended from Hellen's siblings rather than Hellen himself find themselves in an ambivalent position. On the one hand they are less Hellenic; on the other hand, their more direct descent from the *Urmensch* Deukalion confers a certain status, and recognizes their antiquity and independence. That Zeus sires these eponyms also adds kudos, and, as often, obviates the difficulty that if a lineage-founder has a human father, the father ought to be the real lineage-founder, not the son. (Thus Hellen too, according to some authorities and perhaps the *Catalogue* as well, was really the son of Zeus;³¹ otherwise the Greeks would not be Hellenes but Deukalionidai.) The balance of the account, however, is reckoned clearly in favour of subordination. The crucial point is that these others are not immediate descendants of Deukalion; rather, they are

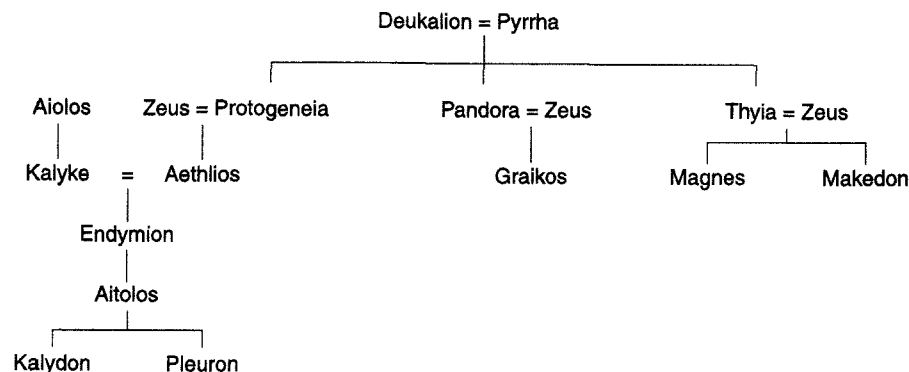


FIG. 4.1

³¹ Konon, *Dieg.* 27; Apollod. 1.49; schol. Pl. *Symp.* 208d = Hellan. fr. 125; Eust. *Od.* 1644.10.

grandsons, and their mothers exist only to insert an extra generation and put these eponyms on the right level. It would be unthinkable for Makedon and Magnes to be brothers of Hellen. In the same way Pandora's son Graikos, who in some quarters had a better claim than Hellen to give his name to the Greeks,³² was put firmly in his place.

Aethlios, however, is treated a little more carefully. Still only a grandson, he is nonetheless the offspring of the 'Firstborn' daughter, and 'thus superior to the mothers of Graikos, Magnes, and Makedon' (West, *HCW* 141). But if he himself is permitted to bypass Hellen, his independence lasts only a generation, for he marries a daughter of Aiolos, Kalyke, and so the rest of the line is Hellenic by maternal affiliation.³³ His son is Endymion; his grandson is Aitolos, eponym of the Aitolians. Aitolos' sons are the city-eponyms Kalydon and Pleuron, and from them descend a numerous cast of characters known from epic poetry. A daughter of Aethlios married Alektor, king of Elis. Aethlios himself is probably a hypostasis of Zeus Aethlios of the Olympic Games,³⁴ and as such is Eleian; so is Endymion (already in Ibykos *PMGF* 284). But apart from their position at the very top, the Eleians are very scarce in the stemma, which is really Aitolian. That is because there were so few of them in the first place. There was no great store of Eleian epic, whereas the Aitolians contributed one of the four great, originally independent, cycles, alongside the Theban, Trojan, and Argonautic sagas. Whoever thus integrated the Aitolians into the Hellenic family was probably not Aitolian but Eleian, or one sympathetic to their claims. Note too that the man in the position of lineage-founder is no eponym of a people, no great tribal leader who fathered mighty sons; he is a symbol of the games. That is the Eleians' passport to Hellenism.

The legends reveal a delicate negotiation with respect to the priority of Eleians over Aitolians. Pausanias (5.1.4–8; cf. 5.8.1, 6.20.9) says that the (eventual) Eleians emigrated from Aitolia to Elis, then relates how Endymion held a footrace to see which of his three sons Epeios, Paion, and Aitolos would be king. Epeios won, and Paion angrily went as far away as possible—to Paionia, to which he gave his name. Aitolos ruled after Epeios, but had to flee for reasons of blood-guilt. He went to Aitolia, henceforth so called after him. Aitolos was succeeded in Elis by Eleios, son of Poseidon and Eurykyde daughter of

³² As the Graikoi do not appear in our corpus I shall not discuss them in detail, but their claim was known not only to the Romans. See the references in West, *HCW* 54 n. 48 and Calce, *Graikoi ed Hellenes*. The Helloi/Selloi of Dodona, the oldest Greek sanctuary according to Hdt. 2.52.2, were also contenders for the donors of the national name: see Caduff, *Sintflutsagen* 103–4; P. Wathélet, 'L'origine du nom des Hellènes' 122–3; Hammond, *Epirus* 365–73; A. Lesky, *WS* 46 (1928) 114–29; Wilamowitz, *Euripides: Herakles* 2.1 n. 1, *Kl. Schr.* 5.1.23. Only the faintest echoes of these controversies survive into classical sources, so thorough was the victory of the Hellenes.

³³ Paus. 5.8.2 knows a tradition in which Aethlios is actually son of Aiolos.

³⁴ West, *HCW* 60 n. 67; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.70 n. 3.

Endymion;³⁵ a new genealogical start, as signalled by the deity, and henceforth the people were called Eleian. Strabo (8.3.33, 10.3.2–4, 9.3.12), following Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 FF 115, 122ab), is also clear that Aitolos son of Endymion came from Elis to Aitolia; he does not say whether Endymion's ancestors had first come the other way, but he implies that they did. In these accounts, the Eleians were Aitolian, and spent some time as Aitolians in Elis before becoming Eleian; conversely, the Aitolians, though originating in Aitolia, had to spend some time in Elis before their identity fully emerged. Thus far we seem to have a fine balance between the two groups. Apollodoros, however (*Bibl.* 1.56–7), has Endymion come from *Thessaly* to Elis, from where Aitolos goes to Aitolia for the same reason as in Pausanias and Strabo.³⁶ This strengthens Elis' hand by removing the first habitation in Aitolia, but still keeps Aitolos as their progenitor.

Thus these legends attempt to keep up the pretence of parity, if with a slight advantage to the Eleians. Not everyone bothered with such niceties, however: for Pindar (*Ol.* 3.12) and Herodotos (8.73.2) the Eleians are casually and simply Aitolian. It is clear, indeed, that an independent Aitolian genealogy, associated with the Kalydonian epic, has been appropriated by the Eleians, and grafted onto the Hellenic tree. One sign of the grafting is the egregious mismatch of generations; traditionally, many of the Kalydonian Boarhunters competed in the funeral games of Pelias, but Meleagros in the *Catalogue of Women* is eight generations from Aiolos as opposed to Jason's three. Aitolian Porthaon married an Aiolian woman from his great-grandmother's generation according to the same poem (West, *HCW* 141). Another sign of Aitolian priority is the way Aitolos' brother Epeios precedes Eleios and the Eleians. The Epeians and Eleians are closely, indeed indistinguishably associated in Homer (*Il.* 2.615–19, 11.671–761, *Od.* 13.275; cf. Strabo 8.3.8), but the former survive in the historical period only through the town of Epeion in Triphylia. In *Hell.* fr. 195, the Epeians are said to be resident in Aitolia, which probably implies the version whereby Aitolos takes the Epeians with him upon departure from Elis; these long-lived people display marvellous characteristics of the sort one finds around the edges of Herodotos' map. Nothing else quite like this is attested for Hellanikos (excepting the doubtful fr. 202; →§3.4) or Damastes (whom Valerius quotes with *Hell.* fr. 195: *Dam.* fr. 5), but one can hardly rule it out. They both wrote about the Hyperboreans, youthful and long-lived according to some (e.g. Pindar,

³⁵ Eurypyle according to *Hell.* fr. 187A, it would seem; see the apparatus criticus (to which add Konon, *Dieg.* 14. R. Kassel points out *per litt.* that in the text βασιλεύσαντας should be corrected to βασιλεύσαντος; compare *Etym. Magn.* 426.12). NB the fragment of Aristotle there cited makes Epeios a son of Eleios, and we are not quite sure of Epeios' place in the *Catalogue* (West, *HCW* 60, 63). Hek. fr. 25 (and *FGrHist* 1 F 121, quoted with it) strongly distinguishes Eleians and Epeians (→§8.4.5); on the Dyme mentioned in 1 F 121 (*IACP* no. 234) cf. Antim. fr. 27, with Matthews' commentary and Moscati Castelnovo, 'Dyme achea ed epea'. On Konon, *Dieg.* 14 see now Brown, and Blakely (comm. in *BNJ*).

³⁶ Similarly ps.-Skymn. 473–7, schol. *Il.* 13.218 = Daimachos *FGrHist* 65 F 1; cf. also Nikandros *FGrHist* 271–2 F 6, with Jacoby (though his assessment of Nikandros' motives is different; he seems to assume that Endymion went straight to Aitolia in his account).

Pyth. 10.41, Kallim. *Hymn. Del.* 282, Strabo 15.1.57 quoting Simon. *PMG* 570 and Megasthenes *FGrHist* 715 F 27b, Plin. *NH* 4.89)—though with respect to the Hyperboreans, Hellan. fr. 187b, if the last sentence is his, said just the opposite: that sexagenarians were escorted outside the gates and despatched.³⁷

However, this analysis of the development of the legends should not be translated straightforwardly into a historical narrative, that Aitolians crossed the water and founded Elis. The low-lying coastal region around Kalydon and Pleuron and eastward to Naupaktos was contested territory at many times in Greek history and, we may presume, prehistory. Archaeology shows links in material culture between Aitolia and Elis in the late Geometric period,³⁸ unsurprisingly given the proximity and relative ease of travel between these areas. We may assume movement in either direction for centuries preceding our period. At the time that the Hesiodic stemma was created, the Eleian claim had conceptual priority, for it is the Olympic connection that provides the Aitolians with their Hellenic credentials; the Aitolians might have been quite content to accept the argument—there are, incidentally, no known Aitolian Olympic victors in the archaic period, which further indicates their late arrival on the Hellenic scene³⁹—while at other times they might assert Aitolian priority by claiming, as in Pausanias, that the Eleians themselves had first emigrated from Aitolia. Conversely, by equating Aitolian and Eleian ancestry the Eleians, like the incoming Herakleidai, could claim merely to be returning to their homeland. Perhaps the location of the tomb of Aitolos son of Oxylos (who guided the Herakleidai, and claimed Elis) just at the gate leading to the city of Olympia and the sanctuary of Zeus—'so that the corpse should be neither within nor without the city' (Paus. 5.4.4)—has something to do with this equipoise.

As Endymion has come up in this discussion we may pause here to consider *Akous.* fr. 36, *Pher.* fr. 121, and *Epimen.* fr. 12, which are all quoted together by the scholia to Apollonios 4.57–65, where Selene mentions her lonely love for Endymion in his cave at Latmos. The story familiar from the later vulgate (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.56) is that Zeus offered Endymion a gift, and he chose eternal sleep. The Latmian cave is attested as early as Sappho fr. 199, then in Ar. fr. 937 (cf. Strabo 14.1.8 quoting Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 239); 'the

³⁷ A similar law was famously said to be in force on Keos; see §20 on *Hell.* fr. 187. Instances of amazing longevity are assembled from ancient literature by McCartney, 'Longevity and Rejuvenation' and Gatz, *Weltalter*; they are for the most part either distant in time (legendary: people from the Golden Age, Nestor, Teiresias) or space (*Randvölker*). Exceptions are some islanders (a sort of margin in any case), and semi-legendary figures like the Sibyl or Epimenides. Valerius and Pliny in the part of their books where they quote *Hell.* fr. 195 provide other instances. The name quoted from *Dam.* fr. 5 ('Litorius' or 'Pictoreus') would seem to be corrupt; I have no suggestion.

³⁸ Coldstream, 'The Meaning of Regional Styles' 23; Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles* Appendix 1. Finkelberg, *Greeks and Pre-Greeks* 129–30 also argues for dialectal contiguity in the late Bronze Age in this region; her methods are heavily criticized by H. N. Parker, 'The Linguistic Case'. Gehrke, 'Sull'etnicità elea' 13, well observes that if the Eleians had had a free hand, they would have invented a myth of autochthony; this suggests some reality behind the traditions.

³⁹ J. M. Hall, *Ethnicity* 170.

sleep of Endymion' was proverbial.⁴⁰ Hellenistic and Roman poetry found the story irresistible,⁴¹ and it was a favourite theme of Roman art, particularly for sarcophagi, eternal, youthful sleep being a kind of immortality.⁴² The melancholic love-death theme appeals powerfully to the imagination of all ages; but what this figure has to do with Endymion in Elis is hard to see. The gift the Eleian had of being able to choose his moment of death, attested for Hesiod (fr. 10.62) and the mythographers, is intriguing; though one presumes he must choose to die at some point, the unusual gift (on what pretext?) suggests a kind of immortality, or at any rate an unusual mortality.⁴³ Perhaps we should recognize two distinct, homonymous figures, with some oblique interference from one to the other.⁴⁴ The story in the *Megalai Ehoiai* and Epimenides also involves love for a goddess, but as a transgression punished (in Epimenides) by eternal sleep. We do not learn if this Endymion was son of Aethlios and Kalyke.

Another small sign that the Aitolio-Aiolian/Hellenic accommodation was not uncontested is the report of violent conflict between Aioliens and Aitolians in Strabo 10.3.4 and 10.2.6 (= **Hell. fr. 118**).⁴⁵ Strabo says that Olenos, which was located near New Pleuron (i.e. the third-century refoundation; IACP no. 153), was destroyed by the Aioliens, as was Pylene, which they moved to higher ground and renamed Proschion (IACP no. 154; unlocated, but west of Pleuron and Kalydon, near modern Aitolikon; Thuc. 3.102.5, 106.1); the careless Hellanikos, as usual (= Hellan. test. 23), does not know this, but puts the cities in their old locations. Hellanikos also regards Makynia (IACP no. 149) and Molykria (no. 150) as ancient cities, says Strabo, though they were founded after the return of the Herakleidai. Of Olenos and Pylene nothing is known besides what Homer says in *Il.* 2.638–9, that they were Aitolian cities near old Pleuron (Strabo 10.2.4, 10.3.6: on the coast near Kalydon). Just possibly Hellanikos placed Herakles'

⁴⁰ e.g. Pl. *Phd.* 72c, Aristot. *Eth. Nik.* 1178b, Zenob. 3.76.

⁴¹ e.g. the passage of Ap. Rhod. just mentioned; Theok. *Id.* 3.49–50, 20.37–9; Nik. fr. 24; Kallim. fr. 110 (Catullus 66.5–6); AP 5.123, 165, 6.58; Prop. 2.15.15–16; Ov. *Am.* 1.13.43–4, *Ars Am.* 3.83, *Her.* 18.62. Likymnios PMG 771 has the unusual version that Hypnos loved him, and allowed him to sleep with his eyes open so he could enjoy his gaze.

⁴² H. Gabelmann, *LMC* 3.1.726–42.

⁴³ Ceccarelli in her *BNJ* commentary on Peisandros fr. 7 suggests that in some version Endymion might have refused to choose, and so was punished with eternal sleep.

⁴⁴ Bremmer, 'Local Mythography', argues the case for Karian origin and east–west migration (cf. Pelops and others); similarly Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.114 n. 1 [1.116 n. 2].

⁴⁵ Cf. schol. *Il.* 2.494–877 (2.289.24 Erbse) with Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 4.542–9, schol. *Il.* 9.539 (2. 515 Erbse, in *apparatu*) = *FGrHist* 301 F 1, with Jacoby's introduction. Thuc. 3.102.5 refers *en passant* to 'what is now called Aiolian territory, Kalydon and Pleuron'. The historical Aitolians, living in the adjacent uplands, like others coveted the litoral, and succeeded in bringing it under control more often than not. What this passing remark has to do with the legendary links of Aitolia to Aioliens is quite unclear (cf. Bommeljé, 'Aeolis in Aetolia'). 'Now' should refer to a recent change, not merely a departure from Homeric nomenclature; as Corinth, proverbially Aiolian through Sisypheos, always had strong interests in the area, and as Molykria was their colony, perhaps it was a recent propaganda victory of theirs. They might have appealed to other links with Aioliens such as find echoes in Ephoros and Strabo. See further Antonetti, 'La tradizione eolica in Etolia'.

killing of Chairias (or Archias) in Proschion (Hellan. fr. 2; →§8.5.9), as did Nikandros fr. 17; the latter gives the name of the boy's father as Pyles, who must be the eponym of Pylene, which produces a chronological muddle.⁴⁶ Hellanikos might have said something like 'in Pylene (which is now called Proschion)' without mentioning the change of location, which would allow the captious Strabo to attack him. Regarding Makynia and Molykria the archaeological record does not contradict the assertion that they are younger foundations. A story in Plut. *Mor.* 294f implies that Makynia was at one time regarded as Lokrian before it was Aitolian, and another in *Mor.* 162d implies that Molykria was in Lokrian territory in the days of Hesiod. The city, a colony of Corinth, was under Athenian sway when it was seized by the Aitolians in 426 (Thuc. 3.102.2). Strabo's report implies that Hellanikos treated them all as Aitolian.

An even clearer sign of contestation is Hekataios' startlingly different account of Aitolian origins (fr. 15)—a reminder of how fluid traditions are, and how lacunose our knowledge. He says that Deukalion's son Orestheus ('Mountainman') came to Aitolia ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ;⁴⁷ he then relates a strange tale about the foundation of viticulture, an event reflected in the names of the son and grandson; in the fourth generation Aitolos himself is born. The mothers' names are missing, but Orestheus is son, not grandson of Deukalion like Makedon or Graikos, and his wife is more likely to be a nymph than an Aiolid. Presumably derived from local sources, this myth describes the progress from savagery to civilization: the planting of vines, the transition from life in the hills to life in an organized political unit (Aitolia).⁴⁸ A motif inherent in the Deukalion myth is

⁴⁶ I. Cazzaniga, *Paideia* 28 (1973) 47–50. True, Athenaios says immediately after quoting Hellanikos 'this is why he left Kalydon'; *prima facie* he is still summarizing Hellanikos, but 'Kalydon' is vulgate and could be Athenaios' own gloss.

⁴⁷ Taking possession of virgin country? Evicting Pelasgians or such like? At someone's invitation? Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 122 ap. Strab. 10.3.2 says he evicted Kouretes, which supports the second option; Finkelberg, *Greeks and Pre-Greeks* 66, regards this as a reflection of Bronze Age succession patterns, whereby sons do not succeed to the kingship, but rather sons-in-law, i.e. option 3.

⁴⁸ In Aristoph. fr. 1A we find Oineus building city-walls, another mark of the culture hero (→§17). Bertelli, 'C'era una volta un mito' 62 and 'Des généalogies mythiques à la naissance de l'histoire' 24, also regards the story as local aetiology; Antonetti, 'Les Étolien' 59, regards it as anthropological theorising on the part of Hekataios. Pausanias in his day heard it among the neighbouring Ozolian Lokroi (10.38.1; Lerat, *Les Locriens* 2.4). Humphreys, *The Strangeness of Gods* 237, wonders if Pausanias' ἄμα τῷ ἥρῳ came from Hekataios, and notes Erigone in Attic legend; on this and other parallels see R. D. Griffith, *Mouseion* 10 (2010) 429–36. Oineus is the eponym of wine also in Nikandros fr. 86 and Melanippides PMG 761, with no context; in Hyg. *Fab.* 129, however, the story is told that Dionysos fell in love with Althaia, whereupon Oineus tactfully withdrew and let the god have his way; Oineus' reward was the vine, and the result of the union was Deianeira (cf. Apollod. 1.64, Satyros *FGrHist* 631 F 21, Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 4.127). This could have been the plot of a satyr-play (Seaford on Eur. *Kykl.* 39), and possibly Soph. fr. 1130 was it (*Das griech. Satyrspiel* 368–74): the person whose approach is announced at the end could be Dionysos himself, if it is not Silenos. Later in the play the union with Althaia was followed by the gift of wine, notably absent from the satyrs' list of blessings in the fragment—otherwise an odd omission. We do not know whether Hekataios told the better-known stories about Oineus, father of Meleagros and Tydeus (next section), but in that context too Apollodoros (1.64) says that he received the vine from Dionysos at Kalydon. Cf. N. Robertson, *HSCP* 95 (1993) 217–18.

here spun out over several generations.⁴⁹ Aitolos in this scheme retains his true status as a lineage-founder, for those who precede him are figures of folklore and cult, useful as buffers between him and Deukalion, but providing a far stronger link with the latter than the *Catalogue* allowed. On the other hand, the Aitolians are clearly un-Hellenic in Hekataios' assessment, which is perhaps due to the admixture of barbarians in the ethnos (Eur. *Phoin.* 138, Thuc. 3.94, Polyb. 18.5.7)—but it could just as well, depending on one's view of Hellenism, be meant to reflect positively on the Aitolians.⁵⁰

§4.3 The Kalydonian Boarhunt (Eumel. fr. 2; Hellan. fr. 119; Pher. fr. 9, 123)

Eumel. fr. 2, Hellan. fr. 119 and Pher. fr. 9 are all quoted by a scholion on Ap. Rhod. 1.146–9 to explain why Apollonios calls Leda, mother of Spartan Helen, 'Aitolian'. The simple answer is that her father Thestios was Aitolian. (This is the only link between these two genealogies, incidentally, although Tyndareos' brother Ikarios had an Aitolian wife in one myth; → §13.2.) The scholiast then comments that Ibykos called her Pleuronian, but Hellanikos called her Kalydonian: an innocent-seeming remark which, however, plunges one straight into the thickets of Aitolian genealogy and legend. Pleuron is the home of the Kouretes who fought the Kalydonians after the Boarhunt. The genealogies in various authorities are reasonably constant about the following details (see the chart below): Kalydon and Pleuron were sons of Aitolos; Pleuron was father of Agenor father of Porthaon; Porthaon was father of Oineus, king of Kalydon, who married Althaia daughter of Thestios; and Althaia was mother of Meleagros. Thestios was king of Pleuron,⁵¹ so his daughter could be called Pleuronian; but as she married the king of Kalydon, she could be called Kalydonian. So far, still relatively simple.

Homer himself introduces the first complication. As he tells the story, Althaia's loyalty to her natal family over that of her husband is the nub of the conflict; as Bremmer

⁴⁹ Cf. Caduff, *Sintflutsagen* 118. Deukalion's son Amphiktion was host to Dionysos on his arrival in Attika (Paus. 1.2.5, cf. Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 5); Deukalion's daughter Thyia in pseudo-Hesiod also points to Dionysos (Thyiades = maenads; see Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Greek Perceptions of Ethnicity' 181–2; J. Schmidt, Roscher *Lex.* s.v. Thyiades; *LMC* 8.1 s.v. Thyiades). See also next section for further Dionysiac connections.

⁵⁰ The possibility also exists that some later descendant married into the Hellenic line.

⁵¹ Hes. fr. 25.13; Bacchyl. 5.125–35, 149–51; Strabo 10.2.24, 10.3.6; schol. (D) *Il.* 9.529; Eust. *Il.* 774.27, *Od.* 1470.26. March, *The Creative Poet* 36–7, finds it awkward that Meleagros's withdrawal from battle with the Kouretes actually helps his mother's family (if they are Pleuronian) and that Althaia subsequently is among those asking him to return to battle; she argues that the Kouretes were a foreign tribe, unrelated to Althaia. It is true that Homer contrasts not Pleuronians and Kalydonians, but Aitolians and Kouretes, and at *Il.* 14.115–17 the sons of Porthaus (= Porthaon) live in both Kalydon and Pleuron (cf. 2.638–40, 13.216–18). However, in Homer one naturally assumes (as did Bacchylides) that Althaia's brother was killed in the battle with the Kouretes. 'Kouretes' is not a straightforward ethnonym (→ §1.7.5, §1.7.8), so confusion is unsurprising.

shows, this is a deep-rooted pattern.⁵² That Homer introduced innovations to the traditional story in the interests of his exemplum is generally recognised. In the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 25.12–13) Meleagros is simply killed by Apollo as he fights before Pleuron; the same was true of the archaic *Minyas* (fr. 5). Bacchylides, however, follows Homer in the accidental killing of kin (two uncles now), and adds the motif of the fatal log (also in Phrynichos *TrGF* 3 F 6 and Aischylos *Cho.* 603–12). Probably Stesichoros before him in his *Boarhunters* (*PMGF* 221–2(a)) introduced new details, given his expansive manner, but we know little of the poem.

As Meleagros himself is not mentioned in our corpus except in connection with Thersites (see below), we do not know which version Pherekydes and others followed. The genealogy of Thestios in Pherekydes throws up a new difficulty, however. Pherekydes said that his wife was Laophone daughter of Pleuron; their daughters were Leda and Althaia.⁵³ This differs radically from both the *Catalogue of Women* and Apollodoros. The Hesiodic poem has the stemma shown in Fig. 4.2.⁵⁴

Apollodoros is similar, but makes the three sisters Sterope, Stratonike, and 'Laophonte' daughters of Pleuron; so here is a point of contact with Pherekydes. However, he still has Thestios in the same generation as Oineus, and gives his wife's name as 'Eurythemis', which matches Hesiod's Eurythemiste. Unless Thestios unusually married an older woman, Pherekydes would have had to put Thestios in the same generation as Agenor, so as to marry a coeval (this would incidentally entail breaking the connection between Thestios' mother and Agenor); but then his daughter Althaia

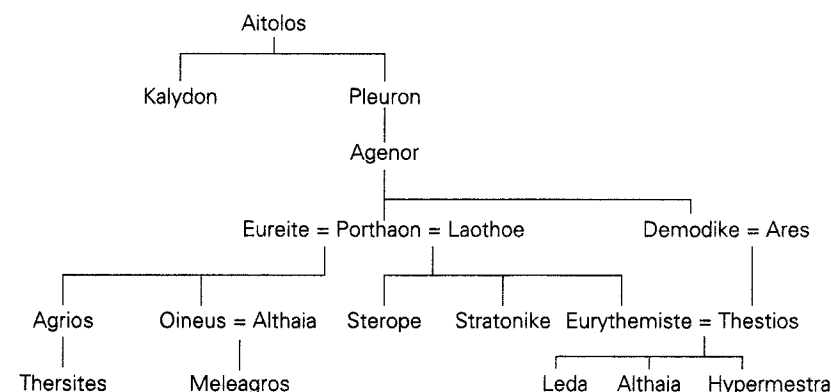


FIG. 4.2

⁵² Bremmer, *GRC* 329–32; see also his 'La plasticité du mythe' for the Meleagros story.

⁵³ 'Laophone' is Wilamowitz's emendation on the grounds that 'Laophonte' would not fit in a hexameter.

⁵⁴ West, *HCW* 174.

would be a generation older than her husband Oineus, which is equally anomalous.⁵⁵ One of the constants mentioned above turns out not to be constant after all. When we then notice that Asios made Thestios a son of Agenor (fr. 6), and furthermore that in Hekataios (fr. 13; §4.4 below) Oineus was *father* of Aitolos, it becomes clear that the genealogies inherited from the archaic period were anything but fixed. If there was an independent epic on the subject it does not seem to have stamped its authority on the tradition any more than Stesichoros' citharody.

Pherekydes' placement of Thestios was unlikely to have been motivated by chronological considerations, as it is not Thestios who creates the difficulty in the tree but the whole attempt to graft Aitolians onto Aioliens (above, p. 132). Hesiod fr. 26.5–21) perhaps offers a clue: the three daughters of Porthaon (Sterope, Stratonike, Eurythemiste) are said there to leave the home of their mother and father, take to Parnassos and sport among the Nymphs, Muses, and Aphrodite. They are behaving like the Thyiades, and call to mind other groups of three sisters who worship Dionysos at Thebes or Argos, and provide the aition for his thiasoi. We may be dealing, then, with an independent, aetiological mytheme (three daughters of the king who take to the wilds), which was differently slotted into the genealogies of the Boarhunters legend; the king in question may vary. Thestios married one of these sisters, like Athamas, or indeed like Oineus the Wine-man. Perhaps there were other stories, now lost, about Oineus' misadventures (see previous section for his Dionysiac connections). The three sisters of the next generation appear to mirror the first three, but these ones have a sinister cast: Althaia murdered her son Meleagros; her daughter Deianeira, 'man-destroyer', killed Herakles; Leda's daughter Helen was blamed for the destruction of a whole generation. Hypermestra has a better record, though she is mother of the doomed Amphiaraos (Hes. fr. 25.34, Paus. 2.21.2). Interestingly, Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.63) has a second Sterope, a daughter of Porthaon by Euryte, who with Acheloos was mother of the lethal Sirenes (→§1.6.3).

If parts of the Kalydonian genealogy were aetiological (see also §8.3, §1.7.8), the overall thrust was political and cultural, once it was taken out of the local orbit and rendered pan-Hellenic by the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. It is worth noting that in that poem's genealogy (above) Porthaon by his wife Laothoe (of unknown heritage) has three daughters, but by his Aiolian wife Eureite he has five sons including Agrios and Oineus. The subsequent history of Oineus, the subject of the *Alkmeonis*—the exile of his son Tydeus (Pher. fr. 122; →§12.3.2), his deposition by the sons of Agrios, and the vengeance wrought by his

⁵⁵ There are instances in myth of marriages between aunts and nephews (Bremmer, 'Fosterage' 8–9), but otherwise men marry older women only when a queen requires a new king, as in Oidipous' case, or (potentially) Penelope's; cf. Andraimon and the daughter of Oineus (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.78).

grandson Diomedes—plays out at Kalydon, where Oineus is king.⁵⁶ The sons of Porthaon, that is, are Kalydonian, but the daughters are Pleuronian, and their line runs into the sand.⁵⁷ On the other hand the sons of Porthaon descend from Pleuron, not Kalydon, who is almost without issue; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.59 is alone in mentioning any (only two daughters, and a grandson Oxylos—a unique genealogy for him too). Hesiod's genealogy expresses a belief in the greater antiquity of Pleuron, but also makes clear its supersession by Kalydon, which must reflect the perceived strength of the two cities. Homer as we noted equates Kalydonians and Aitolians, somewhat confusingly in context.

Eumelos' chauvinism in fr. 2, which makes Leda a daughter of Glaukos of Corinth by way of a transparently invented story, is typical of him; he was fortunate in finding at least one follower, the lyric poet who is quoted by the same scholiast (name corrupt; Alkman or, much more probably, Alkaios are suggested).⁵⁸ **Pherekydes (fr. 123)**, however, taps into a genuine and interesting tradition. Thersites, one of the sons of Agrios, is listed by him among the Kalydonian Boarhunters; but on the day of the hunt he declined to take part, and was flung off a cliff by Meleagros. Thus did he become a cripple. Euphorion (fr. 82) also knew this story, which will have come from archaic epic.⁵⁹ The story of his death at Achilles' hands in the *Aithiopis* (Gantz 621–2) was also old tradition, like the story of his and his brothers' deposing of Oineus. In none of these stories does he cut a good figure: in the Boarhunt he is a coward; in the dethroning of Oineus he is a traitor; and when Diomedes comes to exact his revenge, he has already fled to the Peloponnese, where he subsequently kills Oineus in a sacrilegious and final cowardly act (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.79). His offensive behaviour in the *Aithiopis* cost him his life at the hands of an infinitely superior hero. All of this was in the background for Homer in the *Iliad*, who completely and unusually suppresses his genealogy.⁶⁰ Diomedes was in fact Thersites' cousin, and Quintus of Smyrna represents him as being angry about his death at Troy (1.768). The scholiast who quotes Pher. fr. 123 comments innocently that Homer would not have allowed Odysseus to beat Thersites if he were related

⁵⁶ *Alkmeonis* fr. 4; Soph. fr. 799.3–4; Eur. *Suppl.* 148, *Oineus* frs. 558–70 and the *Alkmeon* plays; Diod. Sic. 4.65.2; Paus. 2.25.2; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.77–9, 3.86; Ant. Lib. *Met.* 37; Hyg. *Fab.* 175. Thuc. 2.68.3 (cf. 2.102) seems to disregard this tradition, making Amphilochos son of Amphiaraos founder of Amphilochian Argos (*IACP* no. 115) without Alkmeon's help; this was probably the version already of Hekataios, *FGrHist* 1 F 102c (cf. Hammond, *Epirus* 448). It is however hard to know how much of the sequel as given by Apollod. *et al.* was already in the *Alkmeonis*, and how much was added by the tragedians. But this only underscores the point about the weakness of the archaic tradition about Kalydon. For a study of the sources see Prinz 177–87 (who argues that Thucydides in fact reflects the archaic epic). I see no role for Corinth in these stories, as has sometimes been said, though it colonized Akarnania. The burial of Oineus at Argos is one possible context for Hek. fr. 4 (→§20).

⁵⁷ Stratonike's son was Eurytos father of Iphitos and Iole (Hes. fr. 26).

⁵⁸ West, "Eumelos" 131. For further discussion of Eumel. fr. 2 see §17.3.

⁵⁹ Also in schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 999, Tzetzes *Chil.* 7.879–89.

⁶⁰ *Il.* 2.211–77. Martin West, *per litt.*, disagrees, holding Pherekydes responsible for equating the Homeric and Aitolian Thersites.

to Diomedes; but Homer has deprived him of his aristocratic credentials. The earlier epic presented Thersites as a simple negative exemplum, warning against cowardice and betrayal of class ideals. Homer's portrait, marked out as his own by its invented speeches and crowd of neologisms, exhibits extreme loathing. He elaborates the disgusting details of Thersites' appearance, and makes him no longer an aristocrat but a mutinous demagogue; even his name, in itself a fine one for a warrior, is given a new sarcastic meaning, denoting not courage but insolence. If earlier epic exhorted those born to the manor to live up to ideals, Homer has turned the story into one of conflict between aristocratic rulers and an upstart, elite and non-elite. His complex depiction of the problems of leadership should not be interpreted anachronistically as if Homer were adopting the neutral stance of the modern commentator, the distanced explorer of issues; there is no doubt here of his political allegiance.⁶¹

For Pher. fr. 36, the death of Ankaïos at the tusks of the Boar, see §6.3.6.

§4.4 Lokrians (Hek. fr. 13, 16; Hellen. fr. 11–13, 117b, 120, 121, 125; Pher. fr. 23–4)

That Hekataios had strongly personal views on Hellenism is plain from fr. 13, which amazingly asserts that Hellen himself was merely a grandson of Deukalion. We need to consider this fr. here in order to understand the Lokrians in Hek. fr. 16. Hellen's father in Hekataios was Pronoos, a name obviously invented after Prometheus to supply an extra generation at this point.⁶² Why he wanted one probably has something to do with the other progeny. The scholion is explicit that Hekataios named only three sons of Deukalion. Apart from Pronoos and Orestheus there is Marathonios. What role did he play? If Marathonios had no progeny, the imbalance at the very top of the stemma is quite striking. In the absence of progeny, the reason for Marathonios' prominence is presumably the battle of 490; but one puzzles to find a reason why he is a son of Deukalion, rather than autochthonous or Kekropid, if the only motive for his insertion is to glorify Athens. More probably he is Deukalionid because of his progeny; the logical choice is Xouthos, and thence to Ion and Achaïos. In this way Hekataios, as he did for the Aitolians, would have asserted the Ionians' and Achaeans' independence from Hellen, to their greater glory. Inserting the extra generation before Hellen would make Ion, Achaïos, Doros, and Aiolos (the last two being presumably sons of Hellen as everywhere else) contemporary with one another: a satisfying arrangement. The position of Marathonios also amounts to strong support of the Athenians' claim to parentage of

⁶¹ On Thersites see Kullmann, *Die Quellen der Ilias* 145–7; Ebert, 'Die Gestalt des Thersites'; Brügger and Stoevesandt on *Il.* 2.211–78; W. Thalmann, *TAPA* 118 (1988) 1–28; Scodel, *Listening to Homer* 202–8. Further references in Lincoln, *Authority: Construction and Corrosion* 174.

⁶² Cf. the corrupt name of Deukalion's mother in Hes. fr. 4, for which Dindorf proposed 'Pronoe' (→§3.1).

the Ionians.⁶³ Later writers record that the Marathonian tetrapolis was founded by Xouthos; perhaps Hekataios already knew this tradition.⁶⁴ The community's venerable age might have been sufficient warrant for Hekataios' innovation; if so, the battle cannot be used to date his book. On the other hand, all these factors, the battle included, might have played a role in his reasoning.

Fr. 16 appears to make against this speculation about Ion's status in Hekataios; but it is corrupt. Some emendation is required on any analysis. As it stands it would have to be translated 'There was an older Ion, a Lokrian, the son of Physkos';⁶⁵ but startling though Hekataios can be, it is hard to think what use he could have made of two Iones. If one of the first two names is changed to the genitive case (either 'Lokros, son of Physkos, was older than Ion' or 'Ion, son of Physkos, was older than Lokros'), the younger man in either rendering will be someone else's son, and we are left to wonder in what mythological context such a comparison would be important. A story involving half-brothers would be possible; a quarrel might have led to emigration, as in the story of father and son in Plutarch and Eustathios, quoted below. But it is hard to believe in Ion half-brother of Lokros or Ion son of Physkos. There is another possibility: construe 'there was an older Lokros, son of X'; the natural completion is 'than Lokros, son of Y'. The two Lokroi will be the Ozolian and the Opountian, and Hekataios is explaining the split. The remains of an expression containing the name of Y may be lurking in the corrupt first word; or we may accept Wilamowitz's τῶν, which is an easy correction, and suppose that the names of the two fathers were given in the preceding sentence. One of them was Physkos, so let us see what is known about him.

Apart from Hekataios there are only four passages that name him, and there is reason to think that they derive not from Hekataios, but from Hellanikos. The passages are:

Steph. Byz. s.v. Φύσκος. πόλις Λοκρίδος, ἀπὸ Φύσκου τοῦ Αἰτωλοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος. ἔστι καὶ ἑτέρα Φύσκος πόλις Καρίας . . . λέγεται καὶ ἀρσενικῶς ὁ Φύσκος. "Φύσκος δέ, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Λέλεγες οἱ νῦν Λοκροί . . ."

⁶³ Jacoby on Hek. fr. 16 says that Hekataios confined the term 'Ionian' to the Dodekapolis, citing Hdt. 1.142–8 (but this proves nothing for Hekataios), and observes 'die schnell fortschreitende, aber schwierig durchzuführende annectierung durch Athen geschah nach seiner zeit'; therefore, he says, Hekataios' Ion came straight from Achaea and had nothing to do with Athens; like the Aitolians they descended from Orestheus. The Ionian connection with Achaea is ancient too (Hdt. 7.94), but Hekataios cannot have ignored passages like *Il.* 13.689, where the Athenians are known to be Ionian (Janko ad loc. thinks the interpolation, if it is one, may actually be the work of Ionians rather than Athenians) or Solon fr. 4a. On the antiquity of the Ionian/Athenian connection see §19.2.1.

⁶⁴ Konon, *Dieg.* 27 (<Xouthos> supplied by Höfer), Strabo 8.7.1. On the Tetrapolis see R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* index s.v.; on the traditions surrounding Xouthos in Attica and elsewhere Càssola, 'Le genealogie mitiche' 17–20, 31–2. *IG I³* 255 A13 (c.430 BC) makes provision for sacrifice to Xouthos; S. D. Lambert, *ZPE* 130 (2000) 71–5, has now made it all but certain that the stone came from the Marathon region.

⁶⁵ For Λοκρός as adjective see Eur. *IA* 262, Xen. *An.* 7.4.18. The expression remains suspiciously compressed; one expects something like πρεσβύτερος δέ τις Ἴων Λοκρός ἦν, Φύσκου παῖς.

Ps.-Skymnos 587–91:

Λοκροί
ὦν πρῶτος ἦρξεν, ὡς λέγουσ', Ἀμφικτύων
ὁ Δευκαλίωνος, ἐχόμενος δ' ἀφ' αἵματος
Αἰτωλός, εἴτα Φύσκος, ὃς γεννᾷ Λοκρόν,
ὃς τοὺς Λελέγας ὠνόμασεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Λοκρούς.

Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 15 p. 294d–f. Τίς ἡ ξυλὴν κύων παρὰ Λοκροῖς; Φυσκίου (sic) τοῦ Ἀμφικτύωνος υἱὸς ἦν Λοκρός· ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ Καβύνης Ὀποῦς. πρὸς δὲ ὃν ὁ πατὴρ διενεχθεὶς καὶ συχνὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀναλαβὼν περὶ ἀποικίας ἐμαντεύετο. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ φήσαντος κτίζειν πόλιν ὅπου περ ἂν τύχη δηχθεὶς ὑπὸ κυνὸς ξυλίνης, ὑπερβαίνων εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν θάλασσαν⁶⁶ ἐπάτησε κυνόσβατον.⁶⁷ ἐνοχληθεὶς δὲ τῇ πληγῇ διέτριψεν ἡμέρας αὐτόθι πλείονας, ἐν αἷς καταμαθὼν τὸ χωρίον ἔκτισε πόλιν Φυσκεῖς καὶ Οἰάνθειαν⁶⁸ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας, ὅσας οἱ κληθέντες Ὀζόλαι Λοκροὶ κατόκησαν.

Eust. *Il.* 277.17. Ὀποῦντος . . . Κύνος οὐδ' Ὀδοιδόκος οὐδ' Οἰλεύς. οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ φασὶ καὶ ταῦτα Ἀμφικτύωνος καὶ Χθονοπάτρας ἀπόγονος Φύσκος, οὐδ' Λοκρός, ὦν ἀπὸ μὲν Φύσκου Φύσκοι πρῶτην, ἀπὸ δὲ Λοκροῦ Λοκροὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ ὠνομάσθησαν. Λοκροῦ δὲ Ὀποῦς, πρὸς δὲ διενεχθεὶς ὁ πατὴρ Λοκρός ἐὰ μὲν ἄρχην ἐκείνην, αὐτὸς δὲ οἰκεῖ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ ἔχων ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν τοὺς ἐκεῖ, οἱ Ἑσπέριοι τε καὶ Ὀζόλαι ἐκαλοῦντο περὶ Αἰτωλίας, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας, φασί, πλευρᾶς οἰκοῦντες κατὰ Κρυσσαῖον πεδίον.

Plutarch and Eustathios go back to the same source, presumably a scholion on *Il.* 2.527,⁶⁹ and behind that perhaps Aristotle's *Constitution of the Oponuntians* (fr. 560–4).⁷⁰ What has not been noticed is that Eustathios' unique *Χθονοπάτρα* is surely the same as Hellanikos' *Ξενοπάτρα* (fr. 125), a similarly unique daughter of Hellen: one has been corrupted into the other in one of these sources (by an inversion of 'native' and 'foreign': *Χθονοπάτρα* is perhaps the original). In (Plutarch + Eustathios =) Aristotle, therefore, we may have Hellanikos' account of the foundation of western Lokris. Except for Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.25, where he is son of Hellen, Amphiktion is everywhere a son of Deukalion; an indication that Hellanikos agreed with the majority is that in the Attic

⁶⁶ εἰς τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ Weniger in Roscher, *Lex. s.v.* Lokros coll. Eust.

⁶⁷ The story of the wooden dog is also in Didymos (p. 242 Schmidt) ap. Athen. 2.82 p. 70c and Hsch. s.v. κύναρος. Wood and dog curiously combine again in Hekataios' story of Orestheus' bitch. Tümpel, 'Deukalion' 267 and others connect the story with Kynos and say it must have been East Lokrian originally, but there are chronological problems if Deukalion had already lived at Kynos. The coincidence of the name is admittedly suggestive, but not decisive ('Thebes' was not 'Cowtown' despite the story of the cow, Hellan. fr. 51; contrarily, Mukalessos was named after the same cow's lowing, Paus. 9.19.4). Halliday, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* 91, remains agnostic.

⁶⁸ Ὑάνθειαν codd., Ὑάντειαν edd.; corr. Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 357 n. 3 (cf. Oldfather, *RE* 17.2.2086).

⁶⁹ Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 358. Didymos probably drew on the scholion as well; as his reference to the wooden dog oracle is in the context of a commentary on Sophokles, he is unlikely to be Plutarch's source.

⁷⁰ The ascription depends on schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.86, which says that Aristotle named the daughter of Opous as Kambyse, obviously identical with Plutarch's Kabye. See W. A. Oldfather, *Philol.* 67 (1908) 426 n. 47 and K. Giessen, *Philol.* 60 (1901) 466–8. Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 357, cautiously agrees. Huxley, *Pindar's Vision of the Past* 31, emends to Kaphye, surmising that she is the eponym of Kaphyai by Mount Mainalos.

king-list, which in all likelihood goes back to him,⁷¹ Amphiktion is son of Deukalion. Thus Amphiktion, brother of Hellen, would have married his niece Chthonopatra, daughter of Hellen.⁷² The change of name to Lokroi is traditional (Hes. fr. 234), but the previous name was Leleges (cf. also Skymnos), not Physkeis; if we do have Hellanikos before us here, he differed from tradition in this respect.⁷³ Comparing now Stephanos and pseudo-Skymnos, we find that the stemma is identical except for Aitolos. If we disregard this as intrusive,⁷⁴ Hellanikos' genealogy was Deukalion→Amphiktion→Physkos→Lokros, and we may believe that he accommodated Aitolos as the *Catalogue* did (as a descendant of Protogeneia, daughter of Deukalion).

If these passages go back to Hellanikos, where does that leave Hekataios in fr. 16? We do not know what he said about Amphiktion; nor unfortunately do we know what the *Catalogue* said.⁷⁵ Presumably Amphiktion came into existence with the amphiktion, and the near unanimity of our sources that he was a son of Deukalion probably goes back to pseudo-Hesiod. Hekataios, we know, did not agree, as his three and only three sons of Hellen are Orestheus, Pronoos, and Marathonios. It would be a reasonable conjecture that Hekataios made Amphiktion a son of Pronoos so that he should still be brother of Hellen; he would make no sense whatever in the line of Orestheus or Marathonios. The Lokrians, however, could fit in either Orestheus' or Marathonios' line. As for Physkos, to make him son of Aitolos might seem to put his son Lokros

⁷¹ Jacoby on *FGrHist* 4 FF 38–49. Jacoby (*Das Marmor Parium* 35) also thought that Hellanikos was first to make Deukalion's son Amphiktion a king of Athens, because Herodotos (7.200) knows him only as the hero of the amphiktion at Anthela (his shrine implies burial there). Amphiktion's status as king of Athens in all later sources probably does go back to Hellanikos; but his entry into Athenian saga may be even older, if it is related to their membership of the Pylian–Delphic Amphiktion in the 6th c. But the archaic list of members is uncertain, and there were other amphiktionies (Fowler, 'Genealogical Thinking' n. 26; R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 80; Harding, *The Story of Athens* 39, 210–12). Ion's Athenian mother is already a fixture in the *Catalogue*, fr. 10a.20–3; yet a tradition that Amphiktion was autochthonous survives in Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.187). On the Attic king-list see §16.1.1.

⁷² Was their son Itonos (above, n. 27)? If so, Chthonopatra might be right in view of the chthonic associations of Athena Itonia (→§1.8.4).

⁷³ This could mean that Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.17.3, on the eviction of the Pelasgoi from Thessaly, will not go back to Hellanikos as Jacoby thought: περὶ τὴν ἔκτην γενεὰν ἐξελαύνονται (οἱ Πελασγοὶ) Θετταλίας ὑπὸ τε Κουρήτων καὶ Λελέγων, οἱ νῦν Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Λοκροὶ καλοῦνται, καὶ συχνὸν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκούντων, ἡγουμένου τῶν πολεμίων Δευκαλίωνος τοῦ Προμηθέως, μητρὸς δὲ Κλυμένης τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ. One might combine Dionysios and Eustathios and say that according to Hellanikos they were called Leleges under Deukalion, Physkeis under Physkos, and Lokroi under Lokros; in this case, the quotation cited by Stephanos (see above) might even be his. Jacoby's suspicion that Hellanikos lies behind Dionysios has much to recommend it (→§7.1.2). See also below, p. 146.

⁷⁴ Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 359; cf. Daux, 'Remarques sur la composition du conseil amphictionique' 98, who argues that it reflects the annexation of Lokris by Aitolia in the 3rd c. BC (Wilamowitz thinks in terms of late antiquity). Marcotte, in his 2002 edition of ps.-Skymnos, makes the attractive emendation Ἰωνος (MS D has Ἰτωλος); on Itonos cf. above, n. 27.

⁷⁵ Hes. fr. 4 = Akous. fr. 34 is unhelpful.

⁷⁶ He is founder of the league in Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 63, *Marmor Parium* 239 A 5, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.25.3.

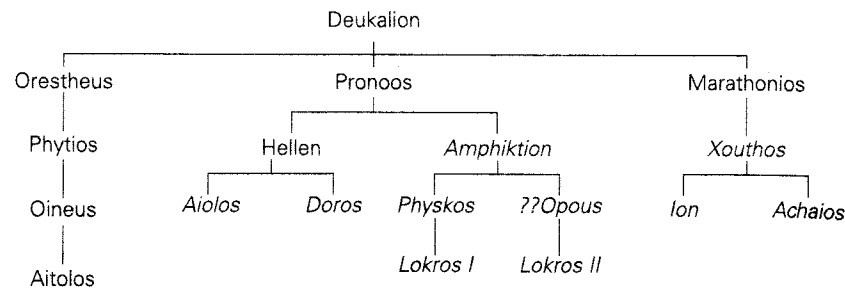


FIG. 4.3

rather late chronologically, but there is no evidence that mythographers were especially sensitive to such considerations at this date. Pausanias (5.16.6) reports a heroine Physkoa at Elis, who bore a son to Dionysos and was honoured by choruses; of uncertain antiquity, as always, but if she was known in Hekataios' day, the close associations of Elis and Aitolia might have influenced him (the Dionysiac connection—cf. Phytios and Oineus—is also suggestive). Alternatively, the Lokrians' association with the amphiktion would place them on the Hellenic side. Physkos might be a son of Amphiktion, or son of Pronoos. On balance it seems likeliest that Hekataios neither put Physkos on a par with Hellen, nor made the west Lokrians mere grandchildren of Aitolos (Fig. 4.3).⁷⁷

As father of the other Lokros, I have suggested Opous, elsewhere Lokros' son (but also his grandfather in Pindar). The parents would be the eponyms of the two principal, early Lokrian cities (the western one principal at least in legend).⁷⁸ If this stemma is along the right lines, one can imagine that in Hekataios' story Lokros I, the elder, had the stronger claim to the throne, but for some reason emigrated and named the new city after his father. (Similarly in the story told by Plutarch and Eustathios, the father, i.e. the man with the primary claim to rule, cedes to his son.) Hekataios puts Hellen and Amphiktion on a par, appropriately enough in view of his importance in the growth of Hellenic consciousness.

Further with respect to Hellanikos, Wilamowitz's conjecture in fr. 117b seems likely to be right; but the scholiast's meaning in this badly abbreviated note is hard to divine. He is trying to explain 'the stock of Iapetos' (in spite of commenting on a lemma *Κρονιδᾶν*), and says that Pindar 'like Hellanikos' traced the descent of the Opountians from Deukalion. But Pindar's meaning in *Olympian* 9 is also obscure, at least to anyone who was not at the original performance. At l. 41 of the poem he calls Opous the 'town

⁷⁷ Conjectural names in italics.

⁷⁸ On inscriptional evidence for the historical Physkeis (city name and ethnic identical) beginning in the 4th c. see Lerat, *Les Locriens* 1.48–50; IACP p. 392. The legends rather imply early prominence; cf. Oldfather, *RE* 13.1.1185; Lerat, *Les Locriens* 2.15 (sceptical).

of Protogeneia', going on immediately to say 'where, by the decree of Zeus of the flashing thunderbolt, Pyrrha and Deukalion, descending from Parnassos, first made their home'. One might think, then, that Protogeneia was their daughter, and the scholia show that this was one view in antiquity as in modern times. However, further on (53–64) he says 'Your ancestors, with their bronze shields, traced their origin to them (sc. Deukalion and Pyrrha), sons of daughters from the stock of Iapetos, and of mighty Kronidai. Native kings they ever were, until the Olympian leader snatched Opous' daughter from the Epeians' land, and secretly united with her on the ridges of Mainalon. Then he brought her to Lokros, lest the years of his life inflict a fate bereft of progeny and bring him down. The seed his mate carried was the mightiest, and the hero was delighted to see his adopted son. He gave him the same name as his mother's father.' If Protogeneia is to be the mother of Opous, she is the nameless daughter of Epeian Opous in l. 58, not the daughter of Deukalion and Pyrrha. This seems preferable; it gives a typical ring pattern between the beginning and end of the section (Protogeneia—D. & P.—D. & P. again in 53–5, whose descendants were native-born kings, until the episode of—Protogeneia). Certainty, however, is not possible.⁷⁹

When the scholion says that Pindar 'like Hellanikos' traced the descent of the Opountians from Deukalion, it would be easier if this referred to the first interpretation of Pindar, whereby Protogeneia, mother of Opous, is daughter of Deukalion; Opous is ultimately descended from Deukalion on either interpretation, but the connection is closer on the first reading. However, such a mangled comment cannot be pressed very far. If in fact Hellanikos said Opous was a son of Protogeneia, the reports of Plutarch and others written out above are not from him; but our inference from the coincidence of Chthonopatra/Xenopatra seems more secure than any of this. The scholiast who quotes *Pher. fr. 23* is a little more coherent; he adheres to the second interpretation of Pindar, and contrasts this with Pherekydes, who did indeed make Protogeneia a daughter of Deukalion. One cannot quite certainly infer that Pherekydes also made Opous son of Protogeneia, but it seems extremely probable; the scholar who went

⁷⁹ See Gerber's commentary on the ode, p. 49; following Huxley (above, n. 70), he is inclined to think that the unnamed daughter is Kaphya. The argument of Hartmut Erbse, *Hermes* 125 (1997) 37, that Protogeneia as an abstract noun meaning simply 'where humankind was first engendered', is desperate. He objects against the second interpretation that the mother of Opous 'trägt . . . mit Recht keinen Namen' (36), because her son, not she, is the really important figure in the genealogy; but this shows only that she might be allowed to pass without a name, not that she must. Against the first he objects, 'Wie konnte . . . der Hörer unserer Verse an eine erstgeborene Tochter denken, wenn er gleich anschließend erfährt, daß Pyrrhas Kinder aus Steinen entstanden sind?' (37). Other details in the passage would be clear on first hearing only to the original audience; moreover, we learn from verses 53–6 that local legend distinguished between those descended from Pyrrha and Deukalion and those descended from stones.

looking in the mythographers for this information would have looked into their discussions of Lokris.⁸⁰

Before leaving this section we may briefly review three other Lokrian cities (the third of which leads us to Lokrian Aias) and one Phokian that occur in our corpus. They are:

Oiantheia in West Lokris (**Hell. fr. 120**). *IACP* no. 166; Oldfather, *RE* 17.2.2085–91. Hellanikos' *Οἰάνθεια* is found also in Polyb. 4.57.2, *IG IX²* 1709a.2 (2nd c. BC), Paus. 10.38.9; Hekataios *FGrHist* 1 F 113 has *Οἰάνθη*; *Οἰανθέα* is attested in classical inscriptions, as is the ethnic *Οἰανθεύς* (the latter also in Thuc. 3.101.2). We know nothing about the mythological context, but cf. Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 15 (above, p. 142) and Oldfather, *RE* 17.2.2086.

Alponos in East Lokris (**Hell. fr. 12**). *IACP* no. 379; Oldfather, *RE Suppl.* 3.84. 'Alpenos' and 'Alpenoi' are also attested (Hdt. 7.176.2, 7.216). Stephanos s.v. *Ἀλπηνοί* (a228, where see Billerbeck) reports that the city was the *μητρόπολις* of Lokris, which probably derives from overlooking the last two words at Hdt. 7.216 *πόλιν πρώτην εἰούσαν τῶν Λοκρῶν πρὸς Μηλιέων*. Herodotos also tells us that this is near where Herakles' fight with the Kerkopes took place (→§8.5.6).

Kalliaros in East Lokris (**Hell. fr. 13**). *IACP* p. 666. The location of the city is uncertain; Strabo 9.4.5 says it was no longer inhabited in his day. The city is named in the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.531), so it is unsurprising that the mythographer finds a place for its eponym in his scheme: Kalliaros son of Hodoidokos and Laonome. He is brother, therefore, to Oileus the father of the Lokrian Aias. Hodoidokos' father was Kynos son of Opous son of Lokros.⁸¹ Jacoby points out that if we accept as Hellenikean the genealogy, including Aitolos, which we examined above (p. 143), we obtain the same number of generations down to the Trojan War as we have in fr. 11.

Hellanikos also touched on the descent of Aias in **Hell. fr. 121**, where he said his mother's name was Eriope, if the MS can be trusted; it is a slight variation on Homer's Eriopis (*Il.* 13.697, 15.336). **Pher. fr. 24**, however, said she was Alkimache, and in this he was followed by Mnaseas (quoted with him) and Porphyry (fr. 9 ap. schol. *Il.* 15.333c). The author of the *Naupaktika* (fr. 1) said she had both names.⁸² Though mythographers often invented women's names, the evidence of the *Naupaktika* shows that Pherekydes got Alkimache from archaic epic, perhaps the Hesiodic *Catalogue* where Aias would have been enumerated among the suitors of Helen (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.130, West, *HCW*

⁸⁰ Another possibility is that Lokros, father of Opous, was son of Protogeneia in the *Catalogue* and Pherekydes; the raising of Opous in the ninth *Olympian* to be a son of Protogeneia would be the local belief. An eventual link with Hellen could have been forged by marriage. The link with Elis through Protogeneia's father, fashioned presumably because of the games, is unique, and looks like an innovation (so Wilamowitz): 'First-born (surely of Deukalion) mother of Opous', has given way to 'First-born (daughter of Opous the Elean) mother of Opous (by Zeus, by Lokros κατ' ἐπὶ κλησιν)'.
⁸¹ See Eust. (above, p. 142), schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 1150, Hyg. *Fab.* 14.7, *P.Oxy.* 4097 fr. 1.
⁸² The fr. as transmitted says that some unknown person called her Eriope, whereas her father (Pheres) and (grandfather) Admetos called her Alkimache. West in his edition posits a lacuna and suggests that the maternal grandfather could have been the other person.

118). In Homer, Aias has a half-brother, the illegitimate Medon; at *Il.* 2.728 his mother is the nymph Rhene (whom Hyginus, *Fab.* 97.5 transfers to Aias). In schol. *Il.* 13.694b we are told that Medon's mother (*sic*) was Alkimache, daughter of Aiakos. Porphyry said Aias' mother Alkimache was daughter of Phylakos. Aiakos/Phylakos could be a confusion, caused by contamination from the other Aias (grandson of Aiakos) and/or homoteleton; since Phylakos is also an Aiolid like Pheres, and Phylake is where Medon went into exile after killing one of Eriopis' relatives according to Homer, we may take this as the correct name of Alkimache's father. But the other divergences (Alkimache vs. Eriopis as Aias' mother; Alkimache vs. Rhene as Medon's) remain unresolved.

Agatheia (**Hell. fr. 11**). Otherwise unknown.⁸³ Hellanikos is now in Phokis, as Stephanos tells us, which he might have got to by way of Deion (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.86, Deion son of Aiolos king of Phokis) or Sisyphe (grandfather of Phokos, Paus. 2.4.3). Jacoby wondered whether the stemma in schol. *Il.* 2.517 (more briefly in ps.-Skymnos 486–7) might be his: Sisyphe→Ornytos→Phokos→Ornytion→Naubolos→Iphitos→Schedios, one of the commanders of the Phokian contingent at Troy (*Il.* 2.517–26).

§4.5 Thessalians and Makedonians (**Andr. fr. 21; Hell. fr. 8–9, 52, 201; Pher. fr. 51, 57–8, 172**)

Despite its importance in the general construction of Hellenism, Thessaly is not much represented in our corpus. It is interesting in the light of what was said above in §4.1, however, that Pherekydes should work Amphiktione daughter of Phthios into his stemma of Dotis, as his mother (**Pher. fr. 172**). Dotis is the eponym of the city Dotion, which is probably a fictional projection from the great plain in north-east Thessaly, in Pelasgiotis near Lake Boibe and Lakereia (itself perhaps mythical; →§1.9.2).⁸⁴ About Dotis' father Asterios we know nothing—perhaps the son of a nymph and a river god—but Phthios' connections point in two directions, one to Pelasgians, the other of course to Achaia Phthiotis. Both of these fit well in the immediately pre-Hellenic world. In one genealogy, Phthios is brother of Pelasgos and Achaioi, son of Poseidon and Larisa; Larisa links to the Argolid, and to those writers such as Akousilaos and Hellanikos who put their Pelasgians there (→§2.1; in Hell. fr. 91, Larisa is daughter of Pelasgos).⁸⁵ In

⁸³ J. Oulhen, *IACP* p. 406, thinks that 'it cannot be precluded that Stephanos is mistaking *Ἀγάθεια* for *Ἀγάθα*, founded by the Phokaians of Massalia [*IACP* p. 159]'; but what place would an Iberian colony of a colony have in Hellanikos' book?

⁸⁴ Helly, 'Le «Dotion Pedion», Lakereia et les origines de Larisa'. The city is mentioned also by Pliny *NH* 4.32. According to Kallim. *Hymn. Cer.* 24 Dotion was the homeland of the Knidians; →§5.2.3.

⁸⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.17.3, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Φθία*, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.580, Eust. *Il.* 321.26 (where Haimon is named rather as father; Poseidon again at 71.7, 320.26); Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 2.197, Eust. 320.24. The Thessaly–Argos connection is found also in the story of Archandros son or grandson of Achaioi who is son-in-law of Danaos (Hdt. 2.98.2, Paus. 2.6.5, 7.1.6). According to Steph. Byz. 662 Hellas was a Thessalian city named not after the son of Deukalion but after a son of our Phthios, who married Chrysippe daughter of Iros; he in turn is a Malian or Lokrian hero (Roscher, *Lex.* s.v.). This datum may derive from some unknown Hellenistic local historian, but fits well in the general picture of the mythical primeval Hellas.

Apollodoros, however, we find Phthios as one of the sons of Lykaon (*Bibl.* 3.97, cf. schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 481); Haimon is another. This points rather to Pherekydes' account of Pelasgians originating in Arkadia (fr. 12, 156; →§2.1).

Two myths with strong Thessalian connections, but of uncertain genealogical placement, may be discussed here: the myth of Kyrene, and the myth of Ixion.

*Kyrene.*⁸⁶ Kyrene's father was Hypseus, son of Peneios and the Naiad nymph Kreousa (a daughter of Gaia) according to Pindar (*Pyth.* 9.13–17), who was following the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. **Pher. fr. 57** agrees with Pindar (though, as reported, he left the nymph unnamed); the agreement strengthens the view that Hesiod was the common source. In what part of Pherekydes' book did Kyrene figure? If we knew her place in the *Catalogue* we might be able to suggest an answer, but that too is uncertain. Apollodoros, who does not mention Kyrene, is of no assistance in this regard. Diodoros (4.69.1) says that Stilbe, mother of Lapithes by Apollo, was sister of Hypseus, which might be thought a clue. But in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* Hypseus was king of the Lapiths (Pind. *Pyth.* 9.13–17); since the eponym of Hypseus' nation cannot be his nephew (Stilbe's son), West argues (*HCW* 85–6) that Kyrene cannot have been accommodated in the *Catalogue* by way of her father. It is worth noting, however, that only Diodoros makes Hypseus and Stilbe brother and sister, whereas Stilbe as mother of Lapithes is reported without mention of Hypseus by several sources;⁸⁷ it is possible then that Diodoros' stemma represents a mythographer's systematizing, and that Stilbe was an earlier daughter of Peneios by a different mother. Yet even if that supposition is correct, Hypseus' parentage still does not hook up with any of the great human genealogies, such as the Deukalionidai. Nor does the alternative parentage provided by Akesandros, a local historian of Kyrene (quoted with Pher.), who says Hypseus' mother was Philyra. This was probably inspired by Kyrene's association in Pindar with Cheiron, Philyra's famous son;⁸⁸ so this genealogy was a later invention, and in any case, as Philyra was another immortal nymph, still no help for the immediate problem.

Returning then to Kyrene's mother as a possible reference point in the genealogy, the Pindaric scholia name an otherwise unknown Chlidanope (on *Pyth.* 9.31). Given the Libyan locus of the Kyrene myth, West suggests that Chlidanope might have gone well in the stemma of the Inachidai, along with Libye herself and other African and oriental figures (→§7.1); perhaps she was a daughter of Agenor. Alternatively, since the myth's

⁸⁶ On Kyrene, both myth and early history, see Robbins, 'Cyrene and Cheiron'; Gantz 93; Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization* chs. 6, 8; Malkin, *Myth and Territory* chs. 5–6; Gentili, comm. on Pind. *Pyth.* 9; M.-A. Zagdoun, *LIMC* 6.1.167–70; Giangiulio, 'Constructing the Past'; Bremmer, 'Myth and History in the Foundation of Cyrene'; Calame, *Myth and History in Ancient Greece*; Osborne, *Greece in the Making* 8–16. Among earlier treatments Malten's *Kyrene* may be singled out.

⁸⁷ See §2.4 at n. 70.

⁸⁸ Cf. Malten, *RE* 9.1.426; he assumes the association was also in Hesiod, but this is unlikely (West, *HCW* 86).

associations with Thessaly were equally strong, and all of Hypseus' connections are there, it might have been equally natural to tell the story somewhere in the Deukalionid section.⁸⁹

The scholia to Apollonios say that according to Pherekydes (**Pher. fr. 58**) and Ariaitchos Apollo transported Kyrene from Thessaly to Libya in his chariot drawn by swans.⁹⁰ Apollo's association with swans was traditional; Alkaios in his hymn to the god, for instance, made extensive play with the image (fr. 307c).⁹¹ Now the chariot (without swans) is mentioned by Pindar (*Pyth.* 9.6), and the point is so specific that one must believe one of three things: Pherekydes read Pindar and decided to adopt the chariot, and add the swans; the chariot, without swans, was in the *Catalogue*, their common source, and Pherekydes added the swans; or both swans and chariot were in the *Catalogue*. The first of these alternatives seems the least likely, which means the *Catalogue* one way or another had a chariot; and if it had Apollo fly to Libya, it surely implies the colony had already been established.⁹²

*Ixion.*⁹³ Ixion is mentioned once by Homer in passing, in the scene where Zeus is recounting his previous loves to Hera; among them is Ixion's wife, who bore Peirithoos to him (*Il.* 14.317–18). This lady is identified as Dia by the scholia to Homer⁹⁴ and the scholion to Apollonios which quotes **Pher. fr. 51b**. 'Dia' looks like a feminine form of Zeus, and given the story—Zeus seduces Ixion's wife, Ixion attempts to seduce

⁸⁹ Kyrene lives by the Peneios (Hes. fr. 215); she is taken from Pelion according to Pindar. Regarding Hypseus one can note also that he is father of Athamas' third wife Themisto in Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.84 (→§6.1.1); schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.498–527a (= Pher. fr. 58) says that Larisa was Kyrene's sister; Eust. *Il.* 330.28 says Hypseus married Trikke, eponym of the city. The offspring of the union, Aristaios, is a pastoral deity with links to Boiotia (assuming Aktaion's father is an allomorph), Arkadia, and Keos (see Schachter, *BNP* s.v.), but Ap. Rhod. 2.506–7, 514–15 makes him Thessalian. The problem with the Libyan link, as West acknowledges, is that it involves Chlidanope marrying someone rather far away from home.

⁹⁰ The wording suggests that Ariaitchos cited Pherekydes; cf. §2.4 n. 66.

⁹¹ Arnott, *Birds in the Ancient World* 123, cites in addition to Alkaios *Hymn Hom.* 21.1–4 (with specific reference to the Peneios), Ar. *Av.* 769–76 (where see Dunbar), Kallim. *Hymn* 2.5, 4.249–54, Cic. *Tusc.* 1.73, Ael. *NA* 11.1; see also Sapph. fr. 208, Pind. fr. 52c, Bacchyl. 15.6.

⁹² On the problem cf. above, n. 17. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns* 248 n. 38, argues that even if Hesiod linked Kyrene with Libya it need not imply that the city had already been founded; the suggestions seems to be that a link had been drawn with a local Libyan legend or toponym already before the foundation, and that Hesiod knew about it. This strikes me as special pleading. West suggests that Kyrene's fight with the lion was an African story, because Kallimachos (*Hymn* 2.92) and Akesandros (*FGrHist* 469 F 4) locate it there, and they are from Kyrene and should know; but this is centuries later, and local pride may be at work.

⁹³ For the myth see Aisch. *Ixion and Perrhaibides* (fr. 89–93, 184–6a); Pind. *Pyth.* 2.21–48; Eur. *Ixion* (fr. 424–7); Eur. or Kritias *Peirithoos* fr. 5 Collard–Cropp; Asklepiades *FGrHist* 12 F 3; Palaiph. 1; Diod. Sic. 4.69; Apollod. *Epit.* 1.20; Hyg. *Fab.* 62; Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 6.286; schol. Stat. *Theb.* 4.539; schol. D *Il.* 1.268; schol. *Od.* 21.303; schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 1185; ps.-Nonn. on Greg. Naz. *Or.* 5.32; Myth. Vat. I 1.14, II 128 (106), 272 (—); Tzetz. *Chil.* 7.18–44; Gantz 718–21; C. Lochin, *LIMC* 5.1.857–62; Collard and Cropp 1.460–1. Of Sophokles' *Ixion* two words survive, fr. 296, on which see A.R. Dyck, *HSCP* 91 (1987) 127; there is a passing reference at Phil. 676–9. Lucian *Dial. deor.* 9 is a brilliant burlesque. For other references see Preller–Robert *GM* 823, Robert, *GH* 12–15.

⁹⁴ Schol. D on 1.268 and 14.317, and *P.Colon.* 2588 (3.556 Erbse) which credits οἱ νεώτεροι.

Zeus's—it was not unreasonable to think that her name should be so read, and the story understood as one like that of Zeus and Amphitryon, Dionysos and the Basilinna at Athens, and others where human and god swap places.⁹⁵ In the case of Ixion, however, whatever ritual links there might once have been, the story as we have it points a moral about fundamental social values by juxtaposing the two figures, between whom a greater contrast could not exist. Zeus is mightiest of gods, archetypal father of all gods and men, guarantor of justice, of household property, of hospitality, of suppliants; Ixion, his human counterpart, tramples brutally on all these things. He is the first person to murder a kinsman. He does so by inviting him treacherously to a feast, to receive the bride-gifts that would normally mark the happy union of families. The fire that might have served for sacrifice is concealed in a pit and becomes a murder weapon. Ixion goes as a suppliant to Zeus; Aischylos indeed understood his name to mean precisely 'Suppliant' (*Eum.* 441 *σεμνὸς προσίκτωρ ἐν τρόποις Ἰξίωνος*). Yet once his supplication is granted, he repays it by attempting to sleep with his benefactor's wife; admitted to the household, he seeks to break it apart. Of the reciprocal *χάρις* of human (and human-divine) relations he is totally devoid.⁹⁶ So far from being human, he is ancestor of the vicious and uncivilized half-men the Kentauroi (and his stepson Peirithoos the Lapith, arch-rapist, was not much better).⁹⁷ Pindar (*Pyth.* 2.25–6) implies that he had actually won a permanent home on Olympos, which is to say he had been granted immortality; this is explicit in other authorities.⁹⁸ Offered a chance to be a god he became one of the great sinners, resembling in this respect Tantalos, who also abused divine hospitality. Ixion was punished not in Hades, however (impossible if he had been made immortal); rather in heaven, his erstwhile home, engulfed in the divine fire he had applied to such unspeakable purposes, circling uselessly for ever on his wheel; a fate not dissimilar from that of his son Perithoos, bound for ever in Hades on the chair of forgetfulness for attempting to steal Hades' queen.⁹⁹ The goddess he sought to seduce was but an empty cloud; a symbol of vanity and futility.

Given his deliberate destruction of his own and others' families it is fitting that Ixion is a man effectively without a father. He was clearly unnamed in the epic that lies behind

⁹⁵ Usener, *Götternamen* 35–6, 62, 70–1; Cook, *Zeus* 2.1087–9. Older interpreters also made much of the cloud and the wheel in the sky (weather magic, or Ixion as a sun god, Dia as the moon). Robert (*GH* 12) thinks Dia was eponym of Dion, by which presumably he means the Makedonian city. If Ixion ruled in Gyrtion, in the extreme NE of Thessaly (Strabo 9.5.19), that is not too far off. Robert notes that father-in-law Eioneus was a son of Magnes (Paus. 6.21.11, schol. *Eur. Phoin.* 1760). A masculine eponym might be more expected for a city named Dion (cf. §5.4.1 on the Achaian Dion).

⁹⁶ Pindar's main point: Brillante, 'Ixion'; Brown, 'Pindar on Archilochus' 42.

⁹⁷ On the Centaurs see §1.5 n. 78 and §2.2 on Hek. fr. 18A.

⁹⁸ Schol. *Od.* 21.303, schol. *Eur. Phoin.* 1185.

⁹⁹ Fifth-c. artistic representations show wings on his wheel (*LIMC* nos. 1–2); the first literary source to specify, Ap. Rhod. 3.61–3, says Hades, as do Virgil (*Georg.* 3.337–9, 4.484, *Aen.* 6.601) and others. But Apollodoros, *Epit.* 1.20, keeps him aloft, as do the scholia quoted in n. 98. Did Homer omit him from the list of sinners in *Od.* 11 for this reason?

pherekydes and other early authors. Pindar's commentator (**Pher. fr. 51a**) tells us that pherekydes called him Peision ('Persuader', from *πειθω*), while Aischylos called him Antion ('Suppliant', from *ἀντιάω*).¹⁰⁰ Neither of these names is attested elsewhere in this connection, and they appear to be invented as a reflection of Ixion's hypocritical supplication of Zeus. Euripides (fr. 424, quoted with fr. 51b) made him a son of Phlegyas, appropriately in view of the connotations of fire in the name, and the savagery of the phlegyai (→§10.4). 'Others' according to the Pindaric scholiast predictably said he was a son of Ares. Diodoros (4.69.3) has made Antion a son of Hypseus, and given him Amythaon's daughter as wife; this looks like mythographical tidying-up. Hypseus and Amythaon, as Thessalians, are at least in the right part of the world; so was Phlegyas, and so are the Lapiths with whom Ixion is so closely connected.

Ixion's story is related briefly in fr. 51b. A textual problem intervenes. The story proper is introduced in the MSS by *φησί*, referring to Pherekydes, who has just been quoted for the genealogy; but the genealogy contradicts that in fr. 51a. Agreement can be restored on the very probable assumption that Aischylos' name, and perhaps others, have fallen out in fr. 51b; but in that case, as Jacoby says, the verb that introduces the story was unlikely to have been *φησί* but *φασί*; the corruption occurred after the name(s) dropped out. Also with two or more names *φησὶ δέ* ought to be *φησὶ δὲ οὗτος* or *ἐκεῖνος* if the meaning is to be clear. With *φασί*, the authority for this version of the story is unknown; it could be Pherekydes, Aischylos, or an amalgam. However, the point in fr. 51b about the madness of Ixion after his first crime is attested specifically for Pherekydes in fr. 51a, which is encouraging. It recurs in schol. *D. Il.* 1.268; we may suppose the Erinyes were involved (cf. Aisch. fr. 92a and Pher. fr. 175; →§1.8.6). Pindar, however (*Pyth.* 2.26), spoke of Ixion's madness in attempting Hera; the madness of wickedness therefore, rather than the insanity induced by blood guilt. The interpretation is shared by schol. *Od.* 21.303 and Lucian, *Dial. deor.* 9.2.¹⁰¹ Of course, Aischylos might well have made use of the madness of Ixion in his drama, as in the *Eumenides*, and Pherekydes might have got the idea from him.

In **Andr. fr. 21**, there is a quotation from 'Sophokles' in the *Perrhaibides*, which is probably a mistake for Aischylos (frr. 184–6a). The quotation appears to refer to a

¹⁰⁰ Welcker, *Die äschylische Trilogie Prometheus* 549. Wilamowitz's suggestion that Peision was a dialect form of Teision (one who would 'pay' a penalty; the Penitent), quoted by Robert *GH* 13 and Jacoby on fr. 51, was on his instructions not reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften* 5.1.263. Peision occurs as a historical name six times between the 4th and 1st cc. in Corinth, Thasos (u.v.), Kyrene, Phokis, and perhaps Attica (*LPGN* 1, 2, 3A, 3B). Antion occurs three times in the Argolid in the late 5th and 4th cc., four times in Boiotia in the 3rd and 2nd (*LPGN* 3B). 'Persuader' might refer as much, or more, to his attempted seduction as to his supplication.

¹⁰¹ The Homeric scholion ends 'the story is in Pindar'; for once we can compare the *historia* with the original, and the distance between them is worrying for those who would think such subscriptions reliable.

criminal of some sort, and the papyrus' editor thought Ixion might be the subject. The Perrhaiboi (*Il.* 2.749) were driven from their home near Mt Olympos by Ixion, according to Strabo 9.5.19 (cf. l. 6 of the papyrus, and *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 218). Homer puts the Perrhaiboi near Dodona; though his indications are confused, this location relates well to the tradition that the Thessalians were originally at home west of the Pindos. Knowing that the Thessalians had not yet migrated into Thessaly, Homer (who avoids this kind of anachronism) does not mention them in his poems. Andron discussed the emigration of Tektaphos from Thessaly in fr. 16b (→§9.1).

To conclude this Thessalian section, some geographical fragments. The tetrads were mentioned by **Hellānikos** (fr. 52). According to tradition the four quarters of the Thessalian confederacy and its constitution were the achievement of Aleuas the Red, founder of the Aleuad dynasty (Arist. fr. 497; Plut. *Mor.* 492a–b), whom Helly dates to about 530 BC.¹⁰² The earliest mention of any of them is in Hekataios *FGrHist* 1 F 133 (Pelasgiotis); Hestiaiotis is named by Herodotos (1.56.3) in connection with the Dorian migration (cf. Andron fr. 16a; →§9.1). Hellānikos is the first to mention all four and, if this fr. comes not from a separate historical work on Thessaly but from the *Deukalioneia*, it might have been attached to a geographical digression, or a passage about Herakles from whom the Aleuadai were descended (Pind. *Pyth.* 10.3–5). For discussion of the tetrads see Decourt, Nielsen, and Helly in *IACP* p. 682, drawing on F. Gschnitzer, *Hermes* 82 (1954) 451–64, and Helly, *L'État thessalien*.

Some cities in Thessaly, Makedonia, and Boiotia are cited from Hellānikos' *Deukalioneia*; of these, Lakereia (Hellān. fr. 10) was discussed in §1.9.2; Aspendos (fr. 15) and Midaëion (fr. 17) will be discussed in §5.2.2; Phemiai (fr. 14) in §5.4.1; Salmos (fr. 16) §5.4.2. There remain:

Thegonion (Hellān. fr. 8). 'Thegonion' is known only here, and is no doubt a corruption of *Θηγώνιον* (*IACP* no. 416). We know nothing about the mythological context, though the eponym was probably a Deukalionid (above, §4.1). *IG* IX.2.257 (=SIG³55, *DGEE* 557) from Thetionion, c.450 BC, enticingly mentions a person named Orestes; some scholars have identified this man with the ruler the Athenians attempted to restore to Pharsalos (Thuc. 1.111; Stählin, *RE* 6A.1.242–3). But this man's eponymous ancestor, if he was that, is a long way in the genealogical tree from Deukalion, so has no obvious place in Hellānikos' book on his progeny.

Misgomenai (Hellān. fr. 9). *IACP* p. 679. Otherwise unknown.

'*Spalathra*' (Hellān. fr. 201). *IACP* no. 458; Stählin, *RE* 3A.1.1260. Whatever the variants in Stephanos' MSS, the proper name of the city is Spalauthra (neuter plural) as inscriptions attest; a Magnesian city. The mythological context is unknown.

¹⁰² *L'État thessalien* 189; cf. J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity* 140.

§5

AIOLIDAI

§5.1 Introduction

WHO were the Aioliāns? The possibility that they were mentioned in a Linear B tablet at Knossos unfortunately cannot be confirmed,¹ so our first clear evidence comes from the archaic period. According to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, the sons and daughters of Aiolos may be found in cities and regions throughout Thessaly and central Greece, with offshoots in the western Peloponnese and the Isthmus. The sons rule cities and regions, the daughters marry or give birth to such rulers, and their husbands or sons in all cases acquire Aioliān affiliation.² Thessaly is their particular homeland (*Hdt.* 7.176.4, *Diod.* 4.67.2, *Paus.* 10.8.4), whence the Boiotians believed they had emigrated. Aitolia, as we have seen in §4, has difficulty maintaining its independence in the face of relentless Aioliān creep, and one can understand the view, possibly originating with Ephoros, that everything outside the Isthmus (Megarians, Athenians and the Dorians around Parnassos excepted) was Aioliān.³ According to universal Greek tradition the Aioliāns migrated eastwards to colonize Lesbos and other islands and the northern seaboard of Asia Minor after the Trojan War (→§19.4). Links in cult and calendar exist between Thessaly and Boiotia, and among the Asiatic cities; some of these overlap.⁴ The Pylian amphiktion was a Thessalian/Aioliān entity at the heart of the developing Hellenic ethnos (→§4.1). Tensions naturally existed within this grouping, and other allegiances might assert themselves (Boiotian, for instance). *Prima facie*, however, there appears to be an ethnic identity here, even if it did not drive the great political events of the fifth century BC in the same way that the Dorian/Ionian divide did.

Nonetheless one must guard against facile conclusions. Unlike Ionia, the archaeological evidence for the arrival of a new population in Anatolia in the Protogeometric period is weak.⁵ The literary evidence is clearer, however, and may be thought sufficient

¹ KN Ws 1707, where the reading *a₃-wo-re-u-si* is not quite certain (Jorro, *DMic.* 1.141); the word would appear to denote a band of mercenaries of uncertain origin.

² See the maps in West, *HCW* 61, 140; cf. Blakely, *BNJ* on Konon, *Dieg.* 27.

³ Strabo 8.1.2; see Jacoby, introduction to *FGrHist* 301.

⁴ Trümper, *Monatsnamen* 216–52, 285.

⁵ Rose, 'Separating Fact from Fiction in the Aioliān Migration'. Rose argues radically that the migration myth is a later fabrication.

to offset the doubt raised by the archaeology (which of itself cannot be decisive, since ethnicity does not have to be marked by material culture). There is first of all Hesiod's 'Aiolian Kyme' (*Op.* 636), whence his father came. The aristocratic Penthelidai were prominent in early sixth-century Lesbos (Alk. fr. 70.6, 469, 472); they are represented as being superior in prestige to the family of Pittakos. Thus a high-ranking, if not the highest-ranking, Lesbian clan affirmed its descent from Orestes. An important sanctuary is home to the 'famous Aiolian goddess, universal mother' in Alk. fr. 129. The primeval ruler of the island, Makar, has been turned into a son of Aiolos in *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 37 (cf. Paus. 10.38.4). The Aiolian league of Asia Minor was at least a sixth-century foundation (Hdt. 1.149–51);⁶ the trouble in the mid-sixth century at 'Aiolian Smyrna' (Mimn. fr. 9) was preceded by perhaps a century of contestation over this city on the edge of the Ionian league. Although during the fifth century the stories of the migration were elaborated and shaped with a view to staking a place in the pan-Hellenic consciousness (or a more immediate political environment such as the Delian League), the archaic ethnos did exist; as with the Ionians, one can go too far in pushing the retrospective-invention line. If Aiolian identity was strongest in Asia Minor, or even first formed there,⁷ it was avowed also on the mainland from the mid-archaic period, as the important evidence of the *Catalogue of Women* shows. There is also the history of the Homeric *Kunstsprache*, which started on the mainland and moved across the Aegean, undergoing an Aiolian phase before reaching its final, Ionic-inflected shape;⁸ this history must reflect the movements of bards, and matches the pedigree of the legends—that is, created on the mainland and migrated east, where they developed further. It is hard to deny the basic thrust of all this and accept that many people of the northern Asia Minor seaboard were descended from post-Mycenaean emigrants. This scenario does not preclude retrospective bolstering of the stories as the sense of ethnicity grew stronger.

Finally, a common dialect has traditionally been thought to be a feature of the Aiolian ethnos, comprising the speech of the Asia Minor Aiolians, Thessalians, the Magnetes, the Perrhaiboi, and the Boiotians. This too has been contested.⁹ Before the age of mass communication, however, movement of language implies some kind of sustained contact between people, and some kind of movement; if only the ruling class moves (as in the Norman conquest of England) the resulting changes have a different character. Although the quest for the dialect map of c.2000 BC is pointless in the present state of

⁶ For the light possibly shed on this by a new 3rd-c. Thessalian inscription, see R. Parker, *ZPE* 177 (2011) 115–16; he tentatively concludes that the league was centred in the Troad, perhaps at Assos.

⁷ J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity* 71–3. On the Aiolis see also Rubinstein in *IACP* pp. 1033–6; Gschnitzer, *BNP* s.v. Aeolians [2]; Mele, 'Aiolos e gli Aiolidai'; Brancaccio, 'Aioleis, Aiolos, Aiolidai'.

⁸ Hackstein, 'The Greek of Epic' 402. The 'Aiolian phase' might have existed alongside an Ionian tradition before merging into the epic dialect as we know it.

⁹ H. M. Parker, 'The Linguistic Case for the Aiolian Migration Reconsidered'. See now Colvin, 'Greek Dialects' 205, 209–10.

knowledge, reconstruction from the late Bronze Age on is possible in general outline, and where other evidence points to a west–east movement we may side with Greek tradition and place the onus of proof on those who would deny it.¹⁰ The acknowledged fact that language does not define ethnicity and vice versa means, first, that the West Greek elements in Boiotian and West Thessalian dialects, picked up from their neighbours, would not necessarily dilute the ethnic sense, and second, that shared archaisms or common morphological choices among peoples also linked by cults, myths, and geography, if either numerous or unusual compared to everyone else's choice (for instance, *īa=μῑα*), could have been *perceived* as part of the ethnic make-up by the speakers of these dialects even if in strict dialectal terms they do not prove the unity of the group.

However that may be, the inability of linguists to agree on the map of Bronze Age Greece looks to the outsider like the inability of Analysts to agree on the layers of Homer: something is wrong with the paradigm—or if the paradigm is right, the evidence is simply not there to apply it. Rose well writes (420–1):

Throughout the Iron Age and Archaic period, there would have been centuries of interaction between Greek-speaking communities and the settlements of western Asia Minor, in which trade, intermarriage, and territorial conflict played a part; but the culture in most, perhaps all, of the Aiolian/Ionian cities would have been a continually changing blend of Luwian, Lydian, Phrygian, and Greek. One witnesses the same kind of gradual cultural interaction in the western and southern Mediterranean during the Roman Republic, where Punic, Nuragic, and Berber traditions, among others, coexisted with those of Rome.

Many things can change the face of a dialect, in the course of a very brief period of time; after centuries of development for which we have no contemporary evidence in the form of inscriptions the original map must surely be beyond the recovery of even the most sophisticated cladistics. In such circumstances the only safe course is to focus on the history of later representations rather than the history of what is represented, while acknowledging that the former cannot exist without the latter.

§5.2 Makedonia and Thessaly

§5.2.1 MAKEDON (Hellan. fr. 74)

Makedon, eponym of the Makedonians, was son of Aiolos according to **Hellan. fr. 74**; the Makedonians are said to be the only people 'at that time' to be cohabiting with the Mysians. To take the genealogy first, the relation of the Makedonians to the Greeks was in classical times a contentious topic.¹¹ Alexander I convinced the Olympic officials that

¹⁰ *Contra* Parker see García-Ramón, *Les Origines post-mycénienes du groupe dialectal éolien*, Ruijgh, *Scripta minora* 1.667–9; Trümper, *Monatsnamen* 287.

¹¹ See J. M. Hall, 'Contested Ethnicities' for an overview; Asirvatham, 'The Roots of Macedonian Ambiguity'.

he was truly Hellenic, and so could compete in the games (Hdt. 5.22, Thuc. 2.99.3); their view carried much weight, but the point is he had to argue the case. Their pronouncement did not prevent Thrasymachos of Chalkedon (Vors. 85 B 2) or, famously, Demosthenes (9.31, 19.327) from roundly declaring them to be barbarians. Isokrates (Phil. 107–8) grants the Makedonian royalty Hellenic status but denies it to the people; elsewhere in his work the Makedonians seem to hover between Greek and barbarian (19.154). So different views were possible. Hellanikos' genealogy makes them impeccably Aiolian, so his view was clear; it recurs in Eust. on Dionys. Per. 427 and the scholia on the same passage (where *Αἰακοῦ* should probably be emended to *Αἰόλου*). In Hdt. 1.56.3 and 8.43, which appear to associate Dorians and Makedonians, *Μακεδνός* is usually taken as synonymous with *Μακεδών*, but this is problematic linguistically.¹² It is a unique ethnonym surviving in the tradition of the Dorian wanderings (→§9.1); if it has to do with Makedonians it is Herodotos' personal invention, in a theory attempting to reconcile the conflicting data available to him.¹³ The *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 7), by contrast, makes Makedon and Magnes, eponym of the Magnesians, sons of Thyia, daughter of Deukalion, which is to render the connection with Hellen oblique, while still acknowledging it.¹⁴ Ps.-Skymnos 620 removes him even further from the genealogical pale, making him earthborn.

¹² LGPN offers no examples of Makednos as a proper name anywhere, and there is no satisfactory way of accounting etymologically for the ν; see L. Gindin in *Ancient Macedonia* 3.103–6. In Apollod. Bibl. 3.97 Makednos is one of Lykaon's sons; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ῥωπός* transfers this man northward, and Aelian NA 10.48 makes him father of Pindos; though someone might conceivably have linked Arkadians to transient Dorians for unknown reasons, I take the form 'Makedon' and the location in Macedonia in these passages to be simple mistakes (the same confusion is found in Hdt.'s manuscripts). Beekes, *Etym. Dict.* s.v. *μακεδνός*, is more hospitable to the equation with *Μακεδών* but has no parallel.

¹³ J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 62–4; Gindin (last note). 'Pindos' in these passages, particularly 8.43, seems to be the polis in Doris (IACP no. 389), but even so Hdt. might have thought the two were connected. See §9.1.

¹⁴ Fowler, 'Genealogical Thinking' 14. Notwithstanding Sourvinou-Inwood's criticism in 'Greek Perceptions of Ethnicity' and *Hylas* ch. 2 this assessment is correct. Sourvinou-Inwood especially contests J. M. Hall's idea that ancestry is the defining characteristic of ethnicity. She argues that other factors such as language and religion (Hall's 'indicia') are all defining characteristics which interrelate in complex ways, and that in different contexts different characteristics may predominate. These factors are of course relevant, but the point is that in Greece, as soon as they are strong enough to induce a sense of ethnic identity, an ancestry must eventually follow. Hellen is historically a latecomer; the various pre-existing genealogies had to be adjusted to accommodate him, a process more difficult in some cities than others, and in all cases posing the problem of how to consider those who came before Hellen as Hellenes. One can see the genealogies changing over time; the fact that it happens proves the point. That the Arkadians resisted longest tells us something about them—or about our paucity of sources for them after their king Echemos, who (NB) repelled the first attempt of the Herakleidai to return. The notion of 'Greek by convention' is a late development to cope with the incommensurability of the genealogies, so that those who had no connection with Hellen could be Greek anyway. To privilege ancestry is not a 'culturally determined' or 'common-sense' judgement but reflects Greek practice as attested by hundreds of texts. Sourvinou-Inwood is herself more open to her charge, when she writes 'It is preferable to use a more neutral concept, such as "defining characteristics", all of which should be assumed to be liable to manipulation, especially to being privileged or underprivileged in certain contexts, and which operate in interaction with each other' (*Hylas* 27). This assumes the conclusion at the outset of the discussion, and the conceptual framework is more modern than ancient.

Regarding the Mysians, it appears that a claim is being made here of a Makedonian origin as it was for the Phrygians (below on Hellan. fr. 17); schol. T on *Il.* 13.5 betrays such a view. Ancient scholars debating the location of the Mysians in that verse were clear that they lived in Europe (see the passages assembled by Erbse ad loc.); they might have been identical with the later Moesi (BNP s.v.), whose home stretched along the lower Danube westwards across the top of Macedonia. (Herodotos is thinking of Asiatic Mysians when he relates them to Lydians and Karians at 1.171.6 and 7.74.2.) 'At that time' will denote the time of the unknown priestess under discussion in the part of the book from which this fragment comes. 'Only' could contrast with the Mysians' later situation, when, spread over larger distances, they lived in proximity to numerous folk either side of the Propontis.

§5.2.2 MIDAEION AND ASPENDOS (Hellan. fr. 17, 15)

Jacoby suggested that the connection of Midaieion with Midas' capital in Phrygia (Hellan. fr. 17) might have been made in the *Deukalioneia* by way of Macedonia, as Makedon was son of Aiolos in Hellan. fr. 74; links were drawn between the Makedonian tribe Briges and the Phrygians from at least classical times (Hdt. 8.138.2), and Justin 7.1.11 even makes Midas a king in Edessa.¹⁵ A less likely possibility is that Hellanikos drew a link with Mideia in Boiotia (*Il.* 2.507; Strabo 9.2.35; Steph. Byz. s.v.). Midas himself he synchronized with Terpandros (*FGrHist* 4 F 85), so this brings us into the historical period.¹⁶

On Aspendos (Hellan. fr. 15) A. Keen and T. Fischer-Hansen write (IACP no. 1001):

According to Hellan. fr. 15, Aspendos was founded by the hero Aspendos. Other versions of the foundation myth are found in later sources: e.g. that it was an Argive foundation (Strabo 14.2.2). However, Mopsos, the legendary founder of Pamphylian cities (cf. Hereward (1958)¹⁷ 58 with refs.), has been suggested as the oecist of Aspendos too (Robert (1960)¹⁸ 177–8, who connects the coin types of a horseman hurling a spear and of a boar . . . with the tradition of Mopsos' sacrifice of a boar to Aphrodite Kastnietis in Aspendos; cf. Strabo 9.5.17; Callim. *Dieg.* VIII.41–IX.1–11, Pfeiffer [1.198]).

Strabo notes the existence of this rare sacrifice also in Onthyrrion, which was near Arne and formed part of Metropolis in Thessaly (IACP no. 403; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ὀνθύριον* = Rhianos *FGrHist* 265 F 24). We have Mopsos also in Hellan. fr. 14 (below, p. 186), and these two facts might not be unrelated; Jacoby speculated that Hellanikos might have got from the Thessalian to the Pamphylian Mopsos somehow at this point in his

¹⁵ Cf. Hammond, *History of Macedonia* 1.302–5, 407–14; Càssola, 'Rapporti tra Greci e Frigi al tempo di Mida' 137–9.

¹⁶ S. Berndt-Ersöz, *Historia* 57 (2008) 10.

¹⁷ D. Hereward, 'Inscriptions from Pamphylia and Isauria', *JHS* 78 (1958) 57–77, esp. p. 64.

¹⁸ L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12 (Paris, 1960). See further Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes* 232. *Contra* Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter* 204–10.

Deukalioneia.¹⁹ There was also a tradition that Aspendos was founded by Polypoites and Leonteus (*Il.* 2.740, 745, 12.129–30; *Eust. Il.* 334.29), Lapiths like Mopsos.

§5.2.3 MYRMIDON, ERSYCHTHON, AND TRIOPS (*Hell.* fr. 7, 122)

Hell. fr. 7 indicates that Hellanikos told the story of Erysichthon and his ravenous hunger.²⁰ His nickname for him, Aithon, is found already in the *Cat.* (fr. 43(a) 37), cf. *Lykoph. Alex.* 1396 and Achaïos' satyr-play *Aithon* (*TrGF* 20 FF 5a–11); it is an epithet of hunger in poetry.²¹ Possibly Hellanikos also told of Erysichthon's disreputable treatment of his daughter Mestra, but the story of the offence against Demeter (which is sometimes transferred to Triopas: *Diod.* 5.61.1, *Hyg. Astr.* 2.14) could have had a separate existence in some contexts.

In fr. 7 the father of Erysichthon is Myrmidon (also *Ael. VH* 1.27), eponym of Achilleus' Myrmidons, a son of Zeus and one Eurymedousa according to Eratosthenes;²² Eratosthenes says she was a daughter of *Κλήτωρ*, i.e. *Κλείτωρ*, which is not an Aiolian name so far as we know, but exclusively Arkadian (perhaps adopted because of that region's associations with primeval times). More relevantly Myrmidon marries Peisidike daughter of Aiolos according to *Apollod.* 1.52, and is grandfather of the Argonaut Aithalides in *Ap. Rhod.* 1.54. Such connections would warrant him a place in Book 1 of the *Deukalioneia*. 'Triops', however, is the father in **Hell.** fr. 122, as in *Kallim. Hymn* 6.31–2, 96–100, *Ov. Met.* 8.751, *schol. Lykoph.* 1393.²³ Perhaps fr. 122 came from a different work, and Hellanikos was not consistent in his genealogy; or more probably, the first part of the entry in *Stephanos* is not from Hellanikos.

The story of Triops is firmly located in the Dotion plain (*Kallim. Hymn* 6.24; *Diod.* 5.61.1); his usual genealogy as the son of Poseidon and Kanake is impeccably Aiolian (*Kallim. Hymn* 6.99, *Diod.* 5.61, *Apollod.* 1.53, and probably also *Hes. Cat.*: Gantz 169).

¹⁹ The relationship is indeed a puzzle. The younger Mopsos was son of Manto, daughter of Teiresias. If Hellanikos made the two Mopsoi grandfather and grandson, as Jacoby speculates, it would have to be by way of Manto's human husband, a son of the first Mopsos (the divine husband being Apollo). The only one known is Rhakios, the Cretan settler of Kolophon (→ §19.2.2). For the younger Mopsos see §18.5.2 on *Pher.* fr. 142.

²⁰ For the details of the story, best known from *Kallim. Hymn* 6 and *Ov. Met.* 8.738–878, see Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung* 2.34–44, Hopkinson, *Hymn to Demeter* 8–31, and Gantz 68–9, 174–5. Further references in Ambühl, *Kinder und junge Helden* 160–1; see also Henrichs, "Thou Shalt Not Kill a Tree". Antimachos might have told it in his *Lyde*: see Matthews on fr. 85. Palaiphatos 23 gives his own version. Detailed discussion in N. Robertson, 'The Ritual Background of the Erysichthon Story', who links the myth to ritual begging in various cities, especially Athens, where the *Catalogue* now places Mestra (fr. 43(a) 66–7). See further Müller, *Erysichthon*, esp. 65–76; I. Rutherford, 'Mestra at Athens'; C. Faraone, *ClAnt* 23 (2004) 228.

²¹ *Epigr. ap. Aischin. Ktes.* 184; *Kallim. Hymn* 6.67; suppl. in *Hes. fr.* 43(a) 6; cf. *αἰθωψ* *Hes. Op.* 363 with West.

²² *Ap. Serv.* on *Verg. Aen.* 2.7 and *ap. Clem. Al. Protr.* 39.6 p. 30.1–3 Stählin (cf. *schol.* p. 309.4–6).

²³ The form varies from source to source. Triopas predominates; in *Hell.* fr. 137, we have also 'Triopes', but it is unsafe to attribute that to him as well as Triops (he is cited in fr. 137 for the mother's name Rhode). For the history of Rhodes including the story of Tlepolemos see §§9.1, 19.3.

But he is also at home on the Knidian peninsula and in Argos. It is clear that the Dorian hexapolis associated him with their cult headquarters on Cape Triopion (*Hdt.* 1.144; see Asheri ad loc., *IACP* p. 1124); in Pausanias' day the Knidians considered him their first founder (10.11.1, statue at Delphi). He is son of Helios and Rhodos in *Diod.* 5.56.5 and *Hell.* fr. 137 ('Rhode'); he is father of Phorbas, one of the founders of Rhodes, in *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 211 and Polyzelos *FGrHist* 521 F 7 (cf. also Dieuchidas *FGrHist* 485 F 7).²⁴ He has associations also with Kos: *schol. Theok.* 17.68 makes him king there, and father of Merops who is the eponym of their primeval people; his granddaughter Mestra gave birth to Eurypylos of Kos by Poseidon, *Hes. fr.* 43(a) 55–8 (cf. *Il.* 2.677). *Diodoros* (5.57.6) reports the chauvinistic idea that Triopas actually settled Karia. The Argive Triopas is known from *Hell.* fr. 36b (see §7.1.2); in Argos, Phorbas is rather the father (e.g. *Paus.* 2.16.1, 4.1.1, *schol. Eur. Or.* 932). Wilamowitz loc. cit. took the eponymous relation with Triopion to be primary, but the association with Thessaly is also clearly old tradition. The links between the hexapolis and pre-Dorian Thessaly on the one hand, and Dorian Argos on the other, are paralleled in other stories (→ §19) and were of equal valency in the ethnic consciousness of the eastern Dorians. Some links will have been retrospectively forged but not necessarily all.

§5.2.4 KAINEUS (*Akous.* fr. 22)

Kaineus²⁵ is first mentioned in Homer, *Il.* 1.264, as one of a band of Thessalian warriors who fought the 'beasts of the mountains', i.e. Centaurs (cf. 2.743, *Od.* 21.295); Nestor declares never since to have seen the like of such champions. Though a great warrior, Kaineus is not said here to be invulnerable; if Homer knew this detail, it is the sort of thing he would suppress.²⁶ *Hes. Scut.* 178–90 presents a similar portrait; in that passage, the crude weapons of the Centaurs are contrasted with the Lapiths' arsenal of worked metal and wood, including pinewood (Kaineus' father Elatos is 'pine-man'). The battle of Lapiths and Centaurs is a favourite with Greek artists in all media, and Kaineus is one of the earliest mythological figures who can be confidently identified in Greek art.²⁷ That he is often portrayed without a shield implicitly acknowledges his invulnerability, which in literary sources after Akousilaos is first implied by Pindar (fr. 128f) when he refers to the unique manner of his death. In art, the contrast of the Hesiodic *Shield*

²⁴ Polyzelos also makes Myrmidon Triopas' father-in-law.

²⁵ Forbes Irving, *Metamorphosis* 155–62; Gantz 278–81; Decourt, 'Caïnis-Caïneus'; Waldner, *Geburt und Hochzeit* 51–81; Muth, *Gewalt im Bild* 427–57; D'Angour, 'The Transformations of Kaineus'; Bremmer, 'A Body in Transition'.

²⁶ Griffin, 'The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer'.

²⁷ On a bronze relief dating to the third quarter of the 7th c. BC: LIMC Kaineus no. 61. He is one of the Kalydonian Boarhunters in Stesich. *PMGF* 222 (identified as 'Eilatides'); see Schade ad loc. (*Stesichoros* 13, 28–9). He is father of the Argonaut Koronos (e.g. *Ap. Rhod.* 1.57–64). For Kaineus in art see also Padgett, *The Centaur's Smile* 15–16.

between the Centaurs wielding trees and boulders, and the Lapiths' conventional weapons is also common, for instance on the François Vase of about 570 BC (*LIMC* Kaineus no. 67). The *casus belli* familiar from the later vulgate²⁸—the wedding of Peirithoos at which the drunken Centaurs tried to ravish the bride Hippodameia—is the context of another fragment of Pindar (166); in Homer, by contrast, a lengthier campaign seems to be envisaged, in which, however, the wedding might have played a part (he does not mention it, but he does mention Hippodameia; at *Od.* 21.295–8, wine leads to 'wicked deeds' in the host's house).

In his death, buried vertically in the ground (Pindar's ὀρθῶ ποδί stresses this), and in his fetishizing of his spear, Kaineus becomes almost literally identified with it. The metamorphosis of Kaineus is attested for the *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 87; 'Kainis' is the name of the woman), although some doubt must attach to the list of authorities at the outset of Phlegon's account. Akousilaos thus becomes the earliest secure reference to the sex-change; in him, as in other accounts, the relationship between the war(s) with the Centaurs, the wedding (which he does not mention), and the death of Kaineus is not entirely clear. The death of Kaineus is part of a general Centauromachy on the François Vase; in Akousilaos, we are told only that he fought with the Centaurs after becoming king of the Lapiths (this perhaps implies the extended campaign of Homer), and then, as a consequence of his setting up his spear in the agora and ordering the people to worship it,²⁹ that Zeus sent the Centaurs against him in a separate action. The story is mentioned by Theophrastos in the papyrus by way of illustrating the difference between 'ruling by sceptre' and 'ruling by spear'; the author of the papyrus obliges us with the excerpt from Akousilaos.³⁰

Several features of Akousilaos' version stand out. One is that the transformation from woman to man does not follow, as in Hes. fr. 87 and elsewhere (e.g. Kallim. fr. 577, Apollod. *Epit.* 1.22), on Kainis' clever request, when Poseidon offered to grant any wish

²⁸ e.g. Diod. Sic. 4.70.3–4 (with an unusual continuation), Ov. *Met.* 12.210 ff., Apollod. *Epit.* 1.21; cf. Plut. *Thes.* 30.3–4, quoting Herod. fr. 27, in whom (says Plutarch) Theseus arrived after the outbreak of hostilities; Herodorus' *casus belli* is thus, strictly speaking, unknown. See also §16.3.4.

²⁹ For these details see schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.57–64a, schol. D. Il. 1.264 (also represented in the *Mythographus* Homericus: van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* 280).

³⁰ Both motifs, invulnerability and worshipping of a weapon, can be paralleled in Indo-European myth: see West, *IEPM* 445, 464. For invulnerability, see McCartney, 'Longevity and Rejuvenation' 53–4; Berthold, *Die Unverwundbarkeit*; Frazer on Apollod. *Epit.* 1.22; Buxton, 'The Myth of Talos' 98–9; Hansen, *AT* 481–9; Bremmer, 'A Body in Transition'. Aias in one odd story did not commit suicide, but was killed by the Trojans; being invulnerable, they had to bury him in mud, rather like Kaineus (hypoth. Soph. Ai.; Sophron fr. 31). For the spear, in addition to Mezentius (*divum contemptor*) and Turnus in Virgil and Capaneus in Statius (*te solam superum contemptor adoro*, *Th.* 9.550) whom West cites, one may note also Parthenopaios in Aisch. *Sept.* 529–32 and Idas in Ap. Rhod. 1.466–70; there is also Alexander of Pherai, a most violent ruler, who according to Plut. *Pel.* 29.8 garlanded the spear with which he had killed his uncle, sacrificed to it, and named it Tychon. D'Angour, 'The Transformations of Kaineus', argues that Kaineus' name is related to Hebrew *qayin* 'spear', so that he is literally Spearman (like Cain); he draws a link to Greek imitation of Near Eastern metalwork in the Geometric period.

in return for intercourse, that she be made an invulnerable man. Rather, Akousilaos says, it was not ἱερὸν that she³¹ should have children by him or anybody else; the implication is that she conceived, as one would expect from any union with a god, and Poseidon then effected the change in order to prevent the consequences. We seem to have an unusual usage of the phrase οὐχ ἱερὸν to mean the same as οὐ θέμις or οὐχ ὀσιον, not permitted by divine law and custom.³² 'Not sacred' could refer to something associated with a sanctuary, and perhaps in the fuller version of the story lying behind Akousilaos, there was such a connection, either with a prohibition against sexual intercourse, or with virgin priestesses.³³ A ritual connection could also be implied by the prominent *εἴμα* in the closing lines, which suggests a hero-cult at a tomb.³⁴

We know nothing about specific connections for this myth, but general links with the mythology and ritual of maturation are clear. Comparison with the transformation of Lykippos at Phaistos (explicitly aetiological), and with the unmasking of Achilles among the girls on Skyros is apt.³⁵ Like Achilles, Kaineus must be the most male of males; that he was once so feminine as to attract a god's attention is part of the myth's logic: from one extreme to the other. The sexual connotations of the hard spear and the impenetrable male are clear. There is a tension of desirability and unattainability; the youth both should and should not yield. Similarly in stories of maidens, the girl's losing her virginity is a tragedy, but a necessary one if the founding hero is to be born. 'Marriage is for the girl what war is for the boy.'³⁶ The myths promote suitable adult behaviour in

³¹ Thus Deubner, emending the *αὐτοῖς* of the papyrus, all but inevitable in view of the following οὐτ' ἐξ ἐκείνου οὐτ' ἐξ ἄλλου οὐδενός.

³² See Krauss, 'i-je-ro and Related Terms' for a recent discussion of the meaning of ἱερὸν; Burkert, *GR* 269 with references; R. Parker, *Miasma* 151, 328–31. Attempts to introduce ἔπος by emendation (e.g. οὐκ ἦεν αὐτῇ; πρὸς or ἐς ἔρον παῖδας τεκέν dub. Maas, *Kl. Schr.* 65) yield doubtful Greek and no more satisfactory sense.

³³ Waldner, *Geburt und Hochzeit des Kriegers* 64 (sexual intercourse); Bremmer, 'A Body in Transition' and 'Transvestite Dionysus' 189–91 (virgin priestess). Cf. the mythology of Auge (→§8.5.2).

³⁴ Rather than a cult of his spear, for which see Nilsson *GGR* 1.209, 853; M. Delcourt, 'La légende de Kaineus' 144–5; A. Alföldi, *AJA* 63 (1959) 23–5. I do not understand Kakridis' objection against Rohde (*Psyche* 1.115, quoting passages such as Ap. Rhod. 1.59, Orphic. *Argon.* 174, Agatharch. *De mari Erythr.* 7 where it is stressed that Kaineus 'still alive' was pounded into the earth) that, because Akous. says Kaineus died, he could not have a hero-cult; most heroes did die. Elare is pushed into the earth for a different reason in Pher. fr. 55 (→§1.9.1).

³⁵ Cf. also Burkert, *The Creation of the Sacred* 77. The myth of Leukippos (the aition for the Ekdysia at Phaistos) is recounted by Ant. Lib. *Met.* 17 (= Nik. fr. 45 Schneider) who also lists several other examples of sex-change: Teiresias (→§12), Hypermetra (= Mestra, above, p. 158), and the Cretan Siproites, who had seen Artemis bathing (and so became a woman; further instances of this quoted by Papatomopoulos on Antoninus, loc. cit.). The comic possibilities of the myth were exploited by Araros and Antiphanes in plays entitled 'Kaineus' (*PCG* 2.369, 526). Forbes Irving, *Metamorphosis* 158–9, also stresses the contrast of extreme femininity and masculinity in the myth, though he is sceptical of any connection with actual initiation rituals. Bremmer, 'Transvestite Dionysos' 191–3, writes (192): 'The myth [of Achilles] . . . probably goes back to times when ecstatic warriors, whose insensitivity to wounds was represented in myth as invulnerability, were still operating in Greece.' Unfortunately it cannot be shown that the myth of Achilles' invulnerability was early; see Gantz 625–7 and Burgess, *The Death and Afterlife of Achilles* 8–15 for evidence and arguments.

³⁶ Vernant, *Myth and Society* 23.

both these spheres. The woman cannot refuse her role as a bride and mother, and the man must take his place as a warrior. In the case of the Kaineus myth, there is also a negative exemplum. However much one might admire his prowess, it is so extreme that it no longer defends, but rather undoes all social and sacred order. Kaineus, whose name Greeks would have understood as 'Killer', is ironically defeated by the very forces of savagery he once sought to vanquish, the Centaurs, who use their primitive clubs and rocks against him. But in death (if there was a cult) he is honoured, replicating the common pattern of the transgressing hero compensated after his destruction.³⁷

§5.3 Sons (etc.) of Aiolos

§5.3.1 NELEUS AND NESTOR (Hek. fr. 5; Hellan. fr. 123–4; Pher. fr. 117–18)

The stories of relations between Thessaly and Boiotia arise through their common Aiolian status, and some will have a large retrospective element (like the myth of the Dorians' 'return' to the Peloponnese); but the connections are many and old, so that one must at least admit the strength of conviction behind them, and if anywhere in Greece one is inclined to accept some historical truth to the traditions here. We may at least believe that they bespeak many interactions and some sense of kinship going back to a time before our literary record begins. About the stories linking Thessaly to Elis and Triphylian Pylos, one may perhaps be more sceptical, as too about those connecting the Minyans of Boiotia with those of Arkadia, which arose from the existence of towns named Orchomenos in both regions. Some real prehistoric links no doubt existed, but many stories moved around and were appropriated in various ways by different cities; poets and mythographers trying to make sense of the inherited conglomerate then created further links.³⁸

In the case of Neleus, a three-way link was forged between Thessaly, Arkadian Minyans, and Elis. The story begins with the exposure of Neleus and his twin brother Pelias, a sentence of which is quoted from **Hellan. fr. 123**. The fragment is quoted merely for the meaning of the word *πελιός* 'livid', which gave Pelias his name; as he lay exposed, a passing mare bruised his face with her hoof and left a permanent mark. The fragment is one illustration among many of Hellanikos' love of etymology (→Part B), but this one looks to be older than him.³⁹ The rest of the *historia* is transmitted by the Mythographus

³⁷ Pàmias, 'Acusilaus of Argos' explores the implications of an intertext he has noted between Akous. and Hdt. 5.92β where Eetion, father of Kypselos, identified by Herodotos as a descendant of Kaineus, is unable to have children *ἐκ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης*. The birth of a tyrant is stereotypically unusual.

³⁸ For the traditional view (historical ethnic connections) see F. Kiechle, 'Pylos und der pyllische Raum' 38–56; cf. Hiller and Panagl, *Die frühgriechischen Texte aus mykenischer Zeit* 252–5.

³⁹ The story figured in Sophokles' *Tyro*, and the etymology may be as old as the Hesiodic *Catalogue*; the story of Tyro and her children is in fr. 30–3. See also Men. *Epir.* 326–33; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.91 (on the correct reading *χηλῆ*, Commelinus' conjecture accepted by almost all editors, see my note in *GGA* 259 (2008) 144; schol. *Il.* 10.334; Eust. *Od.* 1681.54.

Homerics, on two separate passages of the *Odyssey* (3.4, 11.281). The version in the first case (**Hellan. fr. 124**), where we also have a fragment of the original MH, is very brief, but contains the motifs (i) that Neleus fought with his brother Pelias in Iolkos, and (ii) that he was given his new territory in Messenia freely by the inhabitants. This is also the implication of the neutral expression *λαβὼν παρὰ ἐγχωρίων τὴν Πύλον* in **Pher. fr. 117**.⁴⁰ Neleus' wife in both cases is Chloris daughter of Amphion, as in *Od.* 11 and Hes. fr. 33(a), where Amphion is son of Iasos who ruled in Minyan Orchomenos; hence Pherekydes makes Iasos a grandson of Minyas by an otherwise unknown (and, for a human, uniquely named) daughter Phersephone, presumably inspired in some obscure way by the story of Demeter and Iasos (cf. Paus. 9.36.8, Diod. Sic. 4.68.6; 'Amphion the Theban' says the latter by a confusion that recurs in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.46, Hyg. *Fab.* 10.1). Neleus thus rules not only the Pylians but the people of Minyan Orchomenos. Strabo (8.3.19) also says that Minyans came with Chloris to region of the 'Minyan river' in Elis; this was between (Triphylian) Pylos and the Alpheios (*Il.* 11.722). Another Iasos, son of the Arkadian Lykourgos (Pher. fr. 158: →§2.4) and brother of Amphidamas (cf. 'Amphion'), marries a daughter of Minyas (result, Atalante).

The Thessaly/Elis side of the triangle seems stronger. A place-name Salmone in Pisatis (*IACP* p. 492) makes Salmoneus look native there; but tradition makes him emigrate from Thessaly, like Neleus. Both Thessaly and Elis have rivers Enipeus (the river associated with Tyro) and Peneios (and Larisos divided Elis and Achaia). But Salmone is also one form of the name for Crete's easternmost promontory (*RE* no. 3); the name is perhaps pre-Greek, and if found in more than one place could encourage competing localizations of stories. The uncertainty about Pylos' location undermines confidence in the reliability of the tradition.

The *historia* in **Pher. fr. 118** is drawn from *Il.* 11.670–761 which, if the scholion reports the entirety of what Pherekydes wrote, has been severely abbreviated and somewhat rearranged. In the *Iliad* Nestor takes part in a raid on the Eleians-Epeians in revenge for injuries inflicted when the Pylians were much weakened after Herakles killed all Nestor's brothers; Homer implies, as Pherekydes states, Neleus' reluctance to respond. In Pherekydes the sustained harassment of the Epeians is reduced to a single theft. The expedition returns with an enormous booty (*ληϊδα . . . ἥλιθα πολλήν* 677 ~ οὐκ ὀλίγην . . . *λείαν*) including the horses Augeas had stolen (four horses specified in Homer, and only one driver: *ἐλατῆρ' ἀφίει ἀκαχήμενον ἵππων ~ τοὺς ἡνίοχους ἀφῆκεν ἀπράκτους*).⁴¹

⁴⁰ Cf. Hdt. 5.124.2, 8.10.3, 9.84.1, Thuc. 1.41.2, 1.126.5, 6.98.1, 8.58.6, 8.101.1, Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.20, 1.3.17, 1.6.3, 2.3.8, 2.3.22, 6.3.6; contrast *Hell.* 3.2.31, where *βία* is added (references from Rudolf Kassel). Diod. Sic. 4.68.6 also says *δόντων αὐτῶ τῶν ἐγχωρίων*. Paus. (4.2.5) says that Aphareus (son of Perieres son of Aiolos) gave him the land. The uncertainty about which Pylos was meant (Triphylian, Messenian, or even Eleian) goes back to the archaic period and furnished ancient scholars with much material for discussion; see E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 525–7, the Oxford *Odyssey* commentary 1.64, 158–60, and *BNP* s.v. 'Pylos' for overviews.

⁴¹ Neleus as son of Poseidon is *ἱππικώτατος*.

The Epeians mount a counterattack which is robustly repelled; Nestor's father tries to curtail his son's participation (717; the motif is transferred by Pherekydes to the earlier action), but he leads the Pylians to a great victory.

We may mention here the curious information in **Hek. fr. 5**, according to which Tyro, mother of Neleus and Pelias, had a daughter Phalanna, eponym of the Perrhaibian city (IACP no. 468). Hekataios called her 'Hippia'. A daughter of Tyro is otherwise unknown. But if Hekataios did not call her Phalanna, how would anyone know that his 'Hippia' was connected to the city? He must have said that this was another name for Phalanna (or a previous, or a subsequent, one), and perhaps told a story to explain the situation. More than that one cannot say. Tyro herself had a series of other names according to schol. *Od.* 11.235, one of which was Phalanna in Radtke's somewhat uncertain emendation, *Hermes* 38 (1903) 150.⁴²

§5.3.2 MELAMPOUS AND THE CATTLE OF IPHIKLOS (Pher. fr. 33)

The birth and early history of the fabled seer Melampous are not represented in our corpus, so we omit discussion of them here.⁴³ Regarding the cattle of Iphiklos, the report of Pherekydes in the scholia to the *Odyssey* (**Pher. fr. 33**) is found in nearly identical form, but reworded and without attribution, in Eustathios' commentary (p. 1685.13–49), and in a closely similar version in Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.98–102, again reworded and without subscription. On the assumption that they all go back to Pherekydes, the following comparative table may allow us to reconstruct his original account:

(1) Schol. <i>Od.</i>	(2) Eust. on <i>Od.</i>	(3) Apollod.
cattle of Iphiklos in Phylake	cattle of Iphiklos ⁴⁴	cattle of Phylakos in Phylake
—	no one could steal them because of the fierce herdsmen and dogs	guarded by fierce dog
Melampous proceeds to Othrys ⁴⁵	—	proceeds to Phylake
served by man and woman; man treats him well, woman does not	served by man and woman; man treats him well, woman does not	—

⁴² Another one was 'Ossa'; one might think of emending this to 'Olossa' or 'Oloossa', i.e. eponym of Oloosson (IACP no. 467); cf. Lykoph. *Alex.* 906. (The scholion also offers 'Laosoe' as another name for her; conceivably this too is a corruption of the unusual Oloossa.)

⁴³ See Löffler, *Die Melampodie* 31–3; Wolff in Roscher, *Lex.* 2.2.2567; Simon in LIMC 6.1.406 s.v.; Masciadri, *Eine Insel im Meer der Geschichten* §1. On the alternative form of his name 'Melampos' see Bremmer, *GRC* 144 n. 62. The whole story is replete with folktale motifs; Hansen, *AT* 462–8.

⁴⁴ Phylake is mentioned in his preceding note as the place either to which or from which Tyro proceeded upon her marriage.

⁴⁵ The reading is guaranteed by Theok. 3.43 and scholia.

—	able to understand woodworms' conversation because his ears had been cleansed by snakes	(mentioned in c. 97)
carried out on stretcher, man at his head and woman at his feet	pretends to be ill, falls down; carried out as in (1)	tells (unspecified) to move him to another cell
beam falls on and kills woman as she is carrying Melampous out	as in (1)	—
the man tells Phylakos, Phylakos tells Iphiklos	as in (1)	—
Melampous βούν ιερεύει	Melampous βουθυτεῖ	Melampous καταθύει ταύρους δύο
all the birds invited; none has an answer; they fetch the vulture, who does	as in (1), though says the vulture was not at first invited	implies (probably through abridgement) that vulture came with the others
Phylakos chased Iphiklos with a knife while the latter was still young (νεογνός) when he saw him doing something ἄτοπον; failed to catch him, and stuck the knife in a wild pear-tree; bark grew over the knife; Iphiklos unable to beget children for fear	Iphiklos, still a παῖς, chased by his father Iphiklos κατά τινα ὀργήν; rest as in (1) ⁴⁶	Phylakos was castrating rams; ⁴⁷ he placed the still bloody knife beside Iphiklos; the frightened boy (παῖς) runs away; Phylakos sticks the knife in a sacred oak (δρῦς); bark grows over knife
Cattle given to Neleus as ἔδνα ⁴⁸ for Pero. Perialkes, Aretos, ⁴⁹ and Alpheisiboia born to Bias and Pero.	As in (1) (ἐδνον), but with other variants inserted before and after (see below)	Abbreviated reference to delivery of cattle; Melampous stays in Messene a while, but then goes to Argos; brief reference to Proitid story (Pher. fr. 114; see next section), reserved for <i>Bibl.</i> 2.26. Talaos born to Bias and Pero.

⁴⁶ When Eust. glosses ἀχέρδω with ἥτοι ἀπ'ὼ κατά τινος ἀγρία, he is providing a translation of ἄχερδος; he has not read another version. Iphiklos was proverbially fleet of foot (e.g. Hes. fr. 62, Paus. 5.17.10 (the Kypselos chest), Kallim. fr. 75.46, Demaratos *FGrHist* 42 F 1 ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.45–7b; confusion with the Aitolian Iphiklos at *Il.* 23.636). One son is aptly named Podarkes, and the other, Protesilaos, famously leapt from his ship to be the first to land at Troy.

⁴⁷ For ἐπὶ τῶν αἰδοίων 'upon the genitals', which is somewhat otiose, Aegius and others read ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν 'in the country'; cf. schol. *Od.* 11.290 and Frazer, *Apollod.* 2.352 n.4. A has ἐπὶ τῶν αἰβλίων. Rudolf Kassel *per litt.* supports Hercher's deletion of the phrase as a gloss (but notes his <ἐκ>τέμνων is unnecessary; *LSJ* s.v. τέμνειν I 4).

⁴⁸ Cf. Paus. 4.36.3 who briefly mentions the story. The P(h)ero who is a daughter of Likymnios, therefore granddaughter of Neleus, in *P.Vindob.* G 23058 I take to be a different figure. For the text and discussion, see E. Rabbie and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *WS* 101 (1988) 85–95; C. Harrauer, *WS* 101 (1988) 97–126; Harrauer, 'Die Melampus-Sage'.

⁴⁹ Ap. Rhod. has (alongside Talaos and Leodokos) Areios, which Müller conjectured here; cf. the variants in Pher. fr. 172A. Theok. 3.45 mentions Alpheisiboia.

Just before the place indicated, Eustathios refers to a version he has found in the scholia to Theokritos (3.43–5c, p. 129.24 Wendel), that while Phylakos was castrating animals, his son Iphiklos came along; wishing to scare him off, Phylakos held up the knife, then wanting to stick it in a nearby tree (δένδρον), accidentally grazed his son's genitals with it. He reports another (somewhat incoherent) version, also found in schol. HV on *Od.* 11.290, in which Melampous first found the knife which Phylakos had 'applied' (ἐπὶνέγκε) to Iphiklos while he (Iphiklos) was castrating animals in the country (ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν), then sacrificed to the gods, who were angry about the sterile animals; Iphiklos then became father of Protesilaos and Podarkes (genealogy as in *Il.* 2.704–6; slightly different in Hesiod, for which see West. *HCW* 68). At the end Eustathios adds that some people say that Neleus refused to give his daughter away after all, and had to be defeated by an army of Amythaon's people; this version is found in schol. BQ on *Od.* 15.236, and may have arisen from an interpretation of that line. Thereupon Melampous left Pylos.

Disregarding the additional variants in Eustathios for the moment, the remaining information, with some easy assumptions, fits into a coherent account which could be Pherekydes'. Until we get to the offspring of Bias and Pero, no divergent detail produces strong inconsistency, except for one (the business about the knife, on which more below). Othrys is the mountain that defines the border of Thessaly; Eustathios reveals some uncertainty in the tradition as to the exact home of Tyro (Phylakos is eponym of Phylake). The situation would be clarified if we had the complete archaic tradition. Whether the cattle were in the possession of Phylakos or Iphiklos is immaterial;⁵⁰ it is one house, and the story depends upon the father-son relationship. The cattle could be referred to either way by the time Iphiklos was grown, and there is no need to posit two versions (one with Phylakos, one with Iphiklos) as Jacoby and others do.⁵¹ The two are together in the *Melampodia*, Hes. fr. 272, where the sacrifice described is presumably the one preceding the consultation of the birds. The herdsmen and dogs were in the original scholion, as Eustathios shows (the herdsmen are also in *Od.* 11.293). Apollodoros has dropped the details about the two servants, as he has abbreviated elsewhere. The detail about the snake cleansing Melampous' ears is not in schol. *Od.* or Apollod. at this point, but that is probably because Pherekydes had mentioned it before the part excerpted by this particular scholion (it is in the schol. to 290), as did Apollod. in c. 97; it is known from archaic epic (Hes. *Meg. Ehoiai* fr. 261).⁵² Melampous' feigned illness in

⁵⁰ Phylakos in Apollod. (whom some scholars would emend, including Aegius in the ed. pr.) and *Od.* 15.231, Iphiklos in the other witnesses (the majority). The cattle originally belonged to Salmoneus, who died without sons; Tyro was thus an *epikleros* (Finkelberg, *Greeks and Pre-Greeks* 94); the property ought to have gone to her heirs, i.e. those of her human husband Kretheus, who was in the same male line, but Phylakos/Iphiklos appropriated them. Cf. schol. *Od.* 11.290.

⁵¹ Cf. Löffler, *Die Melampodie* 35 n. 29; neither does the divergent version of *Od.* 15 (below) compel us to think that *Megalai Ehoiai* and *Melampodia* told incompatible stories (ibid.).

⁵² This poem offered a further variant, that Melampous prophesied that Iphiklos' house would collapse upon him, and was awarded the cattle out of gratitude when Iphiklos avoided death.

(2) could easily have dropped out of (1). The number of beasts sacrificed is a trivial variant such as one often encounters both in oral transmission and in the successive recasting of scholia.

Thus far, then, we have a coherent story; it was inherited from archaic epic, as evidenced by the passages already cited, and by Hes. *Cat.* fr. 37.1–7 where the story is briefly related, apparently in the familiar manner. These passages are all consistent with the story as outlined above, except for *Od.* 15.225–40, where Theoklymenos gives a slightly unusual account of his illustrious ancestor: he says Melampous was a rich man in Pylos, who fled Neleus; Neleus held on to his possessions for a year, during which he was imprisoned in the house of Phylakos, suffering on account of Neleus' daughter and the heavy madness (ἄτη) inflicted on him⁵³ by an Erinys; but he escaped death, drove the cattle back to Pylos, and avenged himself on Neleus for his disgraceful deed (and took his daughter for his brother). Here Neleus is a villain, and Melampous is at home in Pylos rather than coming in from Thessaly⁵⁴ in response to the invitation; mention of the daughter and brother suggests the canonical version, however, so that we seem to be dealing with an adaptation for special purposes.⁵⁵

Leaving aside *Od.* 15 the main point of diversion in the sources concerns the knife. To the variants in the table above add the details in Eustathios' first two additional variants (= schol. Theok., schol. *Od.* 11.290). Apollod. and schol. Theok. say Phylakos was castrating rams/animals, but schol. *Od.* 11.290 says Iphiklos was doing the cutting.

⁵³ Presumably Neleus, the evildoer; in the usual version, Melampous undertakes his task in spite of his foreknowledge, but in view of the positive outcome this would not be represented as the doing of an Erinys: Heubeck, *Glotta* 64 (1986) 156. Harrauer, 'Die Melampus-Sage', suggests further that the quarrel was about succession to power in Pylos, that the task of fetching the cattle was designed to get a rival out of the way for good, and that the Erinys becomes involved because of the blood relationship between Melampous and Neleus (first cousins once removed in our terms, but uncle and nephew in Greek; Eust. *Od.* 1685.48). This could well be right. Harrauer further argues that Melampous here is the suitor, not Bias, and that when he gives Pero to his brother it is a change of mind due to the intervening events and his knowledge that he must go to Argos, but this is complicated and not necessarily implied by *Od.* 11.291.

⁵⁴ As an Aiolid (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.126, which hovers between Messene and Iolkos); but as Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus* 165–7 plausibly suggests, this folkloristic wonder-worker might have had no particular origin (cf. E. Simon in *LIMC* 6.1.406, who lists the many places he has associations with, and Jost, 'La légende de Mélampous'; Pausanias alone gives eight; note also the cult he founds at Asine in Bacchyl. fr. 4.52), so that his Aiolian links might be the work of tidy genealogical poets. Given the cult links in the Peloponnese (for Arkadian data see Löffler, *Die Melampodie* 39 n. 51) one might look there first, and diagnose the Aiolian origin as another example of the often factitious links between these two regions of Greece. See further on this and other aspects of the Melampous story Dowden, *Death and the Maiden* ch. 5.

⁵⁵ Another peculiarity of the *Odyssey*'s version is that only Melampous goes to Argos. Danek, *Epos und Zitat* 294 points out the similarities between Melampous' situation and Odysseus'. I would not count Pherekydes' version as a rationalization; he has eliminated μοῖρα and the Διὸς βουλὴ because he is not writing epic (and conversely Homer has not mentioned the healing of Iphiklos because it is irrelevant to him). In Pherekydes' account, Melampous first reveals his prophetic power by foretelling the collapse of the roof; for that reason Phylakos enlists his aid to cure his son. These feats are not doublets, as Heubeck, *Der Odyssee-Dichter* 19–22, argues. Pindar, *Paean* 4.28, mysteriously says that Melampous did not wish to leave his home to be ruler of Argos; see I. Rutherford's discussion (*Pindar's Paeans* 287).

Table (1) and (2) say that Phylakos was unable to catch Iphiklos, so buried the knife in a tree; schol. Theok. and schol. *Od.* 11.290 contrive in different ways to have Phylakos actually touch Iphiklos' genitals with the knife; schol. Theok. then also has the tree. Even within the three witnesses to Pherekydes there are differences on this point: Apollodoros' statement that the knife was innocently placed beside the boy cannot be reconciled with (1) and (2), so that we do not know what Pherekydes said here. It seems that some readers were disturbed by these details, and so omitted or altered them. The reason why this story had such an effect, when others more gruesome did not, is not hard to find, given the gender of the scholars who transcribed it.⁵⁶ Of all Greek myths one might wish to read psychoanalytically, this one requires little effort. Iphiklos' difficulty is obviously impotence (sterility was normally blamed on the woman). The knife is a phallic symbol; the tree symbolized femininity for Freud, and the pear tree was sacred to Aphrodite. Traditional Freudian analysis would suggest a primal scene fantasy, in which the child's terror at witnessing an act of intercourse (the myth is insistent on Iphiklos' youth) resulted in impotence. The cause has to be brought to the surface of consciousness—removed from the bark that had grown over it—to effect a cure.⁵⁷ There is a fear of castration, and anxiety about sexuality. The variant of the oak tree is comprehensible in this context—most robust of trees, tree of Zeus; the knife is buried into it, instead of the child (or it just touches his genitals): his father's sexuality overwhelms his own, and he fears penetration or annihilation. So long as his father is in the way he cannot find expression except in masturbation—a meaning some scholars have assigned to ἄτοπὸν τι⁵⁸—which, however, arouses his father's anger, signifying more shame and fear in the unfortunate boy. The myth thus addresses deep-rooted male guilt, fear, and anxiety about sexual inadequacy and rivalry with one's father. The hero Melampous,⁵⁹ with

⁵⁶ The squeamishness continues to this day; this aspect of the myth has not been much discussed, with interpreters concentrating rather on initiatory aspects.

⁵⁷ Caldwell, *The Origin of the Gods* 61; Burkert, *The Creation of the Sacred* 111–12; Borgeaud, 'Melampous and Epimenides' 294–5. Borgeaud relates the pear-tree to Hera's ξόανον (below) and reads the wounding of the tree as encoding an offence against Hera; the myth as a whole is primarily about marriage.

⁵⁸ So van der Valk, 'On Apollodori *Bibliotheca*' 103 and others; E. Simon, *LIMC* 6.1.406, supposes childish misbehaviour during the sacrifice. W. G. Arnott, *Phoenix* 18 (1964) 119–22, discusses the various meanings of ἄτοπος; the third of these is in the particular idiom ἄτοπον ποιεῖν, as in this fragment. The word is often a euphemism for 'bad' or 'wicked', so that the expression means 'misbehave', whether mildly or seriously (sometimes including religious offence); on the other hand a meaning of 'strange' or 'odd' is not precluded. See e.g. Xen. *Kyr.* 7.2.18, Men. *Dysk.* 288 with Sandbach, *Epitr.* 1099.

⁵⁹ One may choose to relate his name to the symbolic association of black with ephebes as explored in Vidal-Naquet's famous book; cf. Walcot, 'Cattle-Raiding' 343. Löffler, *Die Melampodie* 31 n. 8, thinks rather of the dark powers of the Underworld with which seers communicate; Jost, 'La légende de Mélampous' 183, thinks it might reflect Melampous' own chthonic power in cult; Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus* 165, suggests he had dirty feet like the Selloi of Dodona; and A. B. Cook, *CR* 8 (1894) 384–5, thought about animals: many Greek animals have names of such a form (colour + part of body). See further Buxton, 'Significance' 40, who notes also Dieuchidas of Megara's explanation (*FGrHist* 485 F 9): Melampous' mother left her baby's feet exposed to the sun; 'an example—weak, but still just perceptible—of the mythical pattern whereby a seer's special knowledge is balanced by a physical defect' (see his 'Blindness and Limits' 26–30). For the Proitides, and another explanation of the name (Burkert's), see below.

whom the male reader may more readily identify on the conscious level, is not directly involved in the contest for women, so has no anxiety on that score; nonetheless he wins a bride for his brother by his superior skill. Similarly at Argos, he tames the mad virgins at the head of a band of youths, and brings them home to marriage (below). His deed in Phylake is a kind of cattle-rustling, an archetypically heroic deed, established already for Indo-European myth; stealing brides was often part of the mission.⁶⁰ He is master of circumstances, a hero of knowledge and daring rather than brute strength (which is what Iphiklos' name denotes). The cattle-raid is also often a test of an ephebe's manhood—a myth of initiation therefore; the youth must put these fears behind him to achieve adulthood. One would like to think the choicer word νεογνός is Pherekydes'.

Also worth noting in this fragment are the number of narrative motifs deployed to enliven the tale: the seer setting out, like Amphiaraos, in full knowledge of what awaits him;⁶¹ a full year's imprisonment; the good and the bad servant, with justice served on the bad one; the ability to understand animals;⁶² the narrow escape; the assembly of animals or birds, who confess ignorance, but the last to arrive has the answer;⁶³ the wound that can only be healed by the thing or person that caused it (ὁ τρώσας ἰάσεται), as in the myth of Telephos.⁶⁴ Suárez de la Torre also notes that the story cleverly implies the prowess of the prophet who decodes the riddle: in order to get at the cattle in Phylake, otherwise impossible to approach, one must be ἐν φυλακῇ.⁶⁵

§5.3.3 MELAMPOUS AND THE PROITIDES (Akous. fr. 28; Hek. fr. 368A; Pher. fr. 114)

Although this is one of the better known Greek myths it is remarkable how much of its content can vary, leading one to wonder what 'the' myth is. The only items common to all sources are that some women in the Argolid commit an offence against a deity, for which they are punished with madness; amends are made and the punishment ceases. In the majority of cases, however, the women are the daughters of Proitos; they leave home and otherwise misbehave; and Melampous effects the cure. The offended deity is either Dionysos or Hera; the latter would seem to be primary, but the former intrudes quite early, naturally enough given the essence of the story, which is about the dissolution and restoration of the family, and by extension the city. Let us first review the mythographical data.

⁶⁰ Walcot, 'Cattle-Raiding'; Burkert, *SH* 87; West, *IEPM* 451–2; Johnston, 'Initiation' 158–9. For parallels further afield see the references in M. Davies, *CQ* 38 (1988) 289 n. 70.

⁶¹ Dillery, 'Chresmologues and Manteis' 175.

⁶² Frazer, *Apollod.* 1.86 n. 2 for parallels in Greek myth.

⁶³ Frazer, *Apollod.* 2.354–5. The Romans, at least, thought vultures particularly good for augury: Arnott, *Birds in the Ancient World* 61.

⁶⁴ Frazer, *Apollod.* 2.188 n. 1.

⁶⁵ 'Les pouvoirs des devins' 17.

In the fragments of Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*⁶⁶ we learn that Bias and Melampous went to Argos, where they received a part of the kingdom in return for Melampous' healing of Proitos' foolish daughters <Lysippe>, Iphinoe, and Iphianassa. Their crime was either that they refused to accept the rites of Dionysos (fr. 131a, Apollodoros the citing authority) or that they had insulted Hera (fr. 131b, Probus). We shall return below to this contradiction. They are driven mad, leave Argos, and indulge in lewd behaviour (*μαχλοσύνη*) which causes them to lose the flower of their beauty; they are afflicted with eczema and alopecia.⁶⁷

In Bacchylides 11.40–58, 82–112, the girls' offence, as in **Pher. fr. 114**, is to say that their father's house⁶⁸ was wealthier than Hera's temple. Driven mad, they run off shrieking to the mountains, where they spend thirteen months, ἄδματοι θύγατρες; but their father, coming to the stream of Lousos in Arkadia, vows a fine sacrifice of unyoked cattle to Artemis if she will heal the girls;⁶⁹ Artemis, at Lousoi appropriately called *Ἡμέρα*, the Tame, intercedes successfully on his behalf with Hera. Only here and in Kallim. *Hymn* 3.233–6 is it Artemis who cures the girls. Maehler suggests that this might rest on local Argive tradition, perhaps the *Phoronis*, which included a reference to the adornment of Hera's statue (fr. 4); it might also reflect knowledge of Argive ritual.⁷⁰ The role of Artemis suited Bacchylides well in this poem for a Metapontine audience, where Artemis was the city god.

⁶⁶ Fr. 37.10–15; fr. 129.24; fr. 131a ap. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.26 (quoted with Akous. fr. 28), 131b ap. Probus ad Verg. *Ecl.* 6.48 (quoted in the app. crit. to Akous.); fr. 132–3.

⁶⁷ West, *EFH* 453, notes the parallel with Isa. 3:16–24. Probus adds, from Virgil on whom he is commenting, that the girls believed themselves to be cows. If two early representations of the mad Proitides are correctly identified (*LIMC* Proitides nos. 1 and 3, both seventh c.), in which the girls expose their breasts, their shameless behaviour is a feature of their madness in the artistic tradition as well. In undisputed depictions of their healing (nos. 4–7) their clothing is in disarray.

⁶⁸ In Tiryns, says Bacchylides correctly, as this is where Proitos established himself after leaving Argos to his brother Akrisios (→§7.1.1); most writers say 'Argos' which in its extended sense of 'the Argolid' encompasses Tiryns as well especially after the latter's destruction in the 460s. The Heraion, if this is imagined as the site of the offence, was in the *chora* between the two towns and Mykenai, at the foot of Mt Euboia; but Hera's shrine at Tiryns will be the first home of the story, whence the ancient ξόανον was transferred to the Heraion after the destruction of Tiryns (Paus. 2.17.5).

⁶⁹ Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Λουσοί; Eudoxos fr. 313–14 ap. Steph. Byz. 2.71 and Plin. *NH* 31.16; Phylarchos *FGrHist* 81 F 63; Ov. *Met.* 15.322–8; Vitruv. 8.3.21; Geiger in *RE* 11.1.662. These sources tell us that Artemis' pure water made people intolerant of wine; this hints at Dionysos rather than Hera as the offended deity, though Artemis contrasts more obviously with Hera. The healing was also said to have taken place at Kleitor in Arkadia, in Triphylia and in Elis. Steph. Byz. s.v. Οἶνη reports that Proitos founded the shrine of Oinoatis Artemis at Oinoe in the Argolid (Eur. *HF* 379, Paus. 2.25.3), which could be relevant. He also dedicated a temple of Hera on the road from Titane to Sikyon (Paus. 2.12.12), and one of Peitho at Sikyon (Paus. 2.7.8); cf. Cairns, 'Myth and the Polis' 42 n. 48 = *Bacchylides: Five Epinician Odes* 117 n. 51. The same entry of Stephanos reports Hek. fr. 4; see §20.

⁷⁰ Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides*, Erster Teil 2.198 (more briefly in English in *Bacchylides: A Selection* 136) citing also Steph. Byz. s.v. Οἶνη (last note), Paus. 2.25.3, 8.18.3, and Hsch. α2634; cf. also Seaford, 'The Eleventh Ode of Bacchylides' 121 and Currie, 'L'Ode 11 di Bacchilide' 225–8. Asklepios is the healer in the banal version of Polyarchos *FGrHist* 37 F 1.

Herodotos (9.34) says simply that 'women' of Argos were driven mad (he does not say by whom, but he associated Melampous with the introduction of Dionysiac rites to Greece at 2.49) and so the Argives hired Melampous from Pylos to cure them. He demanded half the kingdom; they refused, but when matters got worse they had to ask him again, whereupon he demanded a third of the kingdom for his brother as well. The generic 'women' recurs again in Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.102 (Dionysos), Diod. Sic. 4.68.4 (Dionysos), and Paus. 2.18.4 (no deity named). The king in Diodoros is the obscure Anaxagoras (grandson of Proitos), who is also named in Pausanias.⁷¹ The shrewd bargaining of Melampous features also in Apollodoros' account (*Bibl.* 2.26–9), who says that first the maidens were maddened, and wandered about the countryside—then the women too, who started killing their children (Apollodoros here is obviously combining versions). Melampous gathered the best youths, and used ecstatic dancing and the *alalagmos* (the male war-cry) to herd the girls to Sikyon, where he ritually purified them (parodied by Diphilos fr. 125). Iphinoe died during the chase, but the other two survived to marry Melampous and Bias (what happened to Pero is not stated).⁷² We happen to know that Iphinoe was buried in the agora of Sikyon, and with her were buried the drugs that Melampous used to bring about the cure (*CEG* 2.656, 4th c. BC).

With respect to our mythographers, from Apollod. who cites **Akous. fr. 28** we learn only that Akousilaos gave the daughters' names as Lysippe, Iphinoe, and Iphianassa, and that they disparaged the cult image (ξόανον) of Hera. In **Pher. 114** the daughters of Proitos 'king of the Argives' are named as Lysippe and Iphianassa, who in their youthful folly insult Hera's temple, saying their father's house is wealthier.⁷³ The girls' madness lasts ten years; Proitos promises Melampous a share of the kingdom and his choice of the daughters in return for a cure, which he effects through prayers and sacrifices to Hera, apparently without recourse to his special skills; in Hes. fr. 37.14, by contrast, *μαντοσύνη* is specifically mentioned, but healing and prophecy are the same for the

⁷¹ J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 94, suggests that dating the split of the kingdom to this generation was a 'rationalisation to avoid complicating the simple and direct exchange of kingdoms between Perseus and Megapenthes' in the familiar tale (→§7.1.1). 'Anaxagoridai' rather than Proitidai are recognized by Menaichmos *FGrHist* 131 F 10 ap. schol. Pind. *Nem.* 9.30a in the story of stasis between them and the other branches; they must have had some presence in the epic lying behind this story (for which cf. Pindar, *Nem.* 9.13–14 and Hdt. 5.67).

⁷² Brief references to the story are also to be found in Strabo 8.3.19, Alexis fr. 117, Phld. *P.Herc.* 1609 VIII ed. Henrichs, *ZPE* 15 (1974) 297–301, Ael. *VH* 3.42 (where the girls are named as Elege and Kelaine and the god responsible is Aphrodite). The account in *P.Köln.* 7.285 (2nd c. AD) is too fragmentary to be of use (λύσση and ξόανον are both mentioned; there is *oratio recta*).

⁷³ These are equivalent offences, as is their claim to be more beautiful than Hera in Serv. on Verg. *Ecl.* 6.48. The omission of the third girl here may be an accident of transmission; she is the one who will die (below). As often the names of females are subject to greater variance than men's; elsewhere we find Hipponoe, Chrysippe, etc. (which at least stick with the horse theme, a common metaphor for unwed girls): Radke, *RE* 23.1.121 and Kahil, *LIMC* 7.1.522 give the list. Maehler suggests that these stories reflect the period when monumental temples started to be built; the Argive Heraion was peripteral by the early 7th c. (Tomlinson, *OCD* s.v. Heraion). For ξόανα and early statues see §19.2.2 n. 68.

ἰατρόμαντις: Parker, *Miasma* 209–10. Except for Bacchylides' substitution of Artemis for Melampous, his version and that of the two mythographers accord quite well, leading one to suspect a common archaic source, whether Hes. *Cat.*, the *Melampodia*, or the *Phoronis*.

The possibility has also been mooted that Pherekydes drew on Bacchylides; but he must also have drawn on epic, since he credited Melampous with the healing, not Artemis.⁷⁴ The strongest indication of a connection is the parallel of ἦδη γὰρ ἔτος δέκατον in Bacchylides 11.59 ~ ἦδη γὰρ ἡ νόσος δεκαετής in Pherekydes. If Pherekydes is accurately reported by the scholiast, and if he drew on Bacchylides, it is of interest (i) that the Athenian mythographer had sight or knowledge of a poem composed for far-off Metapontines and (ii) that he misread/misheard it, and transferred Bacchylides' ten years from one context to another (from the time elapsed since Proitos left Argos, to the length of time the daughters had been ill, which is thirteen months in Bacchylides). It is hard to believe that Pherekydes misunderstood everything so badly, and easier to credit the scholiast with the confusion or (as Currie has persuasively argued) that Pherekydes accurately reflects the archaic source, which Bacchylides has modified in a rationalizing spirit.

The contradiction in Hes. fr. 131 referred to above must find its resolution in these multiple archaic accounts even if we cannot finally identify precisely which. When Apollodoros in fr. 131a explicitly contrasts Hesiod's reason for the madness (Dionysos) with Akousilaos' (Hera), without cogent evidence to the contrary we should believe that he is citing the *Catalogue*, one of his main sources, and citing accurately. The considerable counter-evidence is as follows: (i) *HPH* is read at line-beginning in fr. 129.48, though after an unhelpful lacuna, and obelized. (ii) Philodemos⁷⁵ says that Hera first drove the girls mad then afflicted them with eczema, which seems to link to Hes. fr. 132; but as Henrichs notes Philodemos could well be drawing on Akousilaos, whom he quotes elsewhere. Akousilaos in turn often drew on Hesiod, but being an Argive might have substituted Hera for Dionysos. (iii) Probus (fr. 131b) says Hesiod named Hera not Dionysos, and the genealogy he gives immediately before this statement accords (if we accept the plausible emendation 'Apeidas' for 'Amphidamas') with that of the *Cat.* But then this is not unique information; possibly Probus was drawing on the *Megalai Ehoiai* or the *Melampodia*. (iv) Fr. 129 is certainly about the Proitides, and other sources are unanimous that if just the girls are involved, Hera inflicts the punishment (for all that Dionysiac motifs can be worked into the story, as discussed below). (v) Fr. 130 says that

⁷⁴ As Cairns, 'Myth and the Polis' 42 = *Bacchylides: Five Epinician Odes* 116–17, notes, this is why the scholiast has cited him, whatever other mistakes or confusions the scholiast might have committed. Maehler argued that Bacchylides and Pherekydes independently drew on a common source; *contra* Cairns 42 n. 45 = 116 n. 48. The case was first put by C. Robert, *Hermes* 52 (1917) 308–13 and has been much strengthened by Currie, 'L'Ode 11 di Bacchilide' 216–25.

⁷⁵ As n. 72.

suitors from all over Greece came to wed the Proitides. One infers they were spurned; all the more would Hera, goddess of marriage, be enraged. (vi) Dionysos has a relatively minor status in the world of the *Catalogue*.⁷⁶ On balance, we must accept either that Apollodoros is mistaken; or that he is drawing not on the *Catalogue* but on another pseudo-Hesiodic work; or that Hesiod managed somehow to implicate both deities in the *Catalogue*.

Thus far the mythographic evidence, which presents a multi-hued, intricately woven tapestry. How to read it? A thorough answer would take far too long, and there have been many fine studies in recent decades.⁷⁷ The theme of myth and ritual is, however, a persistent one in these discussions, and indeed it is well explored in relation to the Proitides.⁷⁸ First, some general thoughts.

Regarding the myth, a role for both Dionysos and Hera makes good sense. The story revolves around the dissolution of fundamental social bonds, and their eventual restoration within a socially sanctioned framework. As goddess of marriage Hera symbolizes the unity of the household, which is a microcosm of the city; the parallel of *oikos* and *polis* is commonplace in Greek political writers, and unity of one implies (ideally) unity of the other. To refuse marriage is to strike at the heart of the city's wellbeing, and the offenders are appropriately depicted as simply out of their minds; they are banished until they come to their senses. Dionysos comes at things from the other way, as it were: a god of wild disorder and disruption, yet most definitely not to be shunned for that; if anything he is even more dangerous to offend, as the destruction he visits upon families and cities is hideous and total. For this reason he finds a proper place in the civic pantheon; to honour him, god of madness though he is, is a sign of the most conventional piety (of *σωφροσύνη*, even) in Euripides' *Bacchae*. To offend either god results in breakdown of society. The myth of the Proitides plots such an offence and its consequences.

The vacillation in the sources as to which god is offended is thus comprehensible within the logic of the myth; they have equivalent valency. If the story began with Hera, females running wild and renouncing their proper roles are bound to make one think

⁷⁶ For the last two points, Costanza, 'Melampo' 2, 5.

⁷⁷ More recent bibliography includes Burkert, *HN* 168–79 = *HN* 189–200; Seaford, 'The Eleventh Ode of Bacchylides'; Dowden, *Death and the Maiden* ch. 4; Calame, *Choruses of Young Women* 116–20, with further references at 118 n. 88; Suárez de la Torre, 'Les pouvoirs des devins'; Bonnechere, *Le Sacrifice humain* 192–201; Casadio, *Storia del culto di Dioniso in Argolide* 51–122; Johnston, *Restless Dead* 66–70; Bernardini, 'La città e i suoi miti . . . l'Argolide di Bacchilide' 135–8; Dorati, 'Pausania, le Pretidi e la triarchia argive'; Cairns, 'Myth and the Polis' 40–6 = *Bacchylides: Five Epinician Odes* 113–27; Gourmelen, 'L'errance des Proetides'; Costanza, 'Melampo'.

⁷⁸ For a recent detailed discussion see Kowalzig, *Singing for the Gods* 13–55; see further Segal, *The Myth and Ritual Theory*; Csapo, *Theories of Mythology* 132–80; Waldner, *Geburt und Hochzeit des Kriegers* 4–50; Burkert, 'Mythos und Ritual' im Wechselwind der Moderne; Bremmer, 'Myth and Ritual' and 'Walter Burkert on Ancient Myth and Ritual'.

of Dionysos. A mythographer, tragedian, or artist⁷⁹ is free to take advantage of such connections, moving laterally from one motif to another to enrich the tale and deepen its resonance; such modifications happened consciously and unconsciously all the time. The modern interpreter is justified, in the manner canonized by Levi-Strauss, in treating all variants together as part of the same symbolic nexus, in order to tease out its various implications.

How might this myth relate to ritual? Because of the dearth of clearly documented myth-ritual complexes in Greece, we are still in the dark about some fundamental aspects of this relationship. Where we do have evidence, as in the case of the Eleusinian Mysteries, identifiable correspondences between details of myth and ritual are fairly straightforward: Demeter mixes a special drink (the *κυκεών*) in the story, for instance, and the initiates drink it as part of the rite. However, there are details on both sides of the equation that do not correspond, leaving us to puzzle. It becomes clear that 'equation' is the wrong metaphor: to tell a proper story, story-telling techniques (and free imagination) will be needed to fill gaps, thus adding extraneous material, at least as far as the ritual is concerned; to conduct a ritual, performative behaviours and accoutrements are needed that may have no narrative counterpart. There is no requirement to map every detail one to one. Myths may seek to arouse appropriate attitudes by stressing emotional undercurrents, and often exaggerate in order to increase the terror or the sublimity of the event (where an awful sacrifice is to be performed, for instance, myth may speak of an original human sacrifice). Rituals do many things that are only hinted at obliquely and incompletely in myth. Furthermore, we know that in Greece, with its special dynamic of local (polis-based) vs. pan-Hellenic contexts, myths can be taken from their original ritual context and reworked for use in epic and other poetry; ritualistic motifs may be deployed as narrative motifs in myths that have no ritual connection whatever.

This looseness of attachment is both an advantage and a disadvantage for modern interpreters: it alerts us to the possible ritual resonance of many pan-Hellenic myths, thus enriching our reading of them; but without evidence our reconstruction of the ritual (if it even existed) is speculative, and circular if based on other such speculations. The prevailing paradigm—fertility for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, initiation and other social processes in recent decades⁸⁰—guides the decoding of puzzling mythemes and determines the placement of wayward details on the interpretative grid. The interpretation in which everything fits, *tout se tient*, carries specious conviction.⁸¹

⁷⁹ An early 4th-c. Lucanian vase (LIMC Proitides no. 4) combines Dionysos, Artemis and Melampous.

⁸⁰ Graf in *BNP* s.v. Initiation; Dodd and Faraone, *Initiation*. The last-named work marks a return of the pendulum, cautioning against a carelessly undifferentiated concept of initiation, and the too-quick identification of initiation rites in the background of many myths; for which see also Fowler, 'Greek Magic, Greek Religion'; Waldner, *Geburt und Hochzeit des Kriegers* 33–50.

⁸¹ Versnel, 'What's Sauce for the Goose' 55 = 66–7.

The risk of such a procedure is highlighted by the way the chance discovery of a new papyrus or inscription can undo all previous reconstructions, or by the way powerful readings depend at crucial points on a single datum often conveyed by a late source. Yet we have no choice but to proceed in this manner, and an interpretation which chooses some details while ignoring others that may point in a different direction is certainly flawed. However, the general difficulty must always be borne in mind.

One conclusion one may tentatively draw from this discussion is that so richly woven a web as the myth of the Proitides is unlikely to support only one ritual; one should really speak of 'myths' rather than 'myth'. That there was a ritual link or links of some kind for the myth(s) of the Proitides may be inferred from various indications: the very similar story of the daughters of Minyas, Leukippe, Arsippe and Alkathoe, Dionysos-deniers, who were driven mad in Orchomenos, and for whom Plutarch attests the accompanying maenadic ritual in the Agrionia;⁸² the pursuit of women by men in the Boiotian ritual, and the possibility of slaughter if one is caught; the affliction of eczema and the ugly transformation of the girls, a striking detail which is plausibly related to grotesque masks found in places like the shrine of Artemis Orthia at Sparta or the Heraion on Samos; the report that the 'Agrania' was an Argive festival in honour of one of Proitos' daughters (it will be the dead Iphinoe, as Burkert notes) and that the 'Agriania' was a festival of the dead at Thebes and Argos (Hsch. *a750*, *a788*).⁸³ There are classic initiatory motifs: transition from one state to another marked by separation of initiands to a liminal place on or beyond borders; the process is marked by reversals and suspension of normality; there follows reintegration and entry into a new state, in this case marriage. One form of ritual, then, could be one in which girls were prepared for marriage, as in the Arkteia of Brauron, by the enactment of a series of dramatized tensions issuing in harmonious resolution and social order. The dense nexus of associations and contrasts—male/female, married/unmarried, tame/wild, city/country, immature/mature, etc.—have been fully explored in a rich body of work.⁸⁴ In their unruly state, the *ἄδματα θύγατρες* are the opposite of everything maidens should be: they roam in public free of the parental gaze; they are unkempt and disfigured; they are sexually licentious and impious; they even think themselves to be animals (the motif may hint at the substitute sacrifice of the ritual, as in the myth of Iphigeneia). We can imagine (if we like) a festival at which groups of male youths (done up in black) ritually chased marriageable girls (done up in white), seriously or merrily

⁸² Ael. *VH* 3.42; Ant. Lib. *Met.* 10; Ov. *Met.* 4.1–415 ('Leukonoe' for 'Leukippe'); Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 38 (on which R. Parker, *On Greek Religion* 214–15).

⁸³ Note, however, that Hesychios is a single late source. On the Agria/onia see now Bremmer, 'Walter F. Otto's *Dionysos*'. The month-name Agrianos has recently been confirmed from epigraphical evidence at Argos.

⁸⁴ Above, n. 77.

or a bit of both;⁸⁵ a public occasion on which such girls were allowed to be seen, and matchmaking flourished. Plenty of sacrificial meat, of course, and special honours to the dead maid Iphinoe.

This is an attractive picture, possibly correct in general outline, but there are difficulties when one looks more closely. Whereas Hera and Dionysos go together well, at least in the story, as equivalent signifiers, what we know of ritual contexts suggests rather a disjunction. The Attic Anthesteria, with its Kares/Keres, offers a parallel for a festival of Dionysos being also a festival of the dead; there are good parallels for maidens honouring a heroized peer in the context of premarital ritual, such as at Brauron; but there are no instances of Dionysiac maenadism of mature women being the aition of a premarital ritual under the auspices of Hera and/or Artemis, or the contextualizing of such a combination in a festival of the dead. It is a great pity we have not the complete account of Akousilaos, a native of Argos; we might then be in a position to see how the bundle of mythemes and rituals should be articulated there. In the circumstances caution is appropriate. Even if close links between different parts of the ritual complex exist, it is hazardous (and here is the difference between reading myths and reading rituals), having found such connections between, as it were, A and B, B and C, C and D, to conclude that the totality of the ritual complex ABCD is operative in each instance. Melampous was claimed by many places, each one of which might have had a particular ritual, maenadic, prenuptial, or sepulchral, none displaying all of the features in the portfolio, but joined by family resemblance and each illuminated in its own way by the totality of the myth. At Argos a prenuptial ritual seems certain, but Dionysiac elements have entered the myth. On the other hand the Agriania was certainly Dionysian. We might, then, discern two ritual complexes, one about marriageable girls driven mad by Hera and cured at the request of Artemis, the goddess they leave behind; another about women and Dionysos, cured by Melampous.

Finally, the political dimension of the story should be noted. The mythical marriages of Melampous and Bias mark a refounding of the kingdom, with Aiolidai joining Inachidai and inaugurating the tripartite sharing of the realm. This has been read as a negative exemplum, warning against the disaster of an exogamous marriage.⁸⁶ So it was

⁸⁵ Burkert, *HN* 170, 175 = *HN* 190–1, 196; the dappled dress of the girls could also imitate the 'cattle' that they are. Perhaps too the loss of hair in the myth reflects the cutting of hair in the ritual (Costanza, 'Melampo' 4). The offence of the women of Lemnos, rendered foul-smelling and repulsive to their husbands after offending Aphrodite, offers a parallel; the ritual link was first fully explored by Burkert, 'Jason, Hypsipyle and New Fire at Lemnos'. In Argos itself the myth of Io offers many points of contact (→ §7.1.1). Dowden, 'The Amazons' 125–6, draws up an extensive list of mythical and historical or quasi-historical battles between the sexes, with various ritual links. For ritual links in Bacchylides 11 see Cairns 'Myth and the Polis' 46 = *Bacchylides: Five Epinician Odes* 125–6.

⁸⁶ Seaford, 'The Eleventh Ode of Bacchylides', 128, 131–3. Contrast Currie, 'L' *Ode* 11 di Bacchilide', 241–2. Bias and Melampous as a pair may also reflect an ancient custom of dual kingship, surviving in Sparta: Bremmer, *GRC* 59–60, 141, 145.

for Proitos, but aetiologically speaking the myth is retrospective and should be celebratory: if the marriage really was such a disaster it would not have been allowed to have permanent effects. The resulting order is the main point, and the myth underpins the recurrent rituals of the Argive polis, and its social order in ways beyond our ability to detect.

With respect to the genealogy, exogamous marriage is in fact common in Greek heroic myth, as Finkelberg has shown. Finkelberg for her part analyses the royal succession to the Argive throne in the generations following Melampous as an example of the pattern she finds in many legends, and which she argues reflects the historical reality of the Bronze Age, of kings being succeeded by their sons-in-law and not by their sons.⁸⁷ The arrangement implies that queens succeed each other as mother to daughter, a pattern also replicated elsewhere in Greek legend. The system is not matrilineal; the Biantidai, Proitidai, and Melampodidai are patrilineal clans. Neither is it matriarchal: the ruler is male. But his right to rule is determined by whom he marries (viz. the king's daughter). In some cases Finkelberg must reach for out-of-the-way evidence to find her pattern, and make various assumptions to bridge gaps—as one must often do to find patterns in the labyrinth of Greek myth. It does not help her case that the sons who fail to succeed never step aside willingly but have to be got out of the way by violent means, or they conveniently go into exile after killing a relative (which implies they would have stayed in normal circumstances). That is to say, there is no example of a son not contending the succession because he explicitly recognizes that he is not meant to do so. On the other hand, tension between sons and sons-in-law is found even in historical examples of such systems, as is perhaps to be expected. In the Argolid, there was such stasis, apparently already in archaic epic (above, n. 71), particularly among the descendants of Bias and Melampous, climaxing in the story of Amphiaraos, Adrastus, and Eriphyle; in one version, Amphiaraos actually murdered Talaos (schol. *Pind. Nem.* 9.30b).⁸⁸ There is a remarkable number of sons failing to succeed their fathers in Greek myth, and many cases of heroes winning the throne by marrying the princess; this does not seem accidental and it is probably true to say in general that Greek legends have the shape they do because it was known that sons often did not succeed fathers in Bronze Age Greece.

We know of no historical Biantidai, unless the completely obscure **Hek. fr. 368A** has such a reference (see n. 88); nor do we know of historical Proitidai or Anaxagoridai. We do happen to know of Melampodid seers in Akarnania (*Hdt.* 7.221), but they are otherwise invisible, and they are not kings. In a passage to delight Dumézil, Pindar indicates

⁸⁷ Finkelberg, *Greeks and Pre-Greeks* 80–4.

⁸⁸ This stasis might provide a context for **Hek. fr. 368A**, about which little else can be said. Jacoby suggests also the Theban wars, which seems possible; the sons of Bias were also Argonauts (*Ap. Rhod.* 1.118–21), as Pownall points out (*BNJ* comm. on this fr.). Most remote of all is a link to Priene (*FGH Hist* 1 F 234) by way of the wise Bias.

that being a seer was incompatible with being a king (*Paean* 4.28–30, however construed).⁸⁹ But however indirectly the Proitid story might reflect historical kingships, the thing that kept it alive amongst the poets and mythographers was the need to provide genealogies for the immutable cast of characters in the *Seven against Thebes*, including the seer Amphiaraos.⁹⁰

§5.3.4 THE GENEALOGY OF THEOKLYMENOS (Pher. fr. 115–16)

Pherekydes' expansion of the Odyssean original (15.241–56) in *Pher. fr. 115–16* (Fig. 5.1) is indicated in *italics*. Only the line of Mantios is represented in the surviving fragments of Pherekydes; the genealogy of Amphiaraos is in any case all but invariable.⁹¹ In the other line, the apparent oddity is that Amphiaraos, who died at Thebes, is contemporary with Theoklymenos, whereas the basic story conjoins Theoklymenos with Telemachos; this would work if Theoklymenos, whose father succeeded Amphiaraos (*Od.* 15.253), was of mature years when he met Telemachos. However, Euchenor and Kleitos fought both at Thebes and Troy according to Pherekydes. Euchenor son of Polyidos does indeed make a brief appearance in Homer at *Il.* 13.663–72; his father foretold he would either waste away of disease in old age at home, or die at Troy; so he went

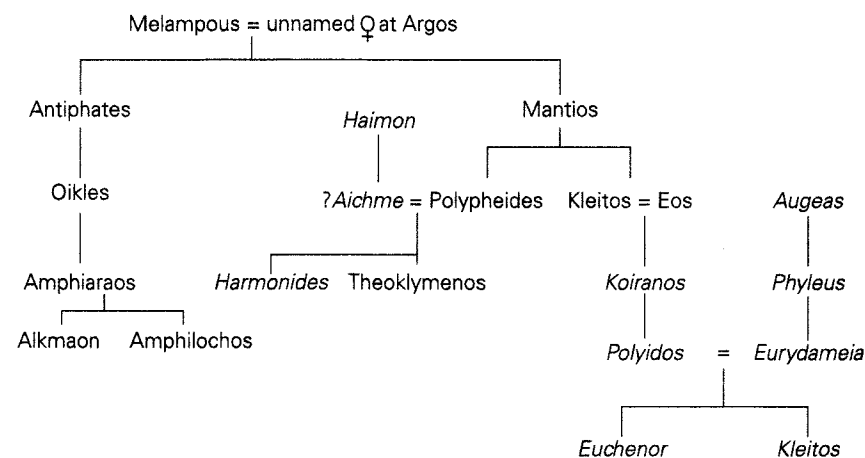


FIG. 5.1

⁸⁹ For traces of seer-kings in Greek myth see Bremmer, *GRC* 147, citing *Il.* 2.831 (Merops), 858 (Chromis), Phineus (→§6.4.4), Anios (→§18.2.4) and the Melampodid Koiranos (below). On the Klytiadai as descendants of Melampous see Schachter, *CQ* 50 (2000) 292–5.

⁹⁰ Finkelberg hypothesises a rotating kingship; Robert, *GH* 251, earlier suggested that the myth reflected a college of three kings sharing power over a single territory. For a different assessment see Dorati, 'Pausania, le Pretidi e la triarchia argiva'.

⁹¹ Details in Höfer, Roscher, *Lex.* 3.747 s.v. Oikles; Wolff, *ibid.* 1.293 s.v. Amphiaraos.

to Troy and was felled by Paris. The difficulty is heightened by Pherekydes' expansion, which has the purpose of linking the famous Corinthian seer Polyidos in to the line of Melampous, as poets had already done with Amphiaraos. Polyidos assists Bellerophon in *Pind. Ol.* 13; he famously restored to life Glaukos son of Minos (*Apollod. Bibl.* 3.18–20, *Hyg. Fab.* 136); each of the great tragedians wrote a play about him (*Aisch. Κρησσαι*, *Soph. Μάντεις ἢ Πολυίδος*, Euripides *Πολυίδος*), and Aristophanes parodied Euripides in his *Polyidos*; he appears in vase-painting from about 470 BC (*LIMC* Glaukos II no. 1); in *Pher. fr.* 82b he figures in the saga of Herakles (→§8.6). All this places him a generation or so before the Trojan War. Except for a snippet of genealogy in *Paus.* 1.43.5,⁹² and an inscrutable fragment of Hesiod, where the relationships cannot quite be made out,⁹³ Koiranos is regularly father of Polyidos (*Pind. Ol.* 13.75, *Soph. fr.* 391, *Hyg. Fab.* 128, 136, 251, and in the Megarian appropriation of Polyidos *Paus.* 1.43.5). In the fragment of Hesiod, the name of Koiranos' father is missing at the beginning; West thinks with some justification that it could be Melampous. However one restores the Hesiodic papyrus, the stemma does not seem to be the same as Homer's, particularly for Theoklymenos. Pherekydes is the only source for Kleitos as father of Koiranos (in Homer Kleitos has no children; we do not know what if anything Pherekydes did with Eos). He might have done this in defiance of Hesiod, preferring the authority of Homer, and in spite of the chronological difficulty, if he even worried about such things. Interestingly he placed Polyphides in Eleusis (*fr.* 116), whereas Homer put him in Hyperesia in Achaia (*Il.* 2.573; later tradition equated the town with Aigeira);⁹⁴ somehow he got Theoklymenos back to the Argolid where he killed a relative, and Jacoby speculates that this is where he might have introduced a couple more generations and a Theoklymenos II, but this seems an unnecessary supposition.

The genealogical unit being attached, including Augeas, was probably taken over from Theban epic; this Kleitos is not mentioned in Homer, and there was no reason to invent him. It looks as though Pherekydes in *fr.* 115 went on to tell us what happened to Kleitos (Eustathios preserves the μέν). The place in the genealogy would have been suggested not only by Polyidos' profession, but the name of his son: the Homeric Kleitos could therefore be seen as his ancestor. The similarity of 'Polyphides' and 'Polyidos' might have helped, but Jacoby is right to resist speculation that in lost prehistoric traditions these characters were identical ('schafft nur Schwierigkeiten'). Homer's treatment of Theoklymenos serves his particular purposes; he is introduced carefully in *Od.* 15 so

⁹² *Εὐχρήγορα τὸν Κοιράνου τοῦ Πολυίδου*; read *τὸν Πολυίδου τοῦ Κοιράνου* or (better) *τὸν Κοιράνου τοῦ Πολυίδου* (the fuller genealogy of Polyidos having just been given above)?

⁹³ *Fr.* 136; West, *HCW* 81 (who does not in the end indicate where he thinks Polyidos fits in Hesiod's stemma). The genealogy in *Diod. Sic.* 4.68.5 has most in common with the Hesiodic fragment, but much remains unclear.

⁹⁴ *Paus.* 7.26.1; Morgan and Hall in *IACP* p. 479.

as to be available as the unbelieved 'warner' in *Od.* 20.⁹⁵ The parentage could be an *ad hoc* invention; when Homer makes Polyphides the best seer in Greece once Amphiaraus died, it could be a calque on the *Epigonoí* if the old speculation is right that Polyidos was a seer on that expedition.⁹⁶

The remaining additions, Haimon, Aichme, and Harmonides,⁹⁷ could point to Thebes as well. The crux in fr. 116 is unhelpful; *σαριούσαν* ought to conceal the name of Polyphides' mother, but there is no *καί*. 'Aichme' is a unique woman's name, and perhaps there is corruption here too; alternatives such as Euaichme, Aristaichme, or Philaichme (Hes. fr. 251, Parth. *Amat. Narr.* 14.1, Paus. 1.43.4) would be more natural. Ingenious reasons have been advanced as to why 'Spear' would be a good name for a Theban's daughter,⁹⁸ but women's names are often arbitrarily invented by mythographers.⁹⁹ Of other Haimons known, the son of Lykaon who founded Haimoniai in Arkadia (Paus. 8.44.1, Steph. Byz. α130) might seem a possible choice to fill the gap.

§5.3.5 SISYPHOS (Pher. fr. 119)

Sisyphos' punishment in Hades is known already in the *Odyssey* (11.593–600); though his offence is not there stated, it seems reasonable to assume that the familiar tale is already in place, as no other reason for his punishment is ever given. The story is referred to by Alkaios (fr. 38a), who calls him *ἀνδρῶν πλείστα νοησάμενος* and *πολύιδρις*; similarly in Theogn. 702–12 his *πολυιδρή* is mentioned, and we are told that he persuaded Persephone to allow him to return, a unique feat among mortals who had once died.¹⁰⁰ In Pindar he is like a god in his cunning (*Ol.* 13.52). Pherekydes is however the first to tell us the whole tale (Pher. fr. 119), and it is notable that already in him there is some elaboration (or combination of two stories). At a minimum the tale requires Sisyphos to die, or at least descend to the Underworld, but to persuade the gods to allow him to return; the pretext is that he must remonstrate with his wife for her failure to do the right things at his funeral.¹⁰¹ Upon gaining his release, he simply refuses to return.

⁹⁵ e.g. Scodel, *Listening to Homer* 121. Dolcetti and Pàmias interpret the penultimate sentence of fr. 116 to mean that Theoklymenos was killed by Odysseus for revealing the truth to the suitors; but *ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῦα* goes with *θῆεν καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος*, which expands *πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐτίμησεν*. Pherekydes has filled in a small gap in the Homeric narrative.

⁹⁶ Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus* 2.387. The presence at Troy of Abas and Polyeidon sons of Eurydamas (*Il.* 5.148), fighting for the Trojans, is a curious coincidence of which nothing should be made.

⁹⁷ Read 'Harmonidas'? Cf. EGM 1.60, and the variants in schol. T *Il.* 3.189.

⁹⁸ Höfer in Roscher, *Lex.* 3.2697.

⁹⁹ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung* 2.24 n. o; Bremmer, 'Oedipus' 45.

¹⁰⁰ This distinguishes him from others who went down and came back without dying: Herakles, Orpheus, Theseus, Peirithoos. Nameless people were being raised from the dead by Asklepios according to Pher. fr. 35, for which he was appropriately punished; the boundary in serious belief is not transgressible.

¹⁰¹ Merope is his wife also in Hellan. fr. 19. Sourvinou-Inwood ('Crime and Punishment' 47–51; see also 'Reading' *Greek Death* 67–70) analyses and dates the various forms of the myth according to prevailing beliefs about the afterlife (for instance, whether or not the shade could return after burial), but perhaps underestimates the possibility of divergent beliefs co-existing, especially in the realm of folktale; I see no

Pherekydes has added to this the cause of his first death—telling tales on Zeus to Asopos—and the trick of binding Thanatos, until Ares¹⁰² releases him and hands Sisyphos over. In effect Sisyphos cheats death not once but twice, first with Thanatos, then with Hades. The link to the Aigina story is repeated in Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.85, 3.156–7, and Paus. 2.51, who gives the detail that Sisyphos withheld what he knew from Asopos until the latter agreed to create a source of water on Acrocorinth (so also schol. Eur. *Med.* 69); this is where Sisyphos sat, according to Eust. *Il.* 290.26, watching the surrounding country, and saw Zeus carrying off Asopos' daughter. This might be all Pherekydes or his epitomator means by *τέχνη*, but it would more aptly refer to some trick or skill; Diodoros (6.6.3) says he used *ἱεροσκοπία*.

Cheating death is the ultimate trick by this consummate trickster. The trickster is a figure of worldwide folktale, and the trick of defeating death occurs in numerous guises.¹⁰³ A familiar example from Greece is Herakles in the story of Alkestis; in Euripides' play, he tells how he will seize him fast so he cannot get away (847, 1142). Like the guild of prophets, tricksters and thieves in Greek myth tend to be linked together. Autolykos, arch-thief, was making away with Sisyphos' cattle; Sisyphos carved the words 'Autolykos stole me' on the cows' hooves, and followed the traces (Eur. *Autolykos*, fr. 282–4; Polyain. *Strat.* 6.52; Hyg. *Fab.* 201; schol. Soph. *Aias* 190; schol. T *Il.* 10.266–7a; schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 344). Autolykos, recognising his equal, befriended Sisyphos, who took advantage of his hospitality to father Odysseus, another wily figure, on Autolykos' daughter Antikleia, so that she was pregnant with him when Laertes paid his suit.¹⁰⁴ In Hesiod, however (fr. 43a), so stern is the Boiotian, Sisyphos is not clever enough to know the will of Zeus that Erysichthon's daughter Mestra (above, p. 158) was not meant to

difficulty for instance in the sterner Homeric view existing alongside the idea that Sisyphos could escape again were it not for his punishment (*πρὸς τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἀποδράναι*, says Pherekydes). —What is it that the wife omitted to do? If we read *τὰ νενομισμένα* as an internal accusative ('not to give him the customary send-off to Hades'), it is hard not to understand this as meaning burial, which would give Sisyphos a standard and powerful complaint. If we read it as an external accusative, her failure 'to send to him the customary things' would imply grave-offerings—everyday items he needs for his life in the next world. This would be in keeping with the humorous character of a folktale. On balance I prefer the first alternative. For *νενομισμένα* see Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, index s.v. 'nomima or nomizomena, ta'. On Asopos and Aigina see §15.

¹⁰² I have adopted this reading as the *lectio difficilior* and also because it is inconceivable that Hades himself should come to the upper world to perform such a task. There is, to be sure, no obvious reason for Ares to be involved.

¹⁰³ See the detailed entry 'Tricksters' in *Encycl. of Religion* 14.9351–9. Radin, *The Trickster*, is fundamental. Edmunds, 'Introduction: The Practice of Greek Mythology' 12–13 (who cites Aarne–Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale* no. 803), argues against Sourvinou-Inwood that Sisyphos in Pherekydes will have used a trick rather than force to bind Death. See also Hansen, *AT* 243–6 for the parallel with Aarne–Thompson 1199, The Lord's Prayer ('[Death] agrees not to take a man until he has said a certain prayer for the last time. So the man avoids saying the prayer, thereby preserving his life'); and *AT* 405–8 for the parallel with no. 330A, The Smith and the Devil, in which Death is bound.

¹⁰⁴ Already in Aisch. fr. 175, and perhaps even Stesichoros (below, n. 131); Soph. *Phil.* 417, 625, 1311, *Ai.* 190, fr. 567, Eur. *IA* 524, *Kykl.* 104.

have children by his son Glaukos.¹⁰⁵ His exploits were obviously very popular; he is the subject of satyr-plays by Aischylos, Euripides, and Kritias, and a play by Sophokles. There are many depictions in art from an early period, where the rock-rolling scene predominates, though ribald scenes with Autolykos and Antikleia are not lacking (Oakley, *LIMC* 7.1.781–7, 7.2.564–8; Gantz 176).

In Corinth, however, he was an honoured figure (Pind. *Ol.* 13.52), with a shrine on Acrocorinth (Diod. Sic. 20.103.2, Strabo 8.6.21) and a secret tomb in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Poseidon whose Isthmian games he founded.¹⁰⁶ Eumel. fr. 3 makes him king of Corinth after Medeia, and it is no doubt Corinthian chauvinism that makes him grandfather of Leda in Eumel. fr. 2 (→§173). He is grandfather of the great Corinthian hero Bellerophon, and Glaukos is not ashamed to include him in his ancestry in the *Iliad* (6.153); Corinth is Sisyphe's city, its rulers his clan in Euripides (*Med.* 405, 1381). By Apollodoros' time he was regarded as the city's founder (*Bibl.* 1.85). It is something of a puzzle, however, that he should be Aiolid, as he is already in the *Iliad*, where Σίσυφος Αἰολίδης has the ring of a formula; cf. Hes. *Cat.* fr. 43 (a) 75, Alk. fr. 38a 5, Theogn. 702, Pind. fr. 5.1, Akous. fr. 34, Aristoph. fr. 9. It is perhaps not idle to wonder if his status as an Aiolid is an inference from his proverbial cleverness, enshrined in the formula Σίσυφος αἰολομήτης (Hes. fr. 10.2). Be that as it may, one can point to other mythical connections with the north:¹⁰⁷ Jason and Medeia came from Thessaly to rule in Corinth; the Isthmian games honour Boiotian Ino and Melikertes, Sisyphe's sister-in-law and nephew; he is linked genealogically to the Minyans (below, p. 192); his son Thersandros is father of Haliartos and Koronos, eponyms of Boiotian towns (Paus. 9.34.7–8, Armen. fr. 7), and of Proitos grandfather of Lokros (Pher. fr. 170), perhaps the eponym of the Ozolian Lokrians (→§10.4 and Part B, 'The Structure of Pherekydes' Book'); another of Sisyphe's grandsons is eponym of Phokis (Paus. 2.4.3). These could very well have figured in Eumelos' *Korinthiaka*, Pausanias' source. Collectively, however, they do not indicate a strong Aiolian ethnicity, and historical Corinthians were Dorian down to the ground. Sisyphe obviously has deep and ineradicable roots in Corinthian legend and cult; earlier scholars saw him as a faded sun-god, with his herd of cattle and all-seeing perch on Acrocorinth, superseded by Medeia's grandfather Helios.¹⁰⁸ As for his obscure sons, though links hither and thither could be found for them as required, they merely bridge the gap to the point where the Aiolians are violently ousted by the Dorians (Thuc. 4.42.2, Paus. 2.4.3). As Aiolians they serve as foil for the victorious Dorians.

¹⁰⁵ This could be the story Aristotle has in mind at *Poet.* 1456^a 22, where he cites Sisyphe as an example of a character suitable for tragedy (ὁ σοφὸς μὲν μετὰ πονηρίας δ' ἐξαπατηθῆ; he is 'disappointed' of his hopes). Alternatively it is the strange story in Hyg. *Fab.* 60. As the plays of Aischylos, Euripides, and Kritias are all satyr-plays, that leaves Sophokles' *Sisyphe* as the only possible reference.

¹⁰⁶ Eumel. fr. 4 ap. Paus. 2.2.2 (→§173); Pind. fr. 5; schol. Pind. *Isthm.* hypoth. a; Arist. fr. 637; Paus. 2.13; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.29. For the Athenian version of the story, see Hellan. fr. 165 (→§16.3.2).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Sakellariou, *Ethne grecs* 1.404.

¹⁰⁸ Will, *Korinthiaka* 247.

§5.3.6 BELLEROPHON AND LYCIA (Hek. fr. 10; Xenom. fr. 3)

The story of Bellerophon is little represented in our corpus; for the details and sources, see Gantz 313–16, Scheer in *BNP* s.v. Bellerophontes, Lochin in *LIMC* s.v. Pegasos.¹⁰⁹ The Towneley scholiast who cites Xenom. fr. 3 is commenting on a passage in the *Iliad* (16.328) which refers to one Amisodaros, a king who reared the Chimaira (offspring of Echidna or Hydra in Hes. *Th.* 319); as his sons are friends of Sarpedon, we might infer that he is Lycian. His name could be either Karian or Lycian (Janko on *Il.* 16.317–29). Xenomedes, however, says not only that Amisodaros was king of Karia but that Bellerophon married his daughter. In the *Iliad* (6.155–95), the father-in-law of Proitos, that is the father of Bellerophon's bride, is left nameless; but unless the Chimaira was his personal pet, we infer he was not Amisodaros. Elsewhere the king's name is Iobates (e.g. Soph. *Iobates* fr. 277–9; Asklep. *FGrHist* 12 F 13; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.30; Hyg. *Fab.* 57) or Amphianax (Pher. fr. 170; →§10.4).¹¹⁰ Bellerophon's dynasty is firmly located in Lycia, which it cannot be if he married a Karian princess; but to judge from Xenomedes the Karians appropriated him early on.¹¹¹ Plutarch, in a rationalizing version of the story (*Mor.* 247f), knows Amisodaros as Lycian, which is reassuring. Perhaps Xenomedes did equate the Chimaira-rearer of *Iliad* 16 with the nameless king of *Iliad* 6.

We know from inscriptions that the 'Tremilai' (*et sim.*; Hek. fr. 10) is a Greek rendering of what the Lycians actually called themselves, viz. *trm̃m̃is* or *trm̃m̃yl*; the Greek variant Term/Trem- arises from their differing treatments of the vocalized *r*.¹¹² The name 'Lycians' may be reflected in Hittite texts referring to *lukka*, and Egyptian ones referring to *ruki*, but the relationship of these peoples to the Tremilai of historical Lycia is not yet clear.¹¹³ The Greeks made up various stories to account for the name 'Lycians'. That Bellerophon renamed them (Alexander Polyhistor, possibly following Hekataios) is consistent with his being a dynastic founder, but is inconsistent with Homer, who has Lycians there before him (*Il.* 6.168–94). It is inconsistent also with Herodotos (1.173), who says that the Termilai came from Crete with Sarpedon son of Europa to the land of Lycia, which was once called Milyas, displacing the Solymoi

¹⁰⁹ For interpretative discussions see Alden, 'Genealogy as Paradigm' and Calame, *Greek Mythology* 67–93.

¹¹⁰ Iobates also in Hes. *Cat.* fr. 43(a) 88, if Wilamowitz's supplement γῆμε δὲ παῖδα φίλην μεγάλῃτορος Ἰοβάταο is right, though in theory it might have been γῆμε δὲ παῖδα φίλην Ἀμισωδάροῦ ἐν Λυκίοισιν.

¹¹¹ See Bremmer, 'Local Mythography' (who notes Bellerophon on Karian coins from the 5th c. on) and L. Malten, *JDAI* 40 (1925) 128. The appropriation is better attested in later centuries. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Hylas* 45–6, suggests that Lycians and Karians were interchangeable in the *imaginaire* from an early date.

¹¹² 'Trem-' e.g. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρεμίλη quoting Hek. fr. 10, Panyassis fr. 24 and Alex. Polyhist. *FGrHist* 273 F 137 (cf. F 58), Menek. fr. 2, TAM 2.1.174 (2nd c. AD) = *FGrHist* 770 F 5; 'Term-' e.g. Hdt. 1.173 (where see Asheri), 7.92, Strabo 12.8.5, 14.3.10, Paus. 1.19.3, Philip of Theangela *FGrHist* 741 F 3, Steph. Byz. s.v. Τέρμερα cf. s.vv. Τέρμερα, Ἰδρυγία. See Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera* 10–11; Oppermann, *RE* 6A.2.2289; Bryce and Zahle, *The Lycians* 21–3.

¹¹³ Jameson, *RE Suppl.* 13.272–3; Zimmermann in *BNP* s.v. Lycii, Lycia; esp. Bryce in Melchert, *The Luwians* 107–14.

(*Il.* 6.184, 204; subsequently equated with the historical Milyai); they retained their name until Lykos son of Pandion came from Athens (similarly Strabo and Pausanias; the former reads slightly more into Hdt. than is there). Bellerophon is also bypassed by Menekrates (fr. 2) with his story about Leto and the wolves.¹¹⁴ As Jacoby points out, one is puzzled as to why Bellerophon named his new people Lykioi; if Hekataios asserted this, we do not know his reason. At *FGrHist* 1 F 256 he mentions a daughter of Xanthos named Lykia.

§5.3.7 PHILONIS (Pher. fr. 120)

Zeus and Amphitryon notoriously shared a mate on the same night, as on other occasions did Zeus and Tyndareus (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.126), Poseidon and Aigeus (3.208), Ares and Oineus (Hyg. *Fab.* 171.1), but lucky Philonis seems to be the only example of a woman who had two divine lovers (Pher. fr. 120).¹¹⁵ The genealogy and indeed the name of the heroine are unstable in the tradition. Of surviving texts it is only this fragment of Pherekydes that gives Philonis daughter of Deion the role; the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 64, 66–7) possibly had the same genealogy (West, *HCW* 59, 64), but doubt arises in that Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.86), from whom Deion's place in the *Catalogue* is surmised, gives the daughter's name as Asterodeia, wife of Phokos and mother of Krisos and Panopeus (Hes. fr. 58). Perhaps the *Catalogue* had more than one daughter. In the *Odyssey* (19.397), Hermes' blood relation with Autolykos is implicitly denied; in Philodemos Philonis (no father given) is mother of Philammon by Apollo.¹¹⁶ Elsewhere it is Chione daughter of Daidalion (Ov. *Met.* 11.301–27; Hyg. *Fab.* 200 who adds 'or as other poets say, Philonis', 201; cf. Paus. 8.4.6), or Leuconoe daughter of Lucifer = Heosphoros (Hyg. *Fab.* 161), or Stilbe daughter of Heosphoros (schol. T *Il.* 10.266). The name of the mother in Sophokles' *Thamyras* (fr. 242) is not given, likely though Philonis may be;¹¹⁷ but in Konon, *Dieg.* 7

¹¹⁴ For discussion of this fr. see §17.9. On Sarpedon son of Europe see also Hellan. fr. 94 (→§11.2.4).

¹¹⁵ The expression 'come to the same place' in various forms is sometimes a euphemism for 'have sexual relations with': e.g. Theok. 20.39 εἰς ὁμὰ παιδὶ κάθευδε, Plut. *Per.* 13.15 ὡς Περικλεῖ γυναῖκας ἐλευθέρας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτῶσας ὑποδέχοιτο, Paus. 10.28.8 γυναικῶν ὁπόσαις ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ Ἑρακλέα ἀφικέσθαι λέγουσι, Xen. *Eph.* 5.1.7 τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ἡ κόρη πολλὰς προφάσεις ἐποιεῖτο ἀναβαλλομένη τὸν γάμον· τελευταίον δὲ δυνηθεῖσα ἐν ταύτῳ μοι γενέσθαι συντίθεται νύκτωρ ἐξελθεῖν Λακεδαιμόνος μετ' ἐμοῦ, Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 3.1.6 τῆς Ἥρας αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ Διὶ) διαφερομένης καὶ μηκέτι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτᾶν βουλομένης; cf. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* 156, with Lloyd-Jones, *Academic Papers* 2.119. In the present fr., however, the sexual union is stated plainly, and ἐν ταύτῳ/κατὰ τὸ αὐτό stresses the fact that the gods most unusually shared Philonis—but not at exactly the same time; we are not to imagine a *ménage à trois*, as some scholars have been tempted rather comically to do. See Ov. *Met.* 11.301–27, Hyg. *Fab.* 200.

¹¹⁶ *De piet.* P.Herc. 243 III 14–18 ed. Henrichs, *GRBS* 13 (1972) 86.

¹¹⁷ Carl Robert, *Oidipus* 2.92, argued that the scholion preserving our fragment combined Pher. with Sophokles; his reason seems to be that Pher.'s πλείστα κλέπτων ἐθυσάριζεν is a prose version of Sophokles' πολέων κτεάνων σίνν. But the diction is not really alike and both writers are merely saying what one would say about such a character. There is no reason at all to connect these two fragments, or to think that the scholiast has combined two authors in order to tell a quite simple story. Jacoby well notes that ἀνὴρ σοφιστῆς in the fr. has an archaic ring and could be Pherekydes' wording.

we have Philonis daughter of Heosphoros and Kleoboia, born at Thorikos. We now know from the Thorikos calendar (430s BC) that Philonis received a table of offerings there in the month of Mounichion.¹¹⁸ It looks as though the Aiolid Deion(eus) of Phokis and a possibly different Deion(eus) of Athens were equated at an early time as the father of Kephalos of Thorikos (Pher. fr. 34, Hellan. fr. 144, 169); the mother was Diomede, daughter of Xouthos (Hes. fr. 10(a) 24, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.86), who is of course also at home in Attica.

Pherekydes, however, is thinking of Phokis when he places his story on Parnassos; the girl's unmarried status implies her father is resident there, and the father is not Heosphoros as in Konon and others. If he equated the two figures, he must have had some inventive way to bring them back to Attica. It is notable that several of the names in these variants have meteorological or astronomical significance (Chione, Heosphoros, Stilbe, Asterodeia); Kephalos was himself carried off by Eos, and had a disastrous mishap with his wife over a woman named Nephele. It seems possible that a clutch of stories connected in some way with weather and seasonal rituals was found in Thorikos,¹¹⁹ involving a hero Deion(eus) who was subsequently equated with the better-known figure of pan-Hellenic myth (from where other figures such as Philonis were then transferred to Thorikos). Philammon and Autolykos are at home at Delphi, as the stories about them make clear;¹²⁰ the pairing of a master thief of animals ('Very-Wolf') and a master musician, sons of Apollo and Hermes, points clearly to the culture of shepherds, and Delphi was an ancient pastoral site.¹²¹ Pherekydes must have known about the Thorikian Philonis, but interestingly chose in this instance to follow the pan-Hellenic version as given by Hesiod.

§5.4 Boiotia

§5.4.1 CHAIRONEIA AND PHEMIAI; MELANIPPE (Antioch. fr. 12; Aristoph. fr. 3; Hellan. fr. 14, 81)

The polis Phemiai (Hellan. fr. 14; 'polis' may be Stephanos' term, not Hellanikos') is so obscure that it does not even make the list in *IACP*, p. 678 n. 4, of settlements omitted on grounds of obscurity. The authors presumably regard it as wholly mythical, like

¹¹⁸ *NGSL* 1.44; R. Parker, 'Festivals of the Attic Demes' 146; *Polytheism and Society* 65 n. 58, 71–2.

¹¹⁹ Fowler, 'The Myth of Kephalos'. In schol. Dion. *Per.* 509 Kephalos is said to be son of Pandion and Herse, and father of Aaos; Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.257 n. 1 [1.262 n. 1].

¹²⁰ For Philammon see also [Plut.] *De Mus.* 1132a, 1133b, Paus. 10.7.2; in Pher. fr. 26 he not Orpheus is an Argonaut; see §6.3.3. For Autolykos on Parnassos see *Od.* 19.392–466; his thievery also at *Il.* 10.266–7, and his special skill of altering his loot's appearance at Hes. fr. 67, Ov. *Met.* 11.314–15. Probably in the *Cat.* (West, *HCW* p. 64) and in Herod. fr. 40 he is Jason's grandfather; this was not Pher.'s view (fr. 104; →§6.2). Philonis on Parnassos will have been a Kyrene-like figure; the version in Hyg. *Fab.* 200 accords with this (a huntress, who brags she's better than Diana).

¹²¹ Rousset, *Le Territoire de Delphes* s.v. Élevage.

Arne in whose territory it is located. Tradition held that the Boiotians, temporarily evicted from Boiotia, moved to Thessaly and spent enough time in proximity to the Arnaians that the latter became Boiotoi; the whole lot then moved together back to Boiotia about the time that the Aioliens with the sons of Orestes were setting out from Aulis, sixty years after the Trojan War (Thuc. 1.12.3; Strab. 9.2.3 = Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 119, 9.2.29; both perhaps following Hellanikos).¹²² Arne was said to have been the previous name of the historical Kierion in Thessaly (Steph. Byz. *a*440); the Boiotian Arne provided ships for the Trojan War (*Il.* 2.507), and was thought either to have vanished beneath Lake Kopais or to have been renamed Akraiphia or even Chaironeia.¹²³ Given that Aiolos and his sons ruled in Thessaly, and that the Ampyx of our fragment must be the father of Mopsos the Argonaut (Hes. *Scut.* 181, Pind. *Pyth.* 4.191, Ap. Rhod. 1.1083),¹²⁴ and that Arne is daughter of Aiolos (e.g. Paus. 9.40.5), we may presume that Hellanikos' Phemiai is in Thessaly not Boiotia. Since Phemios is nothing but an eponym, we might infer either that the town from which his name was projected was a real one, or, if mythical, surprisingly left no trace in surviving archaic poetry. A third, more alarming, possibility is that Hellanikos has heard this name in some genealogy, and in trying to account for it has himself inferred that there must have been a city named Phemiai. This is not the only place where the suspicion arises in mythography; see Part B (introduction to 'Hellanikos') for discussion.

If Hellanikos followed the genealogy whereby the eponym Boiotos was son of Poseidon and Arne (Diod. 4.67, schol. *Il.* 2.494 = Hellan. fr. 51a,¹²⁵ Euphorion fr. 158, Nikokrates *FGrHist* 376 F 5; genealogy number 1 below), and also placed Arne in Thessaly, it becomes a problem to know how he, or indeed anyone who followed this tradition, could have called the previous inhabitants of Boiotia 'Boiotoi'—yet so they must have been, for Homer says the Boiotoi fought at Troy. One solution would be to claim that the Thessalian Arne was a colony of the Boiotian (as in Steph. Byz. *a*440). But if that Arne was daughter of Aiolos, as she always is, it would introduce further difficulties, for Aiolos is at home further north. We may note in passing that Plutarch *Kim.* 1.1 (who ought to know) says that Chaironeia was the first town occupied by the returning Boiotians, evicting the barbarians (Thracians and Pelasgians: Ephoros ap. Strabo loc. cit.). He does not say if the city had always had that name; similarly, **Aristoph. fr. 3** and **Hellan. fr. 81** ('Chaironeia' from 'Chairon' son of Apollo and Thero) are silent as to whether this was a new foundation, a return, or a takeover, but the genealogy places the

¹²² See §19.3.

¹²³ Strab. 1.3.18, 9.2.34–5, Paus. 9.40.5, schol. Thuc. 1.12.3, schol. and Eust. ad *Il.* 2.507b, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Χαίρωνεια*; Vannicelli, 'Problemi della Beozia omerica'; Bakhuizen, 'The Ethnos of the Boiotians'; Fossey, *Topography* 382–3; *BNP* s.v. Arne; Hornblower on Thuc. 1.12.3; E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 277–8.

¹²⁴ I do not see the grounds for Jacoby's assertion that he was descended from Salmoneus. Ampyx's wife was Chloris (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.65, Hyg. *Fab.* 14) daughter of Orchomenos (Tzet. ad Lykoph. 881).

¹²⁵ There is no way of knowing if this particular detail in the lengthy scholion comes from Hellanikos.

naming two generations after the Trojan War as required.¹²⁶ Whether or not Chaironeia was Arne, there must (on this view) have been an Arne somewhere in Boiotia as Homer says, but not one named after a daughter of Aiolos.

One way of accounting for the name would be to reach back to Kadmos' time, to say that Boiotia was so called because of the cow as in Hellan. fr. 51, and to posit a Boiotos I appearing at some point after the Spartoi but before the northward emigration. No such story is attested. But in Thuc. 1.12.3 we have the interesting comment that Boiotia was known as Kadmeia before the Trojan War, and that an ἀποδασμός of the Boiotoi lived there (and fought at Troy).¹²⁷ If this is Hellanikos, as is often thought, we have his answer: the Boiotoi were native to Thessaly, but already (long?) before the Trojan War some of them had taken up residence in Boiotia, preparing the way as it were. This shows that he was not only aware of the problem, but that he tried to find a tidy solution. (It also means that 'Boiotia' from Kadmos' βούς is not his etymology, as the name would have to derive from the Boiotoi, already so named in Thessaly; →§§10.2, 10.3). However (as Gomme on Thuc. 1.12.3 points out), the number of Boiotoi in Homer's *Catalogue* are considerably more than an ἀποδασμός¹²⁸ (and Strabo's version, in contrast with Thucydides', presumes a large population of Boiotoi moving north and absorbing the Arnaians). The problem is unsolvable, and arises from the belief of historical Boiotians that they were both present in Boiotia from time immemorial and at the same time immigrants from Thessaly.

Also relevant to this problem of the first Boiotians in Boiotia is the genealogy Amphiktion → Itonos → Boiotos (genealogy number 2 below), which there is reason to think is very ancient, going back to a period before the crystallization of the Hellenic genealogy.¹²⁹ It expressed first of all the allegiance of all Boiotians to the cult of Athena Itonia, the federal goddess (→§1.8.4), secondly their adherence to the Pylian Amphiktiony, and thirdly the link (again) with Thessaly, and the cult of Athenia Itonia there (→§§1.8.4, 4.1 n. 27, 4.4 n. 72). When this grouping was joined to, or evolved into, the Hellenic tree in the early archaic period, a link with Aiolos had to be found, necessarily by maternal affiliation.

It is instructive to consider ways this might have been done. It is first necessary to bring into consideration the genealogy found in two Euripidean plays, *Melanippe the*

¹²⁶ The genealogy derives from the *Megalai Ehoiai* fr. 252 = 13 Hirschberger, quoted by Paus. 9.40.6. Thero is daughter of Leipephile who is daughter of Iolaos. The variant *Θουρώ* in Plut. *Sull.* 17.4, relating to the temple of Apollo Thourios at Chaironeia, is attractive but of uncertain antiquity. 'Thero' is attested but once as a name in Thessaly (*LGPV* IIIB) but 'Theron' is not uncommon, there and elsewhere. The reason for changing 'Thero' to 'Thouro' is hard to identify (Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1.43–4). For Thracians in central Greece, see below §5.5; §6.4.4; §16.1.2.

¹²⁷ Cf. Hdt. 5.57–61: Kadmeioi evicted by the Argives in the campaign of the Epigonoι, take refuge with the Encheleis (→§10.2); subsequently the Gephyraioi were evicted by the newly arrived Boiotians.

¹²⁸ Pace S. Larson, *Tales of Epic Ancestry* 59, the word denotes a minority (and ἀπο- shows that Thessaly was their base). On the problem generally see Breglia, 'Barbari e cultori delle Muse'.

¹²⁹ Armen. fr. 1, Paus. 9.1.1, 9.34.1, Steph. Byz. β116. Cf. J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity* 150.

Wise and Melanippe Captive.¹³⁰ In these, Aiolos son of Hellen had a daughter Melanippe who while still unmarried gave birth by Poseidon to Aiolos II and Boiotos (genealogy number 3 below). This family group was exiled to Metapontion in south Italy, where after various adventures Boiotos returned to found (pre-Trojan) Boiotia. An elaboration of the Euripidean scheme is found in Diodoros, who extends the tree at the top end and adds yet another Aiolos: Aiolos I son of Hellen rules in Aiolis (later called Thessaly); his son is Mimas; Mimas' son is Hippotes; Hippotes' son with Melanippe is Aiolos II; this Aiolos' daughter is Arne who with Poseidon has Boiotos and Aiolos III. After the adventures in Italy Boiotos goes to his grandfather in Thessaly, is adopted, assumes the throne, and names the place Arne and the people Boiotoi. His son is Itonos, whose five grandsons led the Boiotoi at Troy. The reason for the extra Aioli is doubtless a desire to account for the Aiolian Islands (Aiolos II in Eur., Aiolos III in Diod.), and the Aiolos son of Hippotes who is master of winds in the *Odyssey* (10.2, 36; Aiolos II in Diod.). We do not know if Euripides' Boiotos returned to Thessaly as in Diodoros, or directly to Boiotia (Hyginus, *Fab.* 186, rather astoundingly sends him to the Propontis; cf. Steph. Byz. β116 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτία ἐν Θράκῃ).

To clarify then (and disregard Diodoros), we have (Fig. 5.2) the simple genealogy of schol. *Il.* 2.494, ostensibly that of Hellanikos (fr. 51a):

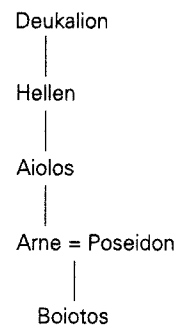


FIG. 5.2

alongside the Amphiktionic genealogy (Fig. 5.3):

¹³⁰ Collard, Cropp, and Lee, *Euripides* 1.244–5; Collard and Cropp, *Euripides* 1.569–71, 1.587–9; Gantz 734–5. Though the details of the story of Melanippe particularly as told by Euripides are desperately difficult to recover, the genealogies on offer are relatively few and clear.

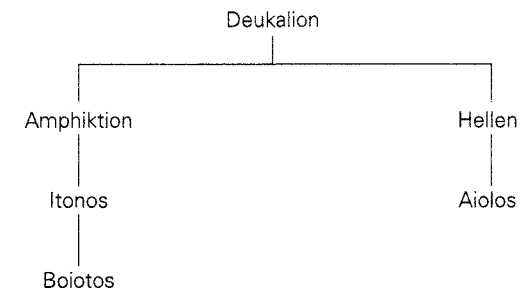


FIG. 5.3

and the Euripidean genealogy (Fig. 5.4):

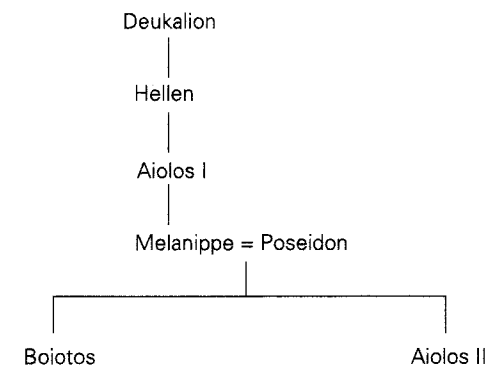


FIG. 5.4

In Figs. 5.2 and 5.4 we have a choice between Arne and Melanippe as mother of Boiotos. In either case Poseidon is the father, and the horse connection is reinforced by Melanippe's mother Hippo and her grandfather Cheiron in Euripides. Given the importance of Poseidon in Boiotian cult, his paternity is quite probably an old belief. Melanippe herself is a hypostasis of the Earth Mother, a perfect consort for Poseidon.¹³¹ In Fig. 5.4 it is necessary for the tribal ancestor to have a god for a father; otherwise they would be Itonians. We may speculate that Boiotos' father κατ' ἐπικλήσιν was Itonos, but in reality Poseidon.

¹³¹ Lloyd-Jones, *Further Academic Papers* 41. The interesting debate there between him and Haslam about the identity of the 'cousin of Aiolos Hippotadas' who is burying someone in Stesich. 222B fr. 62 Campbell is unnecessarily complicated by bringing in Melanippe. Haslam made the case that the dead person was Misenos, who was a companion of Odysseus before he was a companion of Aeneas (Norden on Verg. *Aen.* 6.156–263, pp. 179–81; Radt on Strabo 1.2.18). Lloyd-Jones suspected that the cousin is Odysseus, son of the Aiolid Sisypheos, which makes him a relative of Misenus 'Aeolides' (Verg. *Aen.* 6.164; Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 3.239) as well as his captain. Lloyd-Jones draws the link through Hippotes' mother Melanippe, but he could (as his son's name suggests) as well be descended on his father's side (as he is in Diodoros). Lloyd-Jones's view also depends on Stesichoros' accepting that Sisypheos was really the father of Odysseus (above, p. 181): certainly not impossible. If everyone in the passage is Aiolid, Stesichoros' point is not at all obscure.

Now Itonos' spouse, according to Pausanias (9.1.1), was also a Melanippe; no other wife is recorded. Thus, when it became necessary to attach Boiotos to the Aiolian clan, there were in theory several options: declare Itonos' wife Melanippe to be a daughter of Aiolos; change Itonos' wife from Melanippe to Arne; detach Boiotos from Itonos altogether, and make his mother either Arne or Melanippe. We do not know which of these options Hellanikos chose. Choosing Melanippe would not necessarily require one to follow Euripides' scheme; one could substitute her for Arne in Fig. 5.2, as perhaps already in Asios. The twins Aiolos and Boiotos are involved in a typically Euripidean plot; if one really wished to account for the Aiolian islands or the lord of the winds by creating an Aiolos II linked to Aiolos I, one would not necessarily have to send Boiotos westwards as well. Duplication is a device employed elsewhere in mythography for chronological and other reasons, but no such advantage is gained here by this additional Aiolos. On balance therefore it seems likely that Fig. 5.2 (with Arne) is Hellanikos'.

Returning now to the problem of Boiotian ethnicity we can say more about Itonos and his son Boiotos. Itonos was born in Thessaly according to the Boiotian Armenidas (fr. 1; → §1.8.4). Boiotos himself was born to Melanippe Δίου ἐν μεγάροις according to Asios fr. 2, quoted by Strabo with **Antioch. fr. 12**. What location does Asios have in mind? Strabo's comment is somewhat elliptical, combining two points: (i) Metapontion was previously called Metabon; (ii) Melanippe was brought not to the house of Metabos, but of Dios. Point (ii) ought to support point (i), but it is hard to see how, except insofar as we would expect Melanippe to be brought to Metapontos if he were around; but what is Dios to either of them? It must be a person's name, given the epic locution 'in the halls of'; but it is possible that this man is the eponym of Dion in Achaia Phthiotis, and that Boiotos, having been born there, was sent to Italy with his mother by his outraged grandfather.¹³² Or to Boiotia itself: in which case Antiochos utterly repudiated the Euripidean plot, if (as is perfectly possible) he knew it; he noted as a further point against it that Metapontion was not yet so called. The collocation of these two points in the same passage does suggest a refutation, whose motive might have been a perceived Athenian bias in the version propagated by Euripides, given the city's alliance with Metapontion in the late 420s (Thuc. 7.33.5, with Hornblower). This scenario is consistent with what we know both of the date of Antiochos, who brought his Sicilian history down to 424/3 (test. 3), and of the Euripidean plays (between 421 and 413).¹³³

¹³² Dion in Achaia: IACP p. 687.

¹³³ On the dates Cropp and Fick, *Resolutions and Chronology* 83–4; on the theory Cusunà, *I frammenti di Antiocho* 127–31 following Nafissi, 'Atene e Metaponto' (cf. already Jacoby on *FGrHist* 555 F 12, after others). On Dios, cf. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* 93 (who has however misunderstood Strabo; the hero of Metabos is in Metapontion) and S. Larson, *Tales of Epic Ancestry* 21. A Dios son of Anthos son of Poseidon is father of the Boiotian eponym Anthedon in Steph. Byz. α319, but this need not be the same person. Metabos is mentioned also by Stephanos in quoting Hekaios *FGrHist* 1 F 84, but the extent of the fragment is as usual uncertain.

In both Euripides' and Diodoros' version the eponym of the Boiotoi is also born in Thessaly and raised in southern Italy. In no extant myth, therefore, is the eponymous Boiotos actually born in Boiotia. Fundamentally, this is no different from the Dorians or the Ionians, whose eponyms were born outside the historical homeland; Ion's relationship to his ethnos is particularly tenuous (→ §19.2.1), the Dorians' relationship with the Herakleidai obscure (→ §9.1). The thing that made matters especially difficult for the Boiotians, however, was the need to believe that Boiotoi had fought at Troy.

§5.4.2 (S)ALMOS (Hellan. fr. 16)

For the Boiotian polis see IACP p. 435. Fr. 16b = Steph. Byz. α221, where see Billerbeck. The settlement was later known as Olmones (Paus. 9.34.10, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὀλμωνες). According to Paus. (9.24.3), schol. *Il.* 2.511 and Stephanos, the eponymous Olmos was a son of Sisypheos son of Aiolos. Billerbeck suggests that the form Salmos in fr. 16a, which is found only in Stephanos, may rest on a corruption, or a mistake in Hellanikos, which is certainly possible. I suggest in my apparatus that he might have derived an aspirated Ἀλμος from Σάλμος.¹³⁴ Pliny *NH* 4.29 records a Thessalian town Holmos (vv. ll. *Solmon*, *Salmon*), and Steph. Byz. s.v. Μύνια says that Minya in Thessaly was formerly called Halmonia; Hyg. *Astr.* 2.20.2 says that Phrixos according to some was born 'in Salonum Thessaliae finibus' and mentions Salmoneus in the immediate sequel.¹³⁵ Hellanikos might thus have drawn a link with Salmoneus rather than Sisypheos.

§5.5 The Minyans (Epimen. fr. 1; Hellan. fr. 101A; Pher. fr. 171)

The *magni nominis umbra* of Greek myth, the Minyans have left enough traces to suggest that they were at one time a major presence both in mythology and history. By the classical period, however, they were a minor tribe, evicted from Orchomenos after the battle of Leuktra by their ancient enemies the Thebans (Paus. 4.27.10).¹³⁶ The mythological memory is so weak that one infers that the archaic epics in which they must have been celebrated were lost or forgotten; the surviving fragments of the *Minyas* have nothing obvious to do with Minyas or the Minyans, and almost no stories survive elsewhere. Even the genealogy of the eponym was uncertain. He is, for instance, a son of Poseidon (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.122 with one mother, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.230–3b with another), a son of Orchomenos (schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 1.79, quoting **Pher. fr. 171**), Eteokles (ibid.), Ares (Dionys. *FGrHist* 15 F 14, ibid.), or Aleos (Aristodemos *FGrHist* 383 F 16, ibid.). Even more revealing of the family's fate is the scarcity of sons of Minyas. We know of only: (i)

¹³⁴ Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* 1.303–4 for the equivalence in Greek phonology.

¹³⁵ Emend to 'Salmonum'? Hyginus cannot mean the people of Salona in Dalmatia.

¹³⁶ IG VII 3226 (2nd–1st c. BC) contains another reference to the historical tribe, if not a poetical usage of the name. For the fortunes of Orchomenos in the 4th c. see IACP p. 447.

Kyparissos, eponym of a town found only in the *Catalogue of Ships* (Il. 2.519); Steph. Byz. s.v. says his father was Minyas—an idle genealogy; (ii) several mentioned by schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.230: Diochthondes, a mere cipher, and Presbon and Athamas, of whom more below; (iii) Orchomenos, the great city in Boiotia: but the sources cannot decide if Minyas is father or son; usually father, but Pherekydes as we have just seen makes him son. They seem simply to be extrapolating from the epic formula 'Minyan Orchomenos' (Il. 2.511, Od. 11.284, Hes. fr. 257.4), with nothing else to go on. Orchomenos at least sires other eponyms in this part of Greece (Hes. fr. 70.29–35, fr. *77; West, *HCW* 65–7).¹³⁷ On the other hand, Minyas does have numerous daughters, who typically marry Aiolidai. Even in a patrilineal society, marriages may be uxori-local if circumstances require it, so that the husband is deemed to have joined his wife's family; in the case of the Aiolidai themselves, for instance, a great many persons claim the title by marrying one of Aiolos' daughters. In the case of Minyas, however, the affiliation has gone the other way: his family has been absorbed into the others. This looks like a case of genealogies being erased in an oral environment because no longer socially relevant.

The relationship with the Aiolidai is probably the key to what happened. The Minyans seem at one time to have extended from south Thessaly to Lake Kopais, that is to say the heartland of the Aioliens; when the genealogy of Hellen was created in the early archaic period, a process led by the Thessalians (→§4), the Minyans were perhaps already well on their way to being overtaken and simply absorbed, so that they found no independent place in the Hellenic tree, not even as a cadet branch springing from Deukalion. There is a slight possibility that Minyas was made a son of Aiolos in the *Catalogue of Women* (West, *HCW* 65–6), but if so it is odd, given the authority of the *Catalogue*, that there is absolutely no trace of it in later mythography. Moreover, when Apollonios of Rhodes, first in surviving sources, calls Minyas 'Aiolid' (3.1094), the scholia are anxious to tell us he cannot mean that Minyas was a son of Aiolos, but rather a descendant. Instead, the Minyans fit in obliquely, through maternal affiliation; or if directly, only in a subsequent generation: Minyas is son of Poseidon and a granddaughter of Sisypheos son of Aiolos in schol. Ap. Rhod. 3.1094–5, cf. Paus. 9.36.4; a son or a grandson of Sisypheos at schol. Il. 2.511; son of Poseidon and Tritogeneia daughter of Aiolos, schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.122; son of Poseidon and Euryanassa daughter of Hyperphas, schol. Od. 11.326 = Hes. fr. 62;¹³⁸ son of Thessalos son of Poseidon, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 14.5; son of Poseidon¹³⁹ and Hermippe daughter of Boiotos (who may count as Aiolian), schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.230–3b.

¹³⁷ In Pher. fr. 55 he is father of Elara, the mother of Tityos by Zeus; schol. Od. 7.324 concurs but adds τῶν δὲ Μινύων. See §1.9.1.

¹³⁸ Another daughter of Hyperphas married Oidipous according to Paus. 9.5.11, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.55 (Teuthras codd.); 'Periphas' is the name in Pher. fr. 95; I do not see on what authority Stoll in Roscher, *Lex. s.v.* Hyperphas says he is a Phlegyan, though it seems a good guess.

¹³⁹ But κατ' ἐπικλησιν Orchomenos, son of Zeus and Isonoe daughter of Danaos. This information follows Pher. fr. 104b in the scholion and it seems to me possible that this is his genealogy. Cf. Polydore daughter of Danaos and mother of Dryops in fr. 8.

Where the Minyans have some claim to primacy is in connection with the Argonauts, who were traditionally called Minyan (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.69, Hdt. 4.145.3; implied by Stesich. *PMGF* 238).¹⁴⁰ This association is sometimes held to be a late development; the Argonautic myth in itself is exceedingly ancient, but one wonders what the motive would be for linking the Minyans to the Argonauts anytime after the Geometric period. It is easier to imagine that a traditional association of 'Minyan' and the Argonauts was appropriated by the Aioliens for their hero Jason, who is a great-grandson of Aiolos but Minyan on his mother's side (like most of the Argonauts, remarks Ap. Rhod. 1.231). Another link with the Argonautic saga is through Athamas, who as we saw is named as a son of Minyas by schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.230–3b; the Argonaut story starts with his dysfunctional family (→§6.1.1). The story has ritual connections in both Thessaly and Boiotia (Hdt. 7.197; Nilsson, *Mycenaean Origin* 133–6). Hellan. fr. 126 says he lived in Orchomenos; Aristoph. fr. 9 also links him through his progeny to the town Argynneion, and Herod. fr. 38 links him to Ptoion, Erythrai, Schoinos and lake Kopais (the last two as in Hesiod; West, *HCW* 67). The Athamas who founds Teos in Pher. fr. 102 (cf. Anakr. *PMG* 463) led the Minyans from Orchomenos according to Paus. 7.3.6. So there is some reason to think he is originally Minyan,¹⁴¹ but already in the *Catalogue* has been turned into a son of Aiolos.

The blending of Minyan and Argonautic myth may account also for the fact that other names recur in both contexts: Presbon (son of Minyas, above; son of Phrixos, Epimen. fr. 15, Paus. 9.34.8); and Erginos the Argonaut (Herod. fr. 55), son of Poseidon from Miletos, but also the son of Klymenos, king of the Minyans and sworn enemy of the Thebans (Pher. fr. 95, Epimen. fr. 1, Hellan. fr. 101A); sometimes these two are equated (Pind. *Ol.* 4.19, Kallim. fr. 668; confused in the scholion reporting Herod. fr. 45). Pindar, *Paeon* VIII 140 (B2 Rutherford), alludes to the war Erginos waged on the Thebans after his father's death at their hands; the scholia report different versions of how he was killed: (i) by one Perieres (source perhaps Euphorion), charioteer of Kreon's father Menoikeus according to Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.67; (ii) fighting at Onchestos for an unknown reason (Hellan. fr. 101A);¹⁴² (iii) accidentally by Glaukos, competing in a chariot race (Epimen. fr. 1). The continuation of the story is that the victorious Erginos

¹⁴⁰ Simon. *PMG* 540 says Iolkos was inhabited by the Minyai; cf. Demetr. Skeps. fr. 51, Strabo 9.2.40. A place-name Minye is attested (Steph. Byz. s.v. Μινύα; IG IX.2.21.10 (3rd c. BC); unlocated). Cf. Dräger, *BNP* s.v. Minyans.

¹⁴¹ He is sometimes said to be the eponym of the historical Athamanes, as Hellen is of the Hellenes, but I find no ancient source drawing this (one would have thought obvious) connection.

¹⁴² The traces are desperately difficult; cf. *ZPE* 96 (1993) 15–16. Apollodoros puts variants 1 and 2 together (Klymenos killed by Menoikeus' charioteer at Onchestos) and perhaps this is what is intended in the papyrus. Paus. 9.37.1 says the event happened at the festival of Poseidon at Onchestos; cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 1.52–4, and Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 2.220. The myth may reflect the growth of Theban domination in the 6th c. in this area (for which see Schachter 2.220, R. J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia* 59–60, 97, 107–20). Onchestos lay on the border between spheres of Theban and Orchomenian influence.

exacts tribute from the Thebans, until Herakles puts a stop to it. In Apollodoros, Erginos is killed; in Pausanias (9.37.3) he is spared, to sire the temple-builders Trophonios and Agamedes in his old age (in Pindar the oracle inspiring his new marriage seems to have come earlier in his life).¹⁴³ In Pher. fr. 95, we find an unusual story in which Erginos and the Minyans kill the first sons of Oidipous, at a time when Kreon has already surrendered the throne. In both Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.70) and Diodoros (4.10.6) Kreon is still king when Herakles defeats the Minyans, and bestows his daughter Megara as a reward; but if Pherekydes followed that sequence of events, it would mean that Erginos somehow recovered from his defeat by Herakles, to worry the Thebans once more, and that Megara was given to Herakles for some other, unknown reason.¹⁴⁴ Or, if Pherekydes agreed that Megara was the prize for defeating Erginos, he disagreed that this event happened before Kreon relinquished the throne; but in that case, Herakles was not being rewarded with a princess. Neither of these scenarios is impossible, and indeed any mythographer, ancient or modern, will run into difficulties as soon as it is asked how the careers of Herakles and Oidipous, both Thebans, both living a couple of generations before the Trojan War, consorted with each other. But a final possibility is that Pherekydes simply told the Herakles and the Oidipous stories separately, and did not try to bring them into chronological harmony, if he even thought about such things.

The Minyans of Orchomenos appear in one other place in our corpus: Hellan. fr. 42b says that they were evicted by Thracians and moved to Attika during the time of King Mounichos; he gave them a place to live, which they called Mounichia after him. We hear of Thracians in Boiotia from Strabo (9.2.3, 9.2.25, 10.3.17), who forced the Boiotoi to flee to Thessaly; as the Boiotoi annexed Orchomenos upon their return (*ibid.*), we may conjecture that the Thracians had similarly evicted the Minyans.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ No. 111 Parke-Wormell, L4 Fontenrose. Schachter, 'Boiotia in the Sixth Century B.C.' 80 n. 31, suggests the version in which Erginos survives (though powerless) is the archaic version, and that in which he is killed reflects the total destruction of Orchomenos in the 4th c.

¹⁴⁴ An archaic epic in which Erginos withstood Herakles would have to have an anti-Theban bias: R. J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia* 60. On this fr. see further §12.2.3.

¹⁴⁵ Further on Hellan. fr. 42 see §16.1.2. For Thracians in Boiotia see also §1.8.3 and Part B (Armenidas); Steph. Byz. β116 claims there was a Boiotia in Thrace. For Thracians in Daulis, see §6.4.4.

§6

ARGONAUTS

§6.1 Background

§6.1.1 THE GOLDEN FLEECE (Akous. fr. 37; Hek. fr. 17; Hellan. fr. 126–7, 129; Herod. fr. 38, 38A; Pher. fr. 98–9, 105)

THE most familiar form of the story of the fleece is perhaps that given by Apollod., *Bibl.* 1.80–3. Athamas, son of Aiolos, had a son and a daughter, Phrixos and Helle, by Nephele, a goddess as it would seem. His second wife Ino, with whom he had Learchos and Melikertes, was jealous of Nephele's children and plotted against them. She persuaded the women to parch the seed-wheat, which then failed to produce a crop. Athamas sent to Delphi to determine the cause of the failure; Ino persuaded the messengers to say that Phrixos had to be sacrificed to put matters right. As Athamas, forced by the people, was preparing to do this, Nephele rescued Phrixos from the very altar, together with Helle. She gave them a ram with a golden fleece, which she had got from Hermes; the ram carried Phrixos and Helle through the air to Kolchis—except that Helle fell off and drowned in the stretch of water that now bears her name, the Hellespont. Phrixos married Chalkiope, daughter of King Aietes of Kolchis, and had four sons, Argos, Melas, Phrontis, and Kytisoros. The previous history of Ino as nurse of Dionysos is reserved for discussion in §10.8, and her subsequent history (the death of her son Learchos, her leap into the sea with her other son Melikertes, her transformation into the sea-goddess Leukothea: *Od.* 5.333–53) does not figure in our corpus, but we may mention that Themisto in Apollodoros is the name of Athamas' third wife (daughter of Thessalian Hypseus), whom he marries after the tragic demise of Ino and his emigration to Thessaly; their children are Leukon, Erythrios, Schoineus, and Ptoios.

To be compared with this version are four of Hyginus' *Fabulae* (1–4), the last claimed to derive from Euripides' *Ino*.² In it, Themisto is again the last wife, but Ino still lives, and the plot involves Themisto's attempted murder of Ino's children (and the actual murder of her own by mistake, upon which she commits suicide). In the first three *Fabulae*, we learn of the three wives, and of Themisto's foiled plot and suicide. We learn

¹ Son of Peneios and a Naiad in Pher. fr. 57:→§4.5.

² Fr. 398–423; Collard and Cropp 1.438–59; M. Huys, *APF* 42 (1996) 172–3.

of Ino's plot against Nephele's children, as in Apollodoros, except that Phrixos voluntarily steps forward to be sacrificed; before this can happen, the messenger reveals the truth about Ino; Athamas then hands Ino and Melikertes over to Phrixos to be killed, but they are rescued by Dionysos. Phrixos and Helle are subsequently afflicted by Dionysos with madness, and while they are wandering in the woods Nephele gives them the golden ram, offspring of Poseidon and Theophane. When Phrixos reaches Kolchis he sacrifices the ram to Ares as instructed, and deposits the fleece in his temple. He marries Chalkiope, and has sons Argos, Phrontis, Melas, and 'Cylindrus', but is himself killed by Aietes who had been warned by a prophecy to fear a foreign son of Aiolos who would remove him from his throne. The sons attempt to return to Greece, but are shipwrecked and rescued by the Argonauts on their way to fetch the fleece. This service allows Chalkiope to recommend Jason in favourable terms to her sister Medeia. As Gantz well notes (178), Hyginus' account 'smacks of tragedy', and the unattributed *Fabulae* 1–3 probably preserve details of Euripides' two *Phrixos* plays.³

Another account surviving intact is found in the D scholia to the *Iliad*, 7.86, attributed to Philostephanos of Kyrene (fr. 23 Capel Badino).⁴ Here, Ino is the first wife, and Nephele the second; she leaves on discovering that Athamas is still seeing Ino (who then hatches her plot against Nephele's children). Athamas sends for Phrixos for the sacrifice, telling him to bring the finest ram from the flocks; this ram miraculously (*κατά τινος δαίμονος ἐπιφάνειαν*) speaks to Phrixos as they are journeying toward, telling him that he is the real victim,⁵ and takes him and his sister off to Kolchis through the air. Athamas discovers Ino's treachery, kills Learchos and pursues Ino with a sword; there follows her leap into the sea with Melikertes.

Thus far the main continuous accounts.⁶ Against this general background, our mythographers contribute the following details. The scholia to Pindar, commenting on his passing reference to the ram that saved Phrixos from his stepmother's 'godless

³ Fr. 818c–38; Collard and Cropp 2.423–57. Aischylos wrote an *Athamas* (fr. 1–4a), Sophokles wrote two plays of that name (fr. 1–10) as well as a *Phrixos* (fr. 721–3a), Achaïos wrote a *Phrixos* (TrGF 20 F 38), as did [Philo]kles or [Timo]kles in 340 BC (TrGF 61 T 2 = 86 T 3). Xenokles (TrGF 33 F 1) and Astydamas (60 F 1) and an anonymous tragedian (TrGF Adespota F 1a) wrote an *Athamas*, while Amphis and Antiphanes wrote comedies. Desperately little is known about any of these (but for Soph. *Athamas* see below). With *Fab.* 1–4 compare also *Astr.* 2.20, the first part of which corresponds to Eratosth. *Katast.* 19 = Pher. fr. 99. In this version, Cretheus' wife Demodice or †Biadice falls in love with Athamas' son, Cretheus' nephew Phrixos; on being rebuffed she falsely slanders him; Cretheus then takes the matter to Athamas.

⁴ Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 22 has reproduced and augmented this scholion, first from Apollod., then from a rationalizing source to the effect that Krios was a man well-disposed to Phrixos and Helle, who arranged their escape by ship (cf. Palaiphatos 30, Herakleit. *Incred.* 24). A. B. Cook, *Zeus* 1.418 n.1, collects the various rationalizing interpretations of the ram ('an amazing crop . . . stupid, stupider, and stupidest'. But they have a point.)

⁵ This detail also in Tzetzes, schol. Aisch. *Pers.* 70, Apostol. 11.58.

⁶ See also Palaiph. 30, Diod. Sic. 4.47 = Dion. Skyt. fr. 24, Ovid *Fasti* 3.853–76, Herakleit. *Incred.* 24, Zenob. 4.38, schol. Stat. *Ach.* 1.65, Eust. *Il.* 667.4 ff., schol. Aisch. *Pers.* 70, Myth. Vat. I 1.23, II 157 (134), Apostol. 11.58.

weapons' (*Pyth.* 4.162), say that she had a passion for her stepson, which was presumably rebuffed; they then record the variant names of this woman: Demodika (Pind. fr. 49, in the *Hymns*), Gorgopis (Hippias *FGrHist* 6 F 11), Nephele (Soph. fr. 4a; surely a mistake), and Themisto (**Pher. fr. 98**). The presumed error of the scholia regarding Sophokles undermines confidence in their report of Pherekydes, and Themisto is everywhere else the third wife. However, given that the story of Ino, the death of her children, and her subsequent transformation can be seen as an independent tale, and given the variants already recounted, one can without difficulty imagine a tale in which Themisto is the stepmother who plots against Nephele's children. We cannot be sure that she played Potiphar's wife to Phrixos' Joseph in Pherekydes, as she appears to have done in Pindar. However, the same scholion reports specifically from Pherekydes the detail that Phrixos volunteered himself for sacrifice, which echoes Hyg. *Fab.* 2 = (?)Euripides, an author who is fond of the motif of voluntary self-sacrifice, though not, as this example and others (such as the story of Kodros) show, its inventor.

Free variation is again the case in **Herod. fr. 38**, who eliminates, no doubt for his usual rationalizing reasons, the supernatural Nephele; he gives six children to Athamas and Themisto, the first four as in Apollodoros above, plus Phrixos and Helle. Given that the first four are Boiotian eponyms,⁷ this arrangement makes more sense than marrying Themisto after his migration to the far north-west; Themisto as his wife, and Ptoios as their son, are also known from archaic epic (Asios fr. 3 ap. Paus. 9.23.6; the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios). Athamas' deep roots in Boiotia are attested by **Hellän. fr. 126**, who says he lived in Orchomenos; as we have seen in §5.5, Aristoph. fr. 9 links him to Argynneion, and the Athamas who founds Teos in Pher. fr. 102 came from Orchomenos (Paus. 73.6; →§19.2.2). Apollodoros (1.80) calls him 'lord of Boiotia'. There are, however, Thessalian links as we shall see in a moment (below, p. 200).

Herodotos' rationalizing is visible again in **fr. 38A**, if Meineke's assignation of the fragment to him is right: the ram story arose from the fact that princes at first (i.e. before graduating to horses) rode these animals. Rams, one would have thought, would not be a natural choice of transportation for sons of royalty, but rationalization does not have to appeal to something actually seen in the contemporary world—only to something one can imagine as happening, if only in the past when they did things differently. That Herodotos thought the idea in need of explanation shows that he found it ridiculous. He also rationalized the golden lamb in the story of Atreus and Thyestes (fr. 57; →§14.2.2).

At first sight, **Akous. fr. 37** also looks like a rationalization: the fleece was not golden, but was turned purple 'from the sea'. But this is likely to be the same idea as is found in Simonides *PMG* 576 (the fleece had been dyed 'from purples of the sea'), who is not

⁷ See *BNP* svv. Leukon is eponym of Lake Leukonis = Kopais (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Κῶπαι*); Erythrios of Erythrai (*IACP* no. 203); Schoineus of the town Schoinos (*Il.* 2.497); and Ptoios of Mt Ptoion (strangely omitted by the *Barrington Atlas*).

normally thought of as a rationalizer; purple is an equivalent of gold as a symbol of luxury.⁸ On the other hand the point of the Golden Fleece is that the ram was born with it: a truly miraculous beast. For **Pher. fr. 99, 105**, as for Hesiod before him (fr. 68), the fleece was golden. That the animal swam is the assumption also in Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.161, and Hes. fr. 254.⁹ Art can be unclear on this point; illustrations depicting fishes or waves just below the ram's legs could indicate either that he is in the sea or above it. In later depictions, flight predominates (Bruneau, *LIMC* 7.1.404). Flight seems to be the case in **Hek. fr. 17**: the scholiast does at least say 'when Helle fell' while ostensibly paraphrasing Hekataios. He is commenting on the detail of the speaking ram; this is one of those cases where Hekataios' urge to rationalize seems to be in abeyance (but perhaps he exempts the direct intervention of gods from such treatment: *their* supernatural acts are reasonable, as that is their nature). Apollonios, according to his scholiast, has this detail from Hekataios, but it is noteworthy that in other versions, as we have seen, the motif of the speaking ram is found at a different point in the story (but still credited to divine intervention). At all events, he is a miraculous animal, and if he could speak, why not fly too?

The basic tale, for all the variation in details, is essentially the same in the versions so far examined: a wicked stepmother plots against her stepchildren, and falsifies an oracle to arrange their sacrifice; the children are rescued at the last minute; they escape to Kolchis on the back of the ram with the (usually) golden fleece.¹⁰ In all early versions, only the death of Phrixos is demanded; Helle appears to have been taken along for the ride merely in order to become the eponym of the Hellespont.¹¹ As if aware of this awkwardness, later writers (e.g. Ovid, loc. cit.) amend the oracle to demand the death of both children. The sacrifice of the young prince would appear to be the heart of the old story, in which one can recognize a classic scapegoat motif:¹² famine or a similar disaster afflicts the land, and the god demands a valuable life; as the victim is about to be sacrificed, he is rescued. Versions which have Phrixos step forward voluntarily to save his country accord well with this scheme. The substitution of an animal at the last minute is familiar from the Greek myth of Iphigeneia, and the biblical story of Abraham and Isaac; the real ritual involved an animal sacrifice, but the myth speaks of a human victim (for Zeus Laphystios, 'Voracious Zeus'). In Pausanias (9.34.5), it is Zeus Laphystios himself who sends the ram.

⁸ Bremmer, *GRC* 311.

⁹ D. S. Robertson, *CR* 54 (1940) 7.

¹⁰ For stepmothers in Greek myth and society see Watson, *Ancient Stepmothers*.

¹¹ In Homer, as Strabo 7 fr. 22 argues (citing *Il.* 9.359–61, 4.520, 2.845), the term has a wider application, to the north Aegean. See Radt ad loc. and Jacoby on *Hek. FGrHist* 1 F 139. The laws of the hexameter demonstrate that Homer considered 'Ελλάσποντος' as a single word: Hoenigswald, 'Ελλάσποντος'. **Hell. fr. 127** places her plunge near Paktye, on the north shore just inside the Propontis; this corresponds exactly to *Hdt.* 7.58.2 (who mentions her tomb), and implies the narrower definition.

¹² Bremmer, *GRC* 305–9; R. Parker, *Miasma* 259; cf. Nilsson, *GGR* 1.397.

With scapegoats in mind we turn to the version in *Hdt.* 7.197, which is somewhat different from those considered so far. That it is explicitly related to cult and appears to derive from local knowledge is a stark reminder of our limited understanding of the complicated realities on the ground at any particular time and place. According to Herodotos, when Xerxes arrived at Halos in Achaia (Thessaly) he was told about the sanctuary of Laphystian Zeus. Athamas son of Aiolos with Ino had arranged the death of Phrixos, acceding to Ino's wishes,¹³ and in consequence the people, on the advice of an oracle, decreed that the eldest member of Athamas' house must be barred from the council-house (prytaneion, called λήιτον locally); should they enter, they would be sacrificed. Many potential victims had fled, but in time they returned, and if found guilty¹⁴ were decked out for the sacrifice like an animal and led out in procession. This happened to the sons of Kytissoros son of Phrixos, since Kytissoros, coming from Kolchis, had rescued Athamas, whom the Achaians were preparing to sacrifice as a purification (καθαρμός), again by order of an oracle. Consequently the wrath of the god (i.e. Laphystian Zeus) was called down upon his descendants. Xerxes paid due honour to the house¹⁵ of Athamas and the sanctuary, steering well clear.

This version raises many questions. It is, however, to be related to that on which Sophokles drew in his *Athamas*, about which the scholia to Aristophanes *Clouds* 257 convey some information.¹⁶ In the *Clouds* Strepsiades expresses the fear that Sokrates is going to sacrifice him like Athamas, decked out in garlands. The commentators say that in Sophokles' play Athamas, so adorned, was about to be sacrificed because of Phrixos, when Herakles appeared and informed everyone that Phrixos yet lived, having been rescued by Nephele. The fullest account is in the Thoman/Triclinian scholia: Athamas had abandoned Nephele for his human wife Ino; Nephele then afflicted the land with drought; the oracle's advice was sought; the nefarious Ino intervened, and the death of both children¹⁷ was decreed. Presumably the story was that, when Ino's plot was

¹³ σὺν Ἰνοὶ βουλευσας, not ἐπιβουλευσας; as in other versions he was unwilling.

¹⁴ There is a problem in the text here. Hude (OCT) prints ἦν ἀλίσκωνται ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὸ πρυτανήμιον, 'if they were found guilty of having entered the prytaneion'. The apparent difficulty is that they have already convicted themselves by their flight (or, if it means 'were caught having gone into the prytaneion', one wonders what madness made them enter). If one translates οἱ μέλλοντες θύεσθαι not as 'those about to be sacrificed' but as 'potential victims', the difficulty is circumvented. The eldest Athamantids took no chances as to whether their scapegoat-seeking countrymen would decide they had actually set foot in the prytaneion, facts being no impediment in such circumstances; in practice, they would all have to go (there being always an eldest left behind). Aetiologically the point is one cannot be sure about who is guilty. The alternative, ἦν ἀλίσκωνται, ἐστέλλοντο ἐς τὸ πρυτανήμιον, 'if they were caught [i.e., they had tried to return incognito], they were sent to the prytaneion', involves their being sent to the very place they must not go; this would be a pollution, as they have blood-guilt on their hands. Valckenaer already in the 18th c. remarked of this reading 'nimis diu haesit'. Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung* 2.247 n.1, nonetheless defends it.

¹⁵ As Herodotos' usual word for 'house' in the sense of 'building' is οἶκμα I take οἰκίη here to mean 'family'.

¹⁶ *TrGF* 4.99–100.

¹⁷ Sic; the other notices say 'because of Phrixos' *vel sim.*

discovered, the people demanded that Athamas be killed; Herakles arrives in the nick of time, and saves Athamas.

The kernel of Herodotos' report, that the people punished Athamas because of what he did to Phrixos, chimes with Sophokles, including the involvement of Ino. Those who think Herodotos made most of his *Histories* up may think that what he tells us about the cult of Laphystian Zeus came from the tragedian rather than from serious research into local knowledge; more probably, we have a bit of both. The details in Herodotos about the sanctuary and the prytaneion do not look like they come from the stage; the business with Ino, however, does. Moreover, her story was probably independent originally, coming from Theban Dionysiac lore. Though it is quite possible that the locals adapted their own aetiology to accord with pan-Hellenic myth, more likely we have a typical case of Herodotos putting various sources together—what he has heard about Xerxes, what he knows about the cult, what he knows about relevant myths (perhaps from Sophokles)—and presenting the whole thing in good faith as what locals would say if you asked them. His construction may include Kytissoros' rescue mission, since Aiolos was saved rather by Herakles in Sophokles' play: he needed to account for the continuing tabu on the descendants of Athamas. At Halos, then, we have a myth/cult complex in which a goat sacrifice is required to make the crops grow; myth told of the horrible events that produced the first drought or crop failure, and decreed that members of the noblest clan must not enter the prytaneion, or the human sacrifice would have to be repeated. As this would be an unworkable restriction on an actual leading clan, one infers they no longer existed—but people could not have been sure if the avatars still lurked among them. The safest course would then be to exclude all men from the ritual. Bremmer, *GRC* 306, notes that when the myth says Ino persuaded the women to roast the seeds, it suggests that they are segregated; one thinks of the Thesmophoria.

Herodotos places this incident in Thessaly, where as a son of Aiolos Athamas is at home; other sources putting him in Thessaly include Euripides *Phrixos* A (Hypoth., *TrGF* 5.857), fr. 822a, Palaiph. 30, Strabo 9.5.8, Steph. Byz. *α226*, schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.498–527n. As we have seen he has equally strong links to Boiotia (where Eur. *Phrixos* B was set, *TrGF* 5.861). The split location mirrors many other points of contact between these two regions, including two Athamantion Plains. The Athamanes were an Epeiroi race (Hek. fr. 119), but are mentioned also in Herakleia near Mt Oita (Strabo 10.2.3, Polemon *FHG* 3.133 ap. Athen. 11.5). More particularly, there were two cults of Laphystian Zeus (Hdt. 7.197 for Thessaly, Paus. 9.34.5 for Boiotia). It is, moreover, just possible that the Boiotian Zeus was called Akraios on top of his mountain, and is comparable to the Zeus Akraios of Mount Pelion, recipient of the famous midsummer rite of rain magic, in which young men clad in sheepskins climbed to the summit.¹⁸ That loops back to Nephele in the myth, and in

¹⁸ For the rite see e.g. Nilsson, *GGR* 1.396; for the god see Graf, 'Zeus and his *Parhedroi*' 336–41; for the connection, Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 3.108.

both cases we are dealing with fertility ritual for crops. However, that the myth/cult complex of Athamas and Phrixos has no necessary connection with the Argonauts is obvious (the adventitious nature of Helle is but one clue), and one wonders if the grafting of one on to the other—and Athamas' moving north to become Aiolid—is a consequence of his Minyan origins, and the grafting of that people to the Aioliens (→§5.5).

§6.1.2 AIA (Epimen. fr. 14; Pher. fr. 100)

Pher. fr. 100 places the fleece on 'Aiaie island', which he says is in the river Phasis. As the Phasis can only be associated with the localization of Aietes' realm in Kolchis, Pherekydes' idea seems to be that the kingdom was on the mainland, while the sanctuary with the fleece was on this island. The island, of course, comes from the *Odyssey* (e.g. 10.135), where it is Kirke's home; Kirke herself also has the epithet *Αἰαίη*. Her homeland is Aia, like that of her brother Aietes, literally 'man of Aia'. Greeks understood this word to be a synonym of Gaia, 'earth' (*Il.* 3.243 etc.), although it is quite probably, like the fleece, a Hittite import, as in that culture the Mesopotamian goddess Aia, the wife of the Sun (Aietes' father), was worshipped.¹⁹ The Greek usage is, however, revealing in its own way, since 'land' is a meaningless toponym, reflecting the fact that the tale was originally one of a voyage to the edge of the known world and beyond, on the edges of Okeanos. Okeanos is in fact where Mimnermos puts the land of Aietes (fr. 11, 11a), and where Homer puts Kirke's island (*Od.* 12.2–4); Okeanos himself is Aietes' maternal grandfather and father-in-law (*Od.* 10.139, Hes. *Theog.* 956–60, Hek. fr. 35A; →§1.3.2). As we shall see in discussing the itinerary of the heroes, Okeanos continued to figure in the legend in Hekataios and others. That the *Odyssey* borrowed and adapted elements from the Argonautic legend has long been recognized.²⁰ Its own geography is a matter of long-standing discussion, but Kirke at least is placed explicitly in the East. The equation of Aia with Kolchis, like the localization of other places in inherited myth, resulted from Greek explorations in the late Geometric and early archaic periods.²¹ The equation is attested for Eumelos (fr. 3 and *Korinthiaka* fr. 17); Pherekydes is the next source clearly to identify Aia and Kolchis, then Hdt. (1.2.2, 7.62.1, 7.193.2, 7.197.3: *Αἶα ἡ Κολχίς*,

¹⁹ Bremmer, *GRC* 311 citing E. Ebeling and E. Forrer, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 1 (1932) s.v. A. A (sic) and Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites* 119. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 1.86, derives Aia from IE *aus-ōs > ἥως, dawn; cf. MacLachlan, 'Feasting with Ethiopians' 25 and see now M. L. West, 'Phasis and Aia' (who tentatively proposes a Leumannian explanation for *αἶα* = *γαῖα*, by way of a misunderstanding of *παῖσαν ἐν' αἶαν* at *Il.* 8.1 = 24.695). Beekes, *Etym. Dict.* s.v., recognizes none of this and leaves the etymology uncertain. For Aia see especially Heubeck on *Od.* 10.135–9; A. Lesky, *Ges. Schr.* 26–62.

²⁰ For discussion and references see M. Davies, 'The Folk-Tale Origins of the Iliad and the Odyssey'; M. L. West, 'Odyssey and Argonautica' (after Meuli, *Odyssee und Argonautika*).

²¹ For a recent survey of the archaeological evidence of Greek presence in the region see Lordkipanidze, 'The Golden Fleece' 9–25; for the Black Sea generally see the works cited by M. L. West, 'Odyssey and Argonautica' 58 n. 66, esp. the works of G. Tsetskhladze, and Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*; S. R. West, 'The Most Marvellous of All Seas'.

adjectival, as is normal). Now as Homer is the debtor in this reconstruction, and does not mention the Phasis, Pherekydes has not got his idea about Kirke's island from him: this implies that she figured in earlier Argonautic legend; perhaps she gave the heroes advice on how to get home.²² Eumelos is a likely source for Pherekydes in this context.²³

Aietes, as we have said, is son of Helios. The mother's name, as often, is less stable. In Hesiod and Hek., locc. cit., and in Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.83, she is Perseis; in the *Odyssey*, loc. cit., and Ap. Rhod. 4.591 she is Perse; in Eumelos, *Korinthiaka* fr. 17 West, she is Antiope (→§10.4); in **Epimen.** fr. 14 she is Ephyra (who in Eumel. fr. 1 is Epimetheus' wife). Eumelos fr. 3 and *Korinthiaka* fr. 17 entail that Aietes is native to Corinth but 'voluntarily' leaves his realm in the safekeeping of Bounos until he or one of his descendants should return to claim it; we do not learn why he emigrated,²⁴ and of course it is a transparent ploy to explain the presence of Medeia in later legend and cult (below, p. 231), and to stake the Corinthians' claim to Kolchis (a claim more wishful than real, as they established no colonies there). The floating epic city Ephyra and Aietes are linked to Corinth by Eumelos (fr. 1a) in a complicated story (→§17.3); Epimenides, who more simply makes Ephyra mother of Aietes, looks to be derivative of this.

§6.1.3 PHRIXOS IN KOLCHIS (Akous. fr. 38; Epimen. fr. 15; Herod. fr. 9, 39, 47; Pher. fr. 25, 101, 103, 106)

Upon arriving in Kolchis, Phrixos sacrificed the animal to Zeus Phyxios, god of escape, the same Thessalian god as Deukalion sacrificed to upon escaping the flood according to Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.48 (cf. schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.1147). In the later vulgate, the fleece was then taken to a grove of Ares, where it was placed in a tree and guarded by a dragon.²⁵ This looks like a combination, as one might expect the fleece to be placed in the sanctuary of the god to whom the animal was sacrificed. The suspicion is strengthened by the fact that in 'Hes.' *Aigimios* fr. 299 and the *Naupaktika* fr. 8, it seems the fleece was in the palace of Aietes,²⁶ and in **Hell.** fr. 129 the fleece was placed in a sanctuary of Zeus (as seems also to be the implication of schol. Hes. *Theog.* 993a: sacrificed to Zeus Phyxios, and dedicated to 'the god'; likewise Hyg. *Astr.* 2.20.1. Hyginus, *Fab.* 3 and schol. *Stat. Ach.* 1.65 impose consistency in the other direction: sacrificed to Mars and deposited in his temple; likewise schol. *Arat.* 348.) The grove of Ares might have come in by contamination from the legend of Kadmos and the Theban dragon, Ares' beast (the two stories

²² Davies 25; West 45.

²³ Observe the close parallel between Pher. fr. 105 ταῦτα δὲ τῷ Τήσωνι Ἥρῃ ἐς νόον βάλλει, ὡς ἔλθοι ἡ Μήδεια τῷ Περίῳ κακὸν and Ap. Rhod. 3.1135 ὡς γὰρ τόγε μίθετο Ἥρῃ, ὄφρα κακὸν Περίῳ ἱερὴν ἐς Ἴωλκὸν ἵκηται/Αἰαίῃ Μήδεια. Though Ap. knew Pher., he also drew on Eumelos as his scholia shortly afterwards inform us (3.1354–6a). Epic phraseology in this fr. of Pher. is also suggestive (for which in general see Dräger, *Stilistische Untersuchungen zu Pherekydes* 5–13).

²⁴ Schol. *Pind. Ol.* 13.74d say he went on the instruction of an oracle, which Jacoby on *FGrHist* 451 F 1–2 (p. 301) plausibly assigned to Eumelos.

²⁵ e.g. Ap. Rhod. 2.404, 1147, 4.119; Apollod. 1.83; schol. *Pind. Pyth.* 4.431.

²⁶ Not quite certain, however; see below, p. 225.

are explicitly connected by Pher. fr. 22, and it was the Field of Ares that both Kadmos and Jason had to plough). Now the case for connecting the golden fleece with the Hittite *kurša*, a bag made of a fleece or skin serving as a cornucopia, a symbol and talisman of royalty, and a protection in battle, has been persuasively made.²⁷ The *kurša* could be hung in a tree, or placed in the king's house, nicely replicating the variants in Greek tradition. As an object whose possession signified kingship, the golden lamb in the story of Atreus and Thyestes provides a close parallel (→§14.2.2). Bremmer also quotes a telling passage from Macrobius (*Sat.* 3.7.2), taken from an Etruscan book of divination, which says that a sheep or a ram sprinkled with purple or gold flecks foretells prosperity for ruler and people. Pelias despatched Jason to fetch the fleece to get rid of a threat to his throne; the object of the quest was more appropriate than he knew.

Phrixos marries Aietes' daughter, who is called Iophosse by **Akous.** fr. 38 and Hes. fr. 255. **Herodotos** (fr. 39) calls her Chalkiope; but he is drawing on tradition, as **Pher.** fr. 25 shows, who claimed her name was Euenia, but that 'Tophossa' and 'Chalkiope' were by-names. Here, unusually, Pherekydes reveals (at least by implication) the existence of alternatives in his sources, whose contradiction he feels the need to resolve. 'Chalkiope' is the name given by Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.83, by Apollonios in his *Argonautica* (2.1149 etc.), and by Hyginus (*Fab.* 3.3, 14.30, 21.2) and looks to be vulgate. 'Euenia' is unique as a woman's name, but 'Euenios' for a man is attested precisely in Athens (*LGPn*, 3 examples from the fourth century BC) and is the name of Herodotos' Illyrian night watchman (9.92–5). The horsey name (ἡνία) is a typical one for young women in myth (Euippe, Hippodameia, Hippolyte, Hipponoe, Leukippe, Melanippe, etc.). The impulses that drove poets or mythographers to invent new names, to our eyes completely arbitrarily, are inscrutable, though one obvious one is to stamp one's authority on the matter.

The tradition that Aietes had a prophecy warning him against death at the hands of his descendants is as old as **Herod.** fr. 9. This prophecy recurs in other authors, in various forms: in Ap. Rhod. 3.594–600, he is told to beware the treachery of his offspring, and fears lest he lose his throne (he would not even have received Phrixos but for a command from Zeus, 3.587); in Diod. Sic. 4.47.2, that he would die when strangers carried off the Fleece; in Hyg. *Fab.* 3, that he should beware of death from a foreign son of Aiolos (so he kills Phrixos, which implies a misinterpretation-of-prophecy motif); in *Fab.* 22 (also Serv. on Verg. *Georg.* 2.140, schol. *Stat. Ach.* 1.65), that he will lose his throne should he lose the Fleece; in Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* 5.231–58, Phrixos delivers the same warning to Aietes in a dream, and advises him to marry Medeia off at once. Gantz (341) notes that in no surviving version does Aietes actually die or lose his throne; 'the only consequences of Iason's coming are the loss of the Fleece (scarcely

²⁷ See Blakely in *BNJ* on Herod. fr. 52 and Bremmer, *GRC* 310–17, with full references esp. Watkins, 'A Distant Anatolian Echo'. Gernet, *The Anthropology of Ancient Greece* 93–111 (first published 1948) already saw the golden fleece as a talisman. Aietes' kingship depended on the fleece according to Diod. Sic. 4.47.2. Val. Flacc. 5.236–7.

catastrophic) and the death of Apsyrtos. But if the fleece was the talisman of his throne, the inference is that in the oldest version of this tale he *did* lose his throne. The story has been modified in Greek tradition before our earliest texts, perhaps under the influence of the developing *Odyssey* tradition.

The sons of Phrixos in the oldest tradition return to Greece to perform various roles. Their names are given by the scholiast who quotes Akous. fr. 38 as Argos, Phrontis, Melas, and Kytisoros;²⁸ the same source says that **Epimen. fr. 15** added a fifth, Presbon, who is father of Klymenos father of Erginos (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.185–8a = Herod. fr. 45; Paus. 9.34.8, 9.37.1, 4), the Minyan king of Orchomenos who fought the Thebans (→§5.5). If he is to be equated with the Argonaut, it is in defiance of chronology (and geography, if the Argonaut is supposed to be Milesian). **Pher. fr. 106** says that the ship Argo was named after Argos. Apollonios' scholia, who report the fragment, note the apparent difference between the two writers—Apollonios says the ship was named after the man who built it, Pherekydes after the son of Phrixos—but as Jacoby remarks, Apollonios had to make a change, since he follows a tradition (which he is the first to attest) that the sons of Phrixos, returning to Greece to claim their patrimony, were shipwrecked and saved by the Argonauts on their outward voyage (2.1093–1225; cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 3, 21). That he also names the builder Argos, albeit with a different father, betrays his knowledge of the original tradition. We may therefore assume that in Pherekydes as well, Argos son of Phrixos built the ship that bore his name (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.110).²⁹ Argos' return is also implied by **Herod. fr. 47**, and in Hes. fr. 256 he and a daughter of Admetos have Magnes, eponym of Magnesia.³⁰ The same divergence of traditions is visible with Melas. Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.922 and schol. *Il.* 24.79a connect the name of the Black Gulf in the northeast Aegean to Melas' shipwreck there. **Pher. fr. 101**, however, says he returned to marry Eurykleia;³¹ their son was Hyperes, who lived by the fountain known as Hypereie after him. This was in Pherai, not far from Iolkos, named after Jason's uncle Pheres, who joined the expedition. Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.221, also mentions the fountain, and his scholia report not only this fragment of Pherekydes but also one of Sophokles (911). They also inform us that there was a variant reading in *Il.* 2.711, οἱ δὲ Φερὰς ἐνέμοντο, ἰδὲ κρήνην

²⁸ The spelling varies between one and two sigmas. The name will be connected with the alternative name for Aia, Kytiaia, found in Lykoph. *Alex.* 1312; cf. Lykoph. *Alex.* 174, Ap. Rhod. 2.399, 403 with schol., Prop. 1.1.24, 2.4.7, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Κύτα*, *Etym. Magn.* s.v. *Κύρος*.

²⁹ The building of the Argo may be relevant also in Hek. fr. 2, given the context in Apollonios of Rhodes, whose scholion quotes the fr. (→§1.8.4; Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* 101). There was a tradition that it was the first ship—a relic of the ancient, pre-Homeric legend?—but pedants worked out that the ship that brought Danaos and his daughters to Argos must have been older (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1–4a, schol. Eur. *Med.* 1, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.12). On the 'first ship' story see S. Jackson, *RhMus* 140 (1997) 249–57 and P. Dräger, *ibid.* 142 (1999) 419–22; cf. Pease on Cic. *ND* 2.89. For the name of the Argo see Braswell on Pind. *Pyth.* 4.25 (b).

³⁰ The scholion quoting Herodotos cannot be pressed to say that his Argonauts, like Apollonios', also sacrificed on an altar for the Twelve Gods. For this corporation in Herodotos see fr. 34 (→§8.4.5).

³¹ A daughter of Athamas and Ino bore this name according to Plut. *Prov. Alex.* 6, Zenob. 4.38, but was killed by Athamas.

ὑπέρειαν instead of οἱ δὲ Φερὰς ἐνέμοντο παρὰ Βοιβηίδα λίμνην. At l. 734, the received text refers to those who lived in Ormenion (of uncertain location, but not near Pherai) οἱ τε κρήνην ὑπέρειαν. Strabo (9.5.18), probably echoing Apollodoros, is emphatic that Hypereia is in Pherai, and indeed its splendid fountain featured on its coins (*IACP* p. 706). Clearly l. 734 posed problems to Homeric scholars, and the variant in l. 711 looks like part of somebody's solution (no variants are recorded in 734). Unless Homer is to be found guilty of a geographical howler (not impossible), one might suppose there was more than one Hypereia in Thessaly; we do in fact hear of one other such fountain, in Argos (*Il.* 6.457). The latter is plainly an *ad hoc* invention, like *Μεσσηῖς* in the same line ('Upper' and 'Middle' Fountains), and shows that the name is generic.³²

We learn from **Pher. fr. 103** that both he and Pindar said there was a Thessalian city Aisonis or Aisonia, named after Jason's uncle.³³ Jacoby suggested that Pherekydes gave this as the home of Kretheus *et al.* instead of Iolkos, but this is unlikely, as Iolkos is universal tradition beginning with Homer (*Il.* 2.712, ruled by Pelias' grandson Eumelos), and there would have been no reason to change whatever name it had under Kretheus. Aisonis is then a different place, founded by Aison, either as an emigrating younger son or a refugee from Pelias. Since Apollod. (*Bibl.* 1.107–9) appears to be following Pherekydes in this part of his account, it is probable that in Pherekydes' version Pelias succeeded Kretheus by right rather than usurping the throne as in Pindar *Pyth.* 4.106–15 (Gantz 190). Nothing else is known of this polis.

§6.2 Jason (Andr. fr. 5; Hellan. fr. 128; Herod. fr. 40; Pher. fr. 104)

The stage is thus set for the Argonauts to embark on their mission. Jason himself is always son of Aison, son of Kretheus, son of Aiolos, so when the scholiast on Ap. Rhod. 3.335 (where Argos refers to Jason as pre-eminent among Aiolidai) felt he needed to cite **Hellan. fr. 128** to the effect that Jason descended from Aiolos, he had elementary readers in mind. The argument was (once again) over the mother's name, but in this case there is unusual variety. The *Zitatennest* which is schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.45–7a gives us the view of **Pher. fr. 104a** that it was Alkimede (as in Apollonios), of **Herod. fr. 40** that it was Polypheme daughter of Autolykos, and of **Andr. fr. 5** that it was Theognete daughter of Laodikos. Another Apollonian commentator gives us **Pher. fr. 104b**, that Alkimede was daughter of Phylakos, eponym of Phylake and grandson of Aiolos; thus Jason was not

³² Cf. Kirk on *Il.* 6.457 and E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 700–1; the supposed fountain in Messenia is however an interpretation of this line of Homer. The one in Lakonia (schol. Pind. loc. cit.) is probably another such interpretation. To the list of offspring Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 22 adds a second Helle (his 'Katis' and 'Soros' are probably corruptions of Kytisoros). The strange list in Hyg. *Fab.* 14 arises from confusion with the sons of Deimachos (Ap. Rhod. 2.956).

³³ Also Hesiod fr. 39 (Aison), at least in the form transmitted by Steph. Byz. *α*144; cf. Dräger, *RhMus* 137 (1994) 197–209. S. Bakhuizen, *Orbis Terrarum* 2 (1996) 92–3, argues that 'Aison's city' is a periphrastic way of referring to Iolkos; but ἐπώνυμον in Ap. Rhod. 1.412 surely means that Aisonis is the name of the city.

Minyan even on his mother's side. Here Apollonios (1.233) parts company with Pherekydes, making Alkimede daughter of Klymene daughter of Minyas, which is older tradition (Stesich. *PMGF* 238, quoted with Pherekydes).³⁴ In Hesiod (fr. 38, quoted with **Pher. fr. 104c**) the lady's name is Polymele, which is corrupted to Polymede in Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.107. In Apollod., as in Herod., she is daughter of Autolykos, which might then be inferred for Hesiod as well; as his mother Philonis is an Aiolid (→§5.3.7), this also negates the Minyan connection. Polymele does appear at Hes. fr. 43(a) 1, in the Aiolid section, but it is not certain that the woman mentioned there is mother of Jason. As commented in §5.5, our complete ignorance about the place of Minyas in the *Catalogue of Women* is curious, and if we could be sure that, like Pherekydes and Herodoros, Hesiod removed the protagonist of the Argonautic saga from the Minyan line, it would be a matter of some interest. We know nothing more about Theognete or her father. Amphinome, Arne, Rhoio, and Skarphe are attested in later sources as further alternatives.

The story begins with the prophecy given to Pelias, which in Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.71–8) says that Pelias will die through the deed or stratagem of an Aiolid, and that he must beware the man with one sandal (οἰοπέδιλος) who comes from the country, whether citizen or stranger. In **Pher. fr. 105**, we hear only that it was foretold he would die at the hands of one of the citizens; as we have seen (above, §6.1.3), the idea does not seem to be that Pelias as a usurper is under threat of losing the throne to its legitimate claimant. In Apollonios (*Argon.* 1.5–7), he will die at the hands of the man with one sandal (οἰοπέδιλος) who comes δημόθεν, which is nicely ambiguous as to 'from the people' and 'from the demes' i.e. country. Servius on Verg. *Ecl.* 4.34 adds the detail that he should beware of the man with one sandal who approached him while sacrificing, which is the case in Pherekydes and others; Jason comes in response to Pelias' general invitation to the people on the occasion of a festival of Poseidon.³⁵

The youth with one sandal has attracted much attention since Vidal-Naquet made Angelo Brelich's suggestion widely known, that it is one of the marks of the young initiate, along with many other signs of marginality.³⁶ That the Argonautic myth is

³⁴ Some scholars have assumed that Pher. also made Alkimede a daughter of Klymene, daughter of Minyas (e.g. Dräger, *Stilistische Untersuchungen zu Pherekydes* 80), but Pher. appears to be quoted by the scholiast for his difference from Ap. Rhod. Even in Ap. the affiliation is scholar's theory at best (Minyas as mother's mother's father); this is not the archaic manner of determining ethnicity. Perhaps Stesichoros said that Jason was son of Eteoklymene daughter of Minyas (i.e. his Eteoklymene is an alternative to Alkimede, not Klymene). Dräger thinks Pher. has made Jason grandson of Phylakos for chronological reasons (misalignment of generations).

³⁵ Similarly Hyg. *Fab.* 12–13, Val. Flacc. 1.207–26, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.107, [Orph.] *Argon.* 56–7, Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 175, schol. Hes. *Theog.* 993. The sandal story was adopted by the polis Larisa, as its depiction on an early-5th-c. BC coin reveals (Head, *Hist. Num.* 297–8).

³⁶ Brelich, 'Les monosandales'; Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter* 70, 108. See also Grossardt, *Die Erzählung von Meleagros* 14–15; M. Robertson, 'Monocrepis'; Edmunds, 'Thucydides on Monosandalism'; Ogden, *Perseus* 64–5. In art, Jason is one-sandalled only in two Roman depictions (*LIMC* Iason nos. 3–4), unless he is to be recognized among the Kalydonian boarhunters in *LIMC* no. 75 (Attic dinos, about 570 BC). The single sandal signifies marginality of a different kind (social ostracism and shame) in Deut. 25:9–10.

suffused with initiatory motifs has long been recognized; in addition to the one sandal, there are 'the group of 50, the young age of the crew, the presence of maternal uncles, the test and the return to become king'.³⁷ The one bare foot was obviously an ancient and invariable feature of the myth, invariable perhaps because so peculiar and memorable. Curiously, however, when Greeks bother to explain it, they do not offer anything like an initiatory reason (such as that this was a test for the young warrior). Pherekydes simply says that Jason forgot to put one of his sandals back on after crossing the river. Moreover, he is not an ephebe; he is already a πολίτης. When the invitation arrived, so far from hunting in the wild in the classic initiatory manner, he was engaged in the eminently civilized activity of ploughing, and like an Attic demesman walked up to the ἄστυ for the festival. Apollodoros and Apollonios simply say that he lost one shoe in the mud. Euripides (*Meleagros*, fr. 530) reports that the sons of Thestios, hunting the boar, discarded one sandal so as to be light of foot (ἐλαφρίζον γόνυ; cf. Arist. fr. 74, quoted by Macrobius with Eur. fr. 530, and schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 139). Euripides also says this is the custom amongst all the Aitolians, and a scholion on Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.133c, confirms that 'the Aitolians are one-sandalled on account of their being most warlike'. Although there are plenty of cases where ancients would not use our terminology to describe religious customs (indeed that is the norm), we could be dealing here with more than the difference between insiders' and outsiders' perspectives. True initiation rituals are thinner on the ground in ancient Greece than was once thought, and the narrative motifs can live on in tales independently of ritual. Ordinary Greeks might have known these stories without necessarily connecting them with ephebic ritual. Consequently when Thucydides reports (3.22.2) that the Plataians took off one sandal to afford a better grip in the mud—the only historical example of monosandalists—one hesitates slightly before agreeing with those who say Thucydides has suppressed the religious aspect of their behaviour, and invented a rationalizing explanation. In desperate circumstances the Plataians might have recalled stories of great heroes shod in one sandal, and rationalized them in just the way that Thucydides did.³⁸ There is religious feeling here, to be sure, but rather than a return to adolescent ritual of maturation it is a belief that by imitating the behaviour of the heroes something of their prowess might be imparted. That the sources differ as to which foot was unshod perhaps confirms this suspicion; in

³⁷ Bremmer, *GRC* 310 (cf. 'Orpheus: From Guru to Gay' 17–20); see especially Graf, 'Orpheus' and Moreau, *Le Mythe de Jason et Médée* 117–42; see also Graf's comments on initiatory motifs in myth generally in 'Initiation' 18. The number 50, paralleled in other myths (Moreau, 'Actéon' 176, cites numerous examples), is surmised from the fact that the ship is a pentekonter; numbers in surviving catalogues hover around the 50 mark (Dräger, *Apollodor* 424; *BNP* s.v. 'Argonauts'). On the Argonauts' pentekonter see also Bremmer, 'Oorsprong, functie en verval van de pentekonter'.

³⁸ Just possibly the Argive host in Eur. *Hypsipyle* fr. 752f.38 were shod in one sandal. An epigram, in the Greek Anthology, 16.127, calls Lykourgos, the Thracian persecutor of Dionysos (Pher. fr. 90; →§10.8) μονοκρήπις; one wonders if in some tradition Lykourgos ('wolf-worker': very initiatory) was portrayed as a quite young ruler, like Pentheus. The third play of Aischylos' *Lykourgeia* was entitled Νεανίσκοι. In most accounts of Lykourgos, he is old enough to have a son, whom he tries to kill.

a ritual such things are symbolically important. And when modern scholars say, 'but surely one would take off *both* shoes to get a better grip', that strikes one as rationalization: soldiers, like athletes, are prepared to believe that all kinds of things will make them better fighters.

Hera is Jason's traditional protector (*Od.* 12.72), fulfilling the role that Athena plays for Odysseus, Herakles and others. A story used by Apollonios (*Argon.* 3.66–75), that Jason had helped her, disguised as an old woman, to cross the swollen Anauros,³⁹ accounted for her devotion. Another story used by Apollonios (1.13–14) explains why Hera is angry with Pelias: he paid no attention to her in a sacrifice to Poseidon and other gods. Or rather, he alludes to the story, since *οὐκ ἀλεγιζων* implies intentional neglect; Pelias had always despised Hera, archetypal stepmother, since slaying his own stepmother on the goddess' very altar (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.92). The two stories—love of Jason, hatred of Pelias—go well together, and though the first does not require the second, the second probably implies the first. In Pherekydes, nothing in the surviving fragment either rules in or rules out any of these features: both the offence of Pelias and Jason's passing the test of piety (which in Apollonios, if not in some late sources,⁴⁰ represents a separate crossing of the river) could have happened before. The sacrifice to Poseidon (alone; his annual festival, says Hyg. *Fab.* 12) is appropriate in view of this god's association with youths and manhood (e.g. Theseus and Kaineus; cf. Bremmer, *BNP* 11.675).

§6.3 The Crew

§6.3.1 THE CREW COLLECTIVELY

The challenge issued and accepted, the crew assembles. Since Meuli,⁴¹ it has been common to notice the parallel between the crew, many with outstanding or even magical skill, and the 'helper' type of folk-tale (*Helpermärchen*) represented by the Grimm Brothers' 'Six Soldiers of Fortune'.⁴² The difficulty instantly posed is that not

³⁹ Enipeus in Hyg. *Fab.* 12–13 ('Euhēnus'), Val. Flacc. 1.83, schol. Stat. *Theb.* 5.336. Oddly there is no reference to this river (which emptied into the gulf of Pagasai not far from Iolkos; modern Xerakis) in a historical context, and the suspicion arises that it was known from myth only; as a name, 'Anauros' can denote any river (see the references in Lloyd-Jones, *Further Academic Papers* 55). There is probably no reason to doubt that the generic name was attached to a specific river in Thessaly (just like 'Acheloos'), but the situation is curious. An Anauros in Italy, perhaps near Hadrian's villa, may be epigraphically attested (*IG* 14.1089; *RE* 'Anauros' 2), but Page, *FGE* 569–70, and Peek, *GVI* 2050, print the word as a common noun ('torrent', Page).

⁴⁰ Hyg. *Fab.* 13, Hypoth. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* (Prolegom. B p. 3 Wendel), Servius on Verg. *Ecl.* 4.34, schol. Hes. *Theog.* 993. Hunter on Ap. Rhod. 3.66–75 notes the similarity between this tale of Hera and one about Aphrodite and Phaon found in Palaiph. 48, Ael. *VH* 12.18, Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 3.279, Lucian, *Dial. mort.* 19.2; see further Moreau, *Le Mythe de Jason et Médée* 251–70, who gathers folktale congeners for various parts of the Argonautic legend, and scrutinizes it from the point of view of Propp's famous morphology.

⁴¹ *Ges. Schr.* 593–610; Graf, 'Orpheus' 98.

⁴² No. 71 in the usual numbering. Compare also 'The Six Servants', no. 134.

only does it seem to clash with the other pattern, the quest of the hero given the impossible task and helped by the princess, but also (as Meuli himself admitted) the helpers in the Greek story as we have it do very little. Radermacher (*Mythos und Sage* 208–25) indeed wanted to do away with Jason; he has been adequately answered by Hölscher among others (*Die Odyssee* 174–85), but if we cannot imagine the expedition without Jason, it is hard to imagine it without his crew. Hölscher thought that the accretion of the crew was conditioned by the other great cycles of myth (Kalydon, Thebes, Troy); Davies⁴³ suggests in turn that the crew was there early, but in accordance with the tendency of Greek heroic myth (exemplified also by the *Iliad*) their supernatural contribution was played down.

Catalogues of Argonauts are preserved in various sources, with the usual discrepancies in detail.⁴⁴ In our mythographers, the following Argonauts other than Jason are identified or implied: Herakles (Akous. fr. 31, Hellan. fr. 130, Pher. fr. 111); Orpheus (Herod. fr. 42–3); Zetes and Kalais (Akous. fr. 31, Herod. fr. 46); Philammon (Pher. fr. 26); Idmon (Herod. fr. 44, 50, 51, 53, Pher. fr. 108); Tiphys (Pher. fr. 107, Herod. fr. 54–5); Erginos (Herod. fr. 55); Ankaïos (of Arkadia? Pher. fr. 36; of Samos, Simon. fr. 2, cf. Herod. fr. 45, Pher. fr. 155); Aithalides (Pher. fr. 109); Amphiaraios (Deil. fr. 2); Amyros (Hek. fr. 18A); Eurybates son of Teleon (Herod. fr. 5). In addition we are informed that Pherekydes omitted Iphiklos, Jason's uncle (fr. 110), and that Herodorus omitted Herakles (fr. 41). We may believe that both Pherekydes and Herodorus gave complete catalogues. For Zetes and Kalais, see below in the discussion of Phineus (§6.4.4). As for the others:

§6.3.2 HERAKLES (Hellan. fr. 130–1; Herod. fr. 41; Pher. fr. 111)

Herakles is an Argonaut only *honoris causa*. His stature made it unthinkable to archaic writers—though not to Herodorus (fr. 41) in the early fourth century—that he should be left out; but his presence created only difficulties, so explanations were invented for his early departure. The oldest tradition—*The Wedding of Keyx* ('Hes.' fr. 263), Pher. fr. 111, Hdt. 7.193.2, Antim. fr. 69, Hellan. fr. 130—says that Herakles was left behind at Aphetai in Magnesia. Pherekydes says that the Argo herself spoke up and said she could not bear his weight; Aristotle also knows this story (*Pol.* 1284a 23, introduced by

⁴³ 'The Folk-Tale Origins of the Iliad and Odyssey' 8–15.

⁴⁴ Ap. Rhod. 1.23–227 and Prolegomenon C p. 4 Wendel (writing out Ap., but adding Theseus); Hyg. *Fab.* 14, Val. Flacc. 1.353–486, and [Orph.] *Argon.* 118–229 are mainly based on Ap. Rhod.; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.111–13; Diod. Sic. 4.40.2 = Dion. Skyt. fr. 14. See also *P.Oxy.* 4097 fr. 1, with the editor's comments (*P.Oxy.* 61 p. 48; re-edited in van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* no. 61). For Pindar's selective catalogue in the fourth *Pythian*, see Braswell on 169–87. An overview of the principal lists and variants is given by Scarpi, *Apollodoro* 678–80; cf. Dräger, *Apollodor* 424; Scherer, *Mythos, Katalog und Prophezeiung* 49–56; Gantz 343–5 (344 on early art). There is in addition *P.Oxy.* 3698, a fragment of an archaic account of the Argonautica, which Debiasi, *ZPE* 143 (2003) 1–5, conjecturally assigns to Eumelos' *Korinthiaka*; Orpheus and Mopsos are mentioned as well as Jason.

μυθολογείται). Gods are of course heavier than men (*Il.* 5.839, *Ov. Met.* 4.450) and so, it would seem, are some heroes.⁴⁵ The tradition of a speaking piece of wood (from the oracular oaks of Dodona) as part of the ship, given by Athena, is found in Aischylos' *Argo* (fr. 20, 20a), *Ap. Rhod.* 1.524–8, *Apollod. Bibl.* 1.110 and others.⁴⁶ Such divine intervention in everyday life is typically omitted by Herodotos, who says simply that Herakles had gone to fetch water. The *Wedding of Keyx*, however, seems to give the same explanation.⁴⁷

The water-fetching motif links to the myth of Hylas, since in the well-known tale this was what he was doing when he disappeared; Herakles stayed behind to search for him.⁴⁸ Though in *Hellän. fr.* 131 the mythographer is quoted only for his variant name of Hylas' father, this shows that he mentioned the boy, and because of fr. 130 we can say he told Hylas' story without Herakles. The tale comes from local aetiological myth;⁴⁹ the water-fetching motif in the version of 'Hesiod' and Herodotos perhaps facilitated the creation at an uncertain date of the new, composite myth of Herakles and Hylas.

Apollonios keeps Herakles around until the Hylas episode in the Propontis, turning his presence to humorous advantage. Regarding Aphetai, at 1.591 he says that this is the point from which they finally put to sea. Herodotos also explains the name this way (ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον . . . ἀφήσειν; cf. *Strabo* 9.5.15) and it could also be Hesiodic, whereas in *Hellän. fr.* 130 and *Pher. fr.* 111a the idea seems to be it was so named because this is where Herakles was 'let go'. *Akous. (fr. 31)* says that Herakles killed the Boreadai at Tenos, which recurs at *Ap. Rhod.* 1.1305 and *Hyg. Fab.* 14.18; Apollonios' reason, that the Boreadai prevented Jason from turning back to collect the stranded Herakles, sounds like Hellenistic elaboration; for Akousilaos the reason is more likely to be Herakles' anger at their father for the storm that drove him to Kos (*Il.* 15.24–8; *Nikandros fr.* 15 *Schneider ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1.1300–05b, where other guesses are recorded). If our surmise about 'Hesiod' above is right, with whom Akousilaos often agreed (*Akous. test. 5; contra test. 6*), Akousilaos might have stranded him at Aphetai. The innovation of Dionysios Skytobrachion (*fr.* 15 *Rusten*), whereby Herakles continued on all the way to Kolchis and was actually leader of the Argonauts (an honour Herakles declines in Apollonios, 1.345–7), is doubtless linked to his glorification of Herakles as the great civilizer (*Rusten p.* 96); the obscure 'Demaretes' quoted together with *Pher. fr.* 111ab (*FGrHist* 42 F 2), who said the same, has been distinguished from 'Demaratos' (*FGrHist*

⁴⁵ Matthews on Antim. fr. 69 notes Aeneas in Verg. *Aen.* 6.413, Hercules in Stat. *Theb.* 5.401, and Herakles in *Ap. Rhod.* himself at 1.533.

⁴⁶ C. Fries, *RhMus* 59 (1904) 217, offers a few examples of this motif in folktales around the world.

⁴⁷ Perhaps it did not: Kullmer conjectured ἐφ' ὕλα ζήτησαν for ἐφ' ὕδατος ζήτησαν; Hylas was son of Keyx according to Nik. fr. 48. Mauerhofer, *Der Hylas-Mythos* 30.

⁴⁸ *Ap. Rhod.* 1.1207–83, *Theok.* 13, etc.; Mauerhofer, *Der Hylas-Mythos*.

⁴⁹ Hunter, *Theocritus* 263. If we could be certain that 'Kinaithon' not 'Konon' was the right reading in fr. 6 Bernabé (*EGF p.* 142 *Davies*) we should have an archaic date for the composite tale; but the fragment looks Hellenistic. Hylas' father Theiodamas was king of the Dryopes (→§2.3).

42) in *BNJ* (no. 42A) and is probably later than Dionysios. *Theokritos Id.* 13 is alone in having Herakles continue to Kolchis on foot, but *Nikandros fr.* 48 ap. *Ant. Lib. Met.* 26 says he left Polyphemos behind to continue the search while he sailed on with the Argonauts, and an Apulian crater of the mid-fourth century depicts him helping Jason defeat the serpent (*LIMC Herakles* no. 2796; Boardman, *LIMC* 5.1.113–14).

§6.3.3 ORPHEUS AND PHILAMMON (*Herod. fr.* 42–3; *Pher. fr.* 26)

The evidence for Orpheus as an Argonaut is succinctly laid out by Graf, 'Orpheus' 95–7, beginning with Apollonios, where, as in *Herod. fr.* 43, Cheiron advised Jason to take Orpheus along so as to out-sing the Sirenes (1.33, 4.905; also *Apollod. Bibl.* 1.135).⁵⁰ His role is principally that of a singer and religious authority, in the latter capacity initiating the heroes into the Samothracian mysteries.⁵¹ He is also identified as a great singer by Pindar in his *Argonautica* (*Pyth.* 4.176–7), and on these grounds Simonides *PMG* 567 may be conjectured to come from an Argonautic context (cf. *PMG* 595). Orpheus was mentioned also by Ibykos (*PMGF* 306). In Euripides' *Hypsipyle* (fr. 752g 8–14, 759a 1619–23) he beat time for the rowers (as in *Ap. Rhod.* 1.540) and cared for Jason's two sons by Hypsipyle. It is possible that the Siren scene is depicted on a vase of c.580–570 (*LIMC Orpheus* no. 187; a singer between two Sirenes), and Orpheus is one of two singers on a metope from the mid-sixth-century Sikyonian treasury at Delphi (*LIMC Argonautai* no. 2 = *Orpheus* no. 6). In this depiction, the two singers with lyres are standing on the prow of a ship, and in front of the ship are two horsemen; the horsemen are the Dioskouroi, and an inscription identifies one of the singers as Orpheus. All this is enough to establish the connection of Orpheus with the Argonautic legend in the archaic period.⁵²

Orpheus' character as an initiator is well established by Graf, and the Argonautic story is full of initiatory motifs; it is also a story of a journey to a kind of beyond, and Orpheus' trip to the Underworld is surely relevant to this, even if he cannot be said to act as a shaman in the surviving stories. A magical singer/religious expert/initiator is thoroughly at home in the legend, a specialist 'helper'. We assume, then, that Philammon had some of these qualities when *Pherekydes (fr. 26)* put him on board in Orpheus' place. We may assume too that he knew the Orpheus tradition. When the scholiast says, however, that Pherekydes 'says Orpheus did not join the expedition' it does not necessarily mean that Pherekydes explicitly ruled out Orpheus' presence; more probably, he simply mentioned Philammon instead of Orpheus.⁵³ It would be of some interest if

⁵⁰ Overviews also in *BNP* s.v. 'Orpheus' and Gantz 343–5, 721; see also M. L. West, 'Odyssey and Argonautica' 45, and Graf and Johnston, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife* 166.

⁵¹ For this, see also *Dion. Skyt. fr.* 18 ap. *Diod. Sic.* 4.43.1, *Epimen. fr.* 4 ap. *Diod. Sic.* 5.64.4, 5.773.

⁵² A singer among warriors on an Etruscan vase of the first half of the 7th c. was identified as Orpheus by Erika Simon, which is possible but hardly certain; Graf and Johnston, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife* 166.

⁵³ Fowler, 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 78.

Pherekydes polemically excluded or replaced Orpheus, but we have no hint of such an attitude elsewhere in his fragments and the scholiast's locution should normally be interpreted as indicated; Iphiklos is another example (below).⁵⁴

If Pherekydes had no earlier authority for his view, however, then polemic of some form is at least *implied*. Pherekydes is in fact the only authority to assign this role to Philammon. His musical credentials are attested by fr. 120 (→§5.3.7), which says he was the first to establish choruses of girls; cf. [Plut.] *De Mus.* 1132a, 1133b. The second singer on the Sikyonian metope has sometimes been identified as Philammon, and thought to attest a tradition in which both singers joined the expedition; there are several other pairs aboard, such as the seers Mopsos (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.191) and Idmon.⁵⁵ Alternatively the artist has simply combined the two traditions, to one of which Pherekydes is witness. Passing consideration should be given, however, to Uvo Hölscher's argument that the metope does not represent the voyage at all, but the games of Pelias after the return (*Die Odyssee* 181–3); if the damaged third figure on deck is another singer, he would certainly be correct. The Argo in the composition would give the context (the games of Pelias), but on that occasion competitors came from all round. Similarly the Argonauts competed at the first Isthmian games (?Eumelos fr. 22 West), and according to Paus. 10.7.2 Philammon won the citharodic contest at the Pythia; Orpheus would have been there, but was too proud to participate. So the metope on this reading would not imply that more than one singer sailed to Kolchis.

Herod. fr. 42 said there were two Orpheis (cf. the seven Herakleis in fr. 14, §8.5.10), of whom one was an Argonaut; we have no context to help us divine his reasoning. Perhaps rationalism is at work; Herodoros' crew are talented, but not supernaturally so. Bernabé (see *Orphic.* fr. 867) suggested that Herodoros followed Herodotos (2.53) in thinking that Homer and Hesiod were the oldest poets; the Argonaut would be thus be the first of the two Orpheis.⁵⁶

We may be able to get further. Like Herodoros, Eustathius (*Il.* p. 359.15 = *Orphic.* fr. 868 Bernabé) identifies two Orpheis: the son of Oiagros, and another who was eleven generations younger. Eleven is also the number of generations separating Orpheus from Homer in Hellanikos' stemma (fr. 5; →§20). The *Suda* s.v. *Ὀρφεύς* (ο654) says that Orpheus lived eleven generations before the Trojan War. One might put these reports together and infer (i) that Herodoros followed Hellanikos' genealogy, and (ii) that both he and Hellanikos thought that Homer (and a second Orpheus) lived at the time of the war. There are two problems with this. One is that it would involve saying that the

⁵⁴ Jacoby on this fr. thought the reason might be chronological, since Orpheus belonged to the generation before Jason (cf. §20 on Dam. fr. 11). But these two pre-Trojan generations, encompassing Argonauts, Herakles, the Seven, the Epigonois etc., are chronologically very confused.

⁵⁵ See A. Kossatz-Deissmann in *LIMC* 8.1.982.

⁵⁶ Blakely on this fr. in *BNJ* provides a complete list of the multiple Orpheis invented by various sources; see also *Orphic.* fr. 867–70 Bernabé. Pratinas, *PMG* 713(i), apparently said there were two poets named Olympos.

Argonautic expedition happened at the same time as the Trojan War. The second is that eleven generations before the Trojan War is a rather long time. In order to get back that far, three generations would have to be added between Dardanos and Tros in Hellanikos' Trojan genealogy as reconstructed in §18.1.1 (see the table *ad fin.*), which seems a lot to ask even if we are not quite sure about the link between Dardanos and Tros in Hellanikos. Furthermore, the same entry in the *Suda* says that Orpheus was in the sixth generation after Atlas, descended from his daughter Alkyone. If that too is Hellanikos, Atlas would have to be *seventeen* generations before the War. Although Hellanikos did put Orpheus and Homer in the Atlantid stemma—fr. 20 on the Homeridai is quoted from the *Atlantias*—this is not his construction. More probably, Hellanikos placed the Argonautic expedition two generations before the Trojan War, and Homer therefore nine generations after it (so Jacoby on Hellan. fr. 5).

However, each of the two statements in the *Suda*, taken *separately*, could well be Hellanikos': putting Orpheus in the sixth generation after Atlas places him two generations before Troy, as required; and the eleven generations are attested for Hellanikos in fr. 5. Put another way, if the *Suda* entry had said 'six generations after Atlas, and eleven before Homer', it would represent Hellanikos' view; but somebody who thought Homer lived at the time of the Trojan War has changed it to 'before Troy' (cf. Dionysios *FGrHist* 15 F 8; Krates fr. 73 Broggiato).⁵⁷ Herodoros, drawing on Hellanikos' construction, introduced a second Orpheus at the lower end, after Homer.

§6.3.4 IDMON (Deil. fr. 2; Herod. fr. 44, 49–51; Pher. fr. 108)

In his catalogue Apollonios says that Idmon was only said to be son of the Argive Abas; he was really son of Apollo. The scholia then report that **Pher. (fr. 108)** makes him son of Asteria daughter of Koronos and Apollo, and that **Herod. (fr. 44)** also says Idmon was son of Abas; given Herodoros' rationalism this might mean that he excluded Apollo altogether, but since scholia are frequently abbreviated, he might have held Apollonios' view.⁵⁸ The identity of the Koronos who was Idmon's grandfather is unknown; presumably not the Argonaut, son of Kaineus (Ap. Rhod. 1.57); maybe the eponym of Koroneia (Paus. 9.34.7), as Pherekydes has at least one other Boiotian Argonaut (fr. 107). For the mother's name, Hyg. *Fab.* 14.11 offers Cyrene; [Orph.] *Argon.* 189 Antianeira of Pherai.

The scholion broaches the subject of Idmon's relation with Thestor, the father of Kalchas (*Il.* 1.69; invariable in the tradition). Clearly nothing else was known about Thestor; Chamaileon, quoted by the scholiast, equated the two seers. Scholars have

⁵⁷ This person could have been Charax, who says that in the time of Homer's grandfather the Amazons came to Smyrna: that is just before the Trojan War (Rohde, *Kl. Schr.* 1.12). Charax was in turn excerpted by Hesychios of Miletos, source of the *Suda*'s biographies.

⁵⁸ Hyg. *Fab.* 14.11 makes him son of Apollo and a nymph Cyrene, adding 'quidam Abantis dicunt'. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.338a says 'son of Abas'; Val. Flacc. 1.228 'Phoebeus Idmon'; [Orph.] *Argon.* 1.187 *Ἀβαντος παῖς νόθος*.

tended to assume that the antecedent of οὗ in the scholion is Idmon, so that according to Pherekydes Idmon is Thestor's father with Laothoe. The chronology is right (Idmon as Kalchas' grandfather is two generations before the Trojan War), but the genealogy Apollo→Idmon→Thestor→Kalchas puts Kalchas rather a long way from Apollo. Alternatively, the antecedent of οὗ is not Idmon but Apollo, who is Thestor's father (by Aglaia) also in Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 427 (so e.g. Seeliger in Roscher, *Lex.* s.v. Idmon). Though the cast of the sentence leads one to suppose that Idmon is the subject throughout, syntactically Apollo is the nearer noun, and the scholiast's concern is at least as much to explain Thestor as to tell us about Idmon.⁵⁹

Idmon is 'the knowing one', a good name for a seer; what he knew in particular was that he would die on the expedition (Ap. Rhod. 1.140, Val. Flacc. 1.360–1, Hyg. *Fab.* 14.11). The Argive seer Amphiaraos had the same chilling foresight on the eve of the Theban campaign, which must be connected in some way—mistake, rivalry with nearby Herakleia, slippage in popular tales—with the claim of Deilochos (fr. 2) of Kyzikos that it was Amphiaraos, not Idmon, who accompanied the Argonauts.⁶⁰ Idmon was the seer on the expedition already in Eumelos' account (*Korinthiaka* fr. 21) and in the *Naupaktika* (fr. 5–6, quoted with Herod. fr. 53), and Amphiaraos is thoroughly Argive, so it is hardly possible that Amphiaraos was the original, Idmon the usurper.

In the *Naupaktika*, Idmon played a crucial role in the escape from Kolchis, advising Jason to take advantage of Aietes' divinely induced sleep; Herodotos (fr. 53) said the same thing, according to the scholiast (below, §6.5). We infer, then, that his death among the Mariandynoi (Herod. fr. 49–50) occurred on the return voyage in this early form of the tale (and that they came back from Kolchis by the same route by which they went out), whereas Apollonios (2.815–50) and others (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.126, Val. Flacc. 5.2, Hyg. *Fab.* 14.26, [Orph.] *Argon.* 725) had him die on the outward voyage, and the Argonauts return via different routes. The situation in Eumelos is not perfectly clear; though Apollonios modelled some lines in the Kolchis episode on fr. 21 (West), and Idmon is addressed, it does not mean that the lines came just so from Eumelos' poem, and from that context. On Orpheus' advice, the Argonauts planted a timber made of wild olive—used as a roller to transport ships on land—as a gravemarker; this sprouted, and in later times an oracle told the Boiotians and Megarians to found their colony, Herakleia, round this miraculous spot (schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.843).⁶¹ Herodotos, a native of Herakleia, confirms that the

⁵⁹ In a post-classical legend (Hyg. *Fab.* 190), Thestor was father of Leukippe, whose novellistic adventures are brilliantly expounded by W. J. Slater and Cropp, 'Leukippe as Tragedy', *à propos* a newly found mosaic of the early 3rd c. A.D.

⁶⁰ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.111 gives Amphiaraos as well as Idmon, but in 1.126, i.e. not in his catalogue; cf. schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.338a. Jacoby on Deil. fr. 2 looks around without much success for evidence of an Amphiaraos in the region. On Lykos in Herod. fr. 49 see Roscher, *Lex.* s.v. and Blakely in *BNJ*.

⁶¹ A. S. Pease, *RE* 17.2.2020–22, assembles the evidence for the symbolic use of the olive tree; civic associations are frequent, as at Athens. Apollonios mentions that the tomb was near the Acherousian Cape, however, and one wonders whether Idmon retained his oracular powers in the chthonic realm.

tomb was in the agora (Herod. fr. 51), which is of course where the founder of a colony was typically buried. Apollonios (2.850)—who places the tomb 'a little below' the Acherousian cape—says that in his day people venerated this not as the grave of Idmon but of Agamestor, and his scholiast (2.844–47a) reports the view of Promathidas (*FGrHist* 430 F 3) that he was so named because the locals did not know who was buried there (διὰ τὸ ἀγνοεῖν). So much for Idmon's σῆμα . . . ὁμυγόνουσιν ἰδέσθαι (842); Apollonios springs a wicked surprise on his reader at the end of this section, and sets up his usual counterpoint of external and internal narrative perspectives. The historical founder of the city (*IACP* no. 715) in the mid-sixth century was Gnesiochos of Megara. The story about Idmon is an attempt to forge retrospective links with the heroic age, as happened everywhere with Hellenic colonies; Apollonios mischievously exposes the breakdown in post-classical tradition as he has found it in Promathidas.⁶²

§6.3.5 TIPHYS, ANKAIOS OF SAMOS, ERGINOS (Herod. fr. 54–5; Pher. fr. 107)

Tiphys is the helmsman of the Argo, a seasoned sailor with much natural authority on board (Ap. Rhod. 1.105–10, 383, 560, 2.175, 573–606); he succumbs to sickness when the heroes were with the Mariandynoi (Ap. Rhod. 2.851–6) and is succeeded in the role either by the Samian Ankaios (Ap. Rhod., Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.126, cf. Val. Flacc. 5.64, Simon. fr. 2, cf. Herod. fr. 45; see §19 at n. 66) or by Erginos (Herod. fr. 55, Val. Flacc. 5.65–6). Herodotos also says (fr. 54) that Tiphys died on the return trip, not on the way out (cf. Idmon above). Apollonios (1.105–6) says he was Thespian, son of Hagnias of Siphai, which is the port and dependent polis of Thespiiai (*IACP* no. 222), called 'Tipha' according to Paus. 9.32.4, who says the locals claimed Tiphys as their own, and that the Argo put in here on its return from Kolchis. Pher. fr. 107 says that Tiphys came rather from Potniai, which is adjacent to Thespiiai; the evidence for it as an independent polis in the early period is rather thin (*IACP* no. 217), and it may be that there is no serious difference of opinion here. At least they are both Boiotians. In Aischylos, oddly, this man is called Iphys (fr. 21); *yphis* is a variant in Hyg. *Fab.* 18.

§6.3.6 ANKAIOS OF ARKADIA (Pher. fr. 36)

This Ankaios is traditionally killed by the Kalydonian Boar; on the François Vase he lies underneath the beast, helpfully labelled. Bacchylides (5.117) regarded him as coming from Pleuron (cf. *Il.* 23.635), but he is everywhere else Arkadian. Pher. fr. 36 is quoted by the scholiast on Ap. Rhod. 1.185–88c for the information that Ankaios died at the tusks

⁶² In theory Promathidas might reflect the predominant tradition at Herakleia, and Herodotos could be inventing a name for the unknown soldier; Chamailéon (fr. 15 Wehrli) said it was Thestor son of Nestor. Agamestor, though his name is Greek, could disguise a native divinity adopted by the settlers; see Blakely in *BNJ* on Herod. fr. 51, who also documents the parallels for a colony's honouring both a historical and a legendary founder. See also Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism* 10. But Malkin, *Religion and Colonization* 76 notes Rohrbach's observation that 'Agamestor' means much the same as 'Idmon'; the true story of this cult's foundation may be beyond recovery. Cf. also Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung* 2.237 n. 4.

of the Boar, but the note is attached to the Samian Ankaïos in the catalogue. This is presumably a mistake, but the figures could easily be confused. It did not help that the Samian was also killed by a boar (Arist. fr. 571 in the same scholion: a servant told him he would die before he could drink the wine of his vineyards; as he was about to drink, and bragged of his victory over time, the servant said 'many a slip 'twixt cup and lip'; πολλά μεταξύ πέλει κύλικος καὶ χεῖλεος ἄκρου; before he could drink, a report reached him that a boar was ravaging the countryside, and off he went to deal with the matter).⁶³ The Samian also had an Aitolian grandmother (Asios fr. 7; → §2) or even mother (Hyg. *Fab.* 14.16). Apollonios includes both Ankaïoi in his catalogue, as do Apollod. 1.112 and Hyg. *Fab.* 14.14; cf. Paus. 8.4.10. The fact that Pherekydes is quoted by the Apollonian scholiast suggests that his (Arkadian) Ankaïos participated in both expeditions as well.

§6.3.7 AITHALIDES, EURYBATES, IPHIKLOS, AMYROS (Herod. fr. 5; Pher. fr. 109–10)

As a son of Hermes, Aithalides is the Argonauts' herald; his mother was Eupolemia daughter of Myrmidon of Phthia. Although Aithalides was one of Pythagoras' incarnations (Diog. Laert. 8.4 = Herakleid. Pont. fr. 86 Schütrumpf), and the scholion which quotes Pher. fr. 109 goes on immediately to talk about the Pythagoreans, there is little doubt that the fragment is correctly attributed to the Athenian rather than the Syrian (Vors. 7 B 8), whom the scholia to Ap. Rhod. do not quote.⁶⁴ There is no Pythagorean wandering soul here; Aithalides' gift resembles the alternating death and life of the Dioskouroi, or even Persephone. Apollonios, like Pherekydes, has got this figure from epic tradition; his gift included an unperishing memory (Ap. Rhod. 1.54–6, 643–8; [Orph.] *Argon.* 133; Val. Flacc. 1.437; Hyg. *Fab.* 14.3).

The son of Teleon figures variously in the tradition as Eurybates, Eurybotes, Eurybotas (Paus. 5.17.10, at the funeral games of Pelias on the Kypselos chest), Erybotes, Eribotes: Ap. Rhod. 1.71 and schol. ad loc. = Herod. fr. 5, 1.95, 2.1039, Val. Flacc. 1.402, 3.478, Hyg. *Fab.* 14.6, 14.28. Some of these forms will not go in a hexameter, hence the modifications. The company he keeps in Apollonios shows that he is Lokrian. According to Hyg. *Fab.* 14.28 he was killed with Kanthos (of Euboia, Ap. Rhod. 1.77, just after Eurybates in the catalogue) in Libya; Apollonios records Kanthos' death (4.1484) but not Eurybates'. Jessen, *RE* 6.1.439, suggests that reflections of Lokrian colonization in Libya (otherwise unattested) may be involved in this story.

According to Pher. fr. 110, Jason's uncle Iphiklos was not an Argonaut. This is a particularly clear example of 'deny' = 'does not mention', as Homer and Hesiod are also quoted for their silence. Even Apollonios has no further role for him after he is mentioned in the catalogue.

⁶³ On the proverb, see Bühler on Zenob. 2.96. He remarks (p. 523) 'Aristoteles unde sua hauserit, ignoratur'; the answer is probably Euagon of Samos (→ §17.11).

⁶⁴ Rohde, *Psyche* 2.167 n. 1.

The assignation of Hek. fr. 18A to Hekataios is conjectural; for discussion, see §2.2 n. 42. No other source mentions an Argonaut Amyros; a son of Poseidon by that name is the eponym of the river Amyros (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.595–7c; near Lakereia according to Pher. fr. 3, §1.9.2), but that ought to be a god.

§6.4 Getting There

§6.4.1 THE LEMNIAN WOMEN, SAMOTHRACE (Deil. fr. 1A; Herod. fr. 6)

The encounter with the Lemnian women is almost unrepresented in our corpus; we have only the bare notice in Herod. fr. 6 that he told about their union. Already Homer knows about a son of Jason and Hypsipyle (*Il.* 7.468), so the story is old; Simonides *PMG* 547 is probably a reference to it, Aischylos and Sophokles wrote plays about it, and it is known to Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.251–4, *Ol.* 4.19–27) and Herodotos (6.138.4) (Gantz 345–6). The crime of the Lemnian women was proverbial and its sexual nature afforded ample material to the comedians (Aristophanes, *Lemnïai* fr. 372–91, and others; see *PCG* 3.2.207). Modern interest in the ritual links of the story received a boost with Burkert's famous article 'Jason, Hypsipyle and New Fire at Lemnos'. The island was not colonized by Greeks until the fifth century and always retained the reputation of an outlandish place; for the Pelasgians there, see §2.

Apollonios (1.915–21) says the Argonauts were initiated into the Samothracian mysteries (cf. above, n. 51). It can only be a speculation, but perhaps this is why Deilochos (fr. 1A) wrote a book on Samothrace. Only the title is so far legible in the palimpsest; it is to be hoped that modern scanning methods will oblige it to yield its secrets.

§6.4.2 THE KYZIKOS EPISODE (Deil. fr. 4–10; Herod. fr. 7, 64)

The story in Apollonios (1.953–1152) is that the Argonauts were welcomed at Kyzikos by the eponymous king and founder; his people were the Doliones. Upon disembarking the Argonauts built an altar for Ekbasios Apollo. The next day some of the crew climbed Mt Dindymon to reconnoitre the sea lanes, while the rest moved the Argo to the second of Kyzikos' two harbours, the Chytos Limen or 'poured harbour', the more southerly of the two on the west of the isthmus connecting the mainland to Dindymon. Here they are attacked by the Gegeneis, earthborn six-armed Giants who fling boulders into the sea, attempting to close off the harbour and pen them in. Herakles, however, is there to lead the counter-attack, and the Giants are slain. The Argonauts get under way, but are driven back by foul weather; in the dark, the Kyzikenes mistake them for hostile raiders (the Pelasgian Makrieis),⁶⁵ and a tragic mêlée ensues in which Kyzikos himself is slain by Jason. When the mistake is discovered next morning, Kyzikos' young and still

⁶⁵ On the Makrieis see below, p. 220.

childless wife Kleite, daughter of Merops of Perkote, hangs herself. So profusely did she weep that the nymphs created a spring from her tears, called Kleite after her.⁶⁶ Kyzikos was buried in the Leimonion Plain where his σῆμα still stands. Owing to the adverse winds the Argonauts were unable to sail for twelve days, until Mopsos discovered the remedy, which was to sacrifice to Rheia on Mt Dindymon.

Several of these details are compared or contrasted by the scholia to Apollonios with what they found in Deilochos, who may be presumed to be one of Apollonios' sources. The principal difference involves the Doliones. In fr. 4 it is said that Deilochos did not name the Doliones, but did report Kyzikos' friendly reception. The 'does not name' comment reveals little in itself (cf. n. 53), but in fr. 7 we learn that, instead of Apollonios' Gegeneis, Deilochos made Pelasgians responsible for the attack on the Chytos Limen, who were ill-disposed towards the Argonauts because they had been expelled from their home in Thessaly. In fr. 8a, in a note attached to Apollonios' second battle, the scholiasts say that Deilochos wrote about it (see fr. 8b), but then go on to say about the first battle that Ephoros told the Pelasgian story, and that Apollonios followed Deilochos.⁶⁷ The disturbed state of the scholia hereabouts (including some deep textual damage in fr. 7b) is unhelpful, but there probably was a major difference between the two accounts, Apollonios bringing in the Gegeneis ('poetically', as the scholiasts say), Deilochos offering a realistic account of Pelasgians with a grudge. These he calls ἐγγειρογάστορες (L-branch) or ἐγγαστρούχειρες (P-branch), a derogatory word denoting manual labourers, people who live from hand to mouth.⁶⁸ It is reasonable to suppose then that Deilochos' Pelasgians were Kyzikos' subjects, who did not share their king's kindly view of the Argonauts and took the first opportunity to attack them. The account in Konon *Dieg.* 41 is relevant here: the Argonauts put in at Kyzikos; the Pelasgoi learn who they are and mount a night assault; Kyzikos steps in and tries to break up the fight, but is mistakenly killed by Jason. This could very well be the way Deilochos told the story.⁶⁹

Having decided to include the Gegeneis, Apollonios has to invent a reason why they have hitherto left the Doliones in peace (1.950–2: he says the Doliones are Poseidon's

⁶⁶ Accepting Fränkel's emendation in 1067; so also [Orph.] *Argon.* 598–600 and Deil. fr. 10b. For a discussion of the ambiguity of this and similar metamorphoses (Peirene, Byblis) see Buxton, *Forms of Astonishment* 119.

⁶⁷ The P-branch of the tradition has 'Deilochos' here again not Ephoros, and omit the comment about Apollonios following Deilochos. But 'book 9' is an unexpectedly high number for these early days of Kyzikene history. Kallisthenes *FGrHist* 124 F 6 is quoted at the same time; his version was comparable to that of Ephoros/Deilochos. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.116 has Apollonios' version (but he has omitted the Gegeneis). Compare further Hyg. *Fab.* 16, Val. Flacc. 2.627–3.458, [Orph.] *Argon.* 490–628.

⁶⁸ See G. Knaack, *Hermes* 37 (1902) 292–7; White on schol. Ar. Av. 1551 (ed. 1914); Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.271–2 [1.277]. 'Εγγειρογάστορες' is the title of a play by Nikophon, where see Kassel–Austin, and some form of the word was used by Antimachos fr. 66 Matthews = *SH* 77, qq. v. The other mythological application of the word is to the Kyklopes who built Tiryns (e.g. Strabo 8.6.11, schol. Eur. *Or.* 965), which is the more probable reference in Hek. fr. 367 (→§1.7.6), if he used the word in a mythological context at all. Herodotos offers ἀποχειροβίωτος at 3.42.2.

⁶⁹ Contra Fitch, *AJP* 33 (1912) 43–56.

descendants; otherwise unattested). He works the Pelasgians in as enemies of the Doliones, almost as if to acknowledge the different version. The idea of the Gegeneis pouring boulders into the harbour was perhaps suggested by the name itself, which indicates that this is how the (artificial) harbour was built in the first place. Their presence in the area does, however, seem to be given by the Herakles tradition (note his prominent role in their defeat), as Herod. fr. 7 attests: but as Herodotos left Herakles out of the Argonautic expedition altogether, Herakles must have encountered them during another exploit; and if Herodotos mentioned them in his *Argonautica*, as the scholiast attests, it must have been in a digression. This, however, opens up the possibility that the Gegeneis, or some rationalized form of them, attacked the Argonauts in Herodotos' version of the Kyzikos episode. Scholars have long speculated that the Gegeneis episode in the *Argonautica* lies behind the Laestrygonian episode in the *Odyssey* (see M. L. West, 'Odyssey and Argonautica' 48–53 for a recent review of the arguments). Perhaps in some early form the tale involved the Gegeneis hurling rocks at the ship (no Herakles aboard); they are defeated, but the rocks created a new harbour.

There is some evidence connecting Kyzikos with Thessaly: his father Aineus was son of Apollo and Stilbe, who is a daughter of the river Peneios (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.936–49p, schol. *Il.* 1.266–8); this makes Lapithes, eponym of the Lapiths, his uncle (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.40–1, schol. *Il.* 1.266–8). As the Pelasgians were forcibly expelled from Thessaly, perhaps the story was that they joined him in his new colony. His father was already living in the Hellespont, having married Ainete, daughter of Eusoros;⁷⁰ Apollonios' scholia (1.936–49q) tell us that Eusoros is the father of Akamas, one of the two commanders of the Thracian contingent from the Hellespont at Troy (*Il.* 2.844). This Eusoros must be one of the Doliones; about them, the only other information at our disposal comes from Alexander of Aitolos fr. 6 Powell, that their eponym Dolion was son of Seilenos and a nymph Melie, a Mysian. Hekataios *FGrHist* 1 F 219 attests Doliones (whom he calls Dolieis) at Kyzikos. His is the only testimony that might (but not necessarily) indicate that these were actually a historical people (Strabo does not count).

Other details shared by Apollonios and Deilochos include the altar built by the heroes upon making landfall (fr. 5, but Deilochos gives it a different name); the tomb of Kyzikos in the Leimonion plain (fr. 9); and the suicide of his wife Kleite and the transformation of her tears into a spring (fr. 6, 10).⁷¹ Merops, Kleite's father, a seer from Perkote on the Hellespont, is known to Homer (*Il.* 2.831, 11.329). As Jacoby remarks, it is probable that some of the other Argonautic memorabilia that feature prominently in Apollonios' account (Jason's Way, 988; Athena of Jason, 960; the Holy Rock, 1019; an annual festival, 1075; Jason's Fountain, 1148–9) were found also in Deilochos.

⁷⁰ Konon by contrast says that Kyzikos and the Pelasgians left Thessaly together. For Pelasgians along this coastline see Hdt. 1.57.

⁷¹ Another wife, Larisa daughter of Piasos, is found in Euphorion (fr. 9) ap. Parthenios 28. See Lightfoot ad loc., and Moscati Castelnuevo 'From East to West' 168–75.

Herod. fr. 64 mentions the Makrones/Makrieis, Pelasgians according to Apollonios with whom the Kyzikenes are at war. Apollonios is however the only authority to place the Makrieis in this part of the world; everybody else puts them in the east of the Black Sea, which is where the Becheires were also found. The scholion's claim that they came from Euboia is pure speculation, as Euboia is one of several islands bearing the alternative name Makris for its shape; the scholiast is then hard put to explain the 'Pelasgian' part. Rather, they were aboriginal. See Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 206 with Jacoby; Hdt. 2.104.3, 3.94, 7.78; Ktesias *FGrHist* 688 F 56; Xen. *Anab.* 4.8.1, 8.1–22 (he puts them southwest of Trapezous); if the identification with the Makrokephaloi is accepted, see also Hes. fr. 153, Skyl. *FGrHist* 709 F 7a,⁷² Hippok. *Aer.* 14, ps.-Skyl. 85, Strabo 7.3.6, Pomp. Mel. 1.107, Pliny *NH* 6.11.

§6.4.3 AMYKOS (Deil. fr. 1)

Amykos, king of the Bebrykes, son of Poseidon and the Bithynian nymph Melie (Ap. Rhod. 2.2–4), like many sons of Poseidon was a savage creature; he supposedly invented boxing gloves (schol. Plato *Laws* 796a). The encounter with him features in all accounts of the voyage (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.110; Hyg. *Fab.* 17; Val. Flacc. 4.99–343; [Orph.] *Argon.* 658–65). All of these have Amykos die in the fight, whereas Theokritos in his hymn to the Dioskouroi (22.27–134) spares him once he has sworn an oath. A tradition represented explicitly in literary texts only by Epicharmos (fr. 7) and Peisandros (*FGrHist* 16 F 5, both quoted with Deil. fr. 1) says that he was tied to a tree after his defeat; this story is rather better represented in the artistic tradition (*LIMC* Amykos nos. 4–13). The comic possibilities are clear, and were exploited by Sophokles in his satyr-play *Amykos* (fr. 111–12).⁷³ The abbreviated report of Deilochos says only that in his account Amykos was defeated in boxing, but as this is contrasted with Apollonios it probably implies the tying version. In later times he received heroic honours, and a laurel growing at his shrine would cause strife if one plucked its branches (Apollod. *FGrHist* 803 F 1, Pliny *NH* 16.239).

§6.4.4 PHINEUS AND THE HARPYIAI (Akous. fr. 31; Hellan. fr. 95; Pher. fr. 27–9)

Pher. fr. 86 (→§10.1) makes Phineus a son of Phoinix, son of Agenor, and Kassiepeie; in this genealogy he is following Hes. fr. 138, as did Asklepiades and Antimachos (all quoted in the same scholion). Hellan. fr. 95 on the other hand made him a son of Agenor; so also Ap. Rhod. 2.178, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.120 (alternative father Poseidon), Hyg. *Fab.* 14.18 and others. This is a simpler tree, bringing these eastern figures (Phoinix, Kilix) into one generation as sons and daughters of Agenor, contemporary with Danaos

⁷² Skylax puts them in India; see now Kaplan's *BNJ* comm. on this fr.

⁷³ For discussion see S. Scheurer and R. Bielfeldt in *Das griech. Satyrspiel* 243–9.

and Aiggyptos sons of Belos; it also made it easier for Europe to become Kadmos' sister and motivate the story of his emigration. The process by which figures originally at home in the Argolid, such as Io and others, became associated with Egypt, Phoenicia, and other barbarian lands, is examined in §§7 and 10, but in general the migration can go in either direction: figures originally Argive can be transferred eastward, or figures originally from the East can be assimilated into the Argive stemma. The case has been made that Phineus was originally Argive or Arkadian (e.g. West, *HCW* 147–8 and Hölscher, *Die Odyssee* 179, after others), and there was an Argive Agenor (Hellan. fr. 36, cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4). On the other hand Phineus was the name of Andromeda's fiancé before Perseus came along (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.44, Ov. *Met.* 5.8), which puts him in the Levant; then we have our Argonautic Phineus. He was lord of the Asiatic Thrace, i.e. from the Bosporos eastwards to an indeterminate point, normally including only the Thynoi and Bithynoi (Hdt. 1.28, Strabo 12.3.3), but also Paphlagonia according to the scholiast quoting Pher. fr. 27, just possibly reflecting Pherekydes himself. Some scholars have found another transfer to Thrace a step too far and have suggested this personage was originally independent. If that is the case, however, the amalgamation took place at an early date, as it is already in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. The Boreadai, Harpyiai, and Argonauts are depicted together in art from the late seventh century (*LIMC* Boreadai no. 3; Gantz 354–6), and the Boreadai are at home in Thrace.⁷⁴ As a wise spirit-figure, like Proteus in the *Odyssey* (4.385), or Nereus in the Herakles saga (Pher. fr. 16a), or the Graiai in the Perseus legend (Pher. fr. 11), Phineus goes very well in the Argonautic legend.⁷⁵ Linking Levantines with Asiatic Thracians is no more difficult than Herodotos' connection of Egyptians and Kolchians (2.104); moreover, it was common belief that the Syrians had extended their realm northwards all the way to the Black Sea, where they were known as Leukosyroi, White Syrians (see Olshausen, *BNP* s.v. Leucosyri). This is admittedly a long way east of the Bosporos, but if Paphlagonia is to be included in Phineus' realm, the gap is closed.⁷⁶ Given that the oldest sources (Hesiod, Pherekydes) make Phineus a son of Phoinix, *prima facie* he is a figure at home in the East, who has been incorporated into the Argive stemma. That being so, we might expect to find congeners of his name in Semitic languages, as he will not have been made up out of nothing any more than Belos or Phoinix; Ziegler (*RE* 20.1.215–16) was already thinking along these lines, and suggested a connection with Phinehas, grandson of Aaron (Exod. 6:25, *al.*; Φινεέσσης in Josephus *AJ.* 5.119, *al.*; modern 'Pinchas'; at 1 Chron. 9:20, intriguingly, he is an archetypal guardian of entrances).

⁷⁴ Herod. fr. 46 said they were from Daulis, a less exotic location; presumably a rationalizing move. Compare Tereus and Thracians in Daulis, Thuc. 2.29.3 (Strabo 9.3.13, 10.1.3).

⁷⁵ M. Davies, 'Stesichorus' *Geryoneis*' 282–3; Meuli, *Ges. Schr.* 2.664–72.

⁷⁶ His son Mariandynos (schol. quoting Pher. fr. 27) carries the boundary at least as far as Paphlagonia. For the Mariandynoi and Thracians along this coast see Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism* 6–11; D. B. Erçiyas in Grammenos and Petropoulos, *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea* 2.1405.

The kernel of the story is that Phineus committed an offence which resulted in his being punished with blindness; he is further afflicted by the loathsome Harpyiai; the sons of Boreias then free him from their depredations. The reasons given for Phineus' plight are 'atrociously complicated' (Gantz 350, q.v. for details); already two are found in Hesiod (frr. 157, 254, quoted with Pher. fr. 27): because he gave directions to Phrixos ('<sons of> Phrixos' Robert), or because he said a long life was preferable to sightedness. The first reason could be connected with the attempts of Aietes to prevent his foretold doom (Herod. fr. 9; above, p. 203); he called on his father Helios to punish Phineus for his assistance to his enemies (Istros *FGrHist* 334 F 67; but Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.120 says Poseidon was the agent). The story in the second case is either that he was given this choice in some context, or that he expressed the view casually that a long life, even blind, was better than dying young, which offended Helios. The long-life story allows chronologists to bridge the gap between a son of Agenor and somebody encountered by the Argonauts, and indeed he is incredibly ancient when they meet him (cf. schol. P to Ap. Rhod. 2.178–82c, quoted in the apparatus to Pher. fr. 27). According to Apollonios (2.178–93) he abused his god-given skill to reveal the mind of Zeus, and both parts of the long-life–blindness combination are by way of punishment, with the Harpyiai added for good measure.⁷⁷ Other versions emanating most likely from tragedy (Aischylos' *Phineus*, Sophokles' *Phineus A*, *Phineus B*, *Tympanistai*) involve Phineus harming his children (Boreias' grandchildren) as a result of their stepmother's plotting.

Gantz notes that Asklepiades *FGrHist* 12 F 31 is actually the first to say explicitly that the Harpyiai were part of the punishment rather than 'casual marauders' (351), but they are an early part of the scene. Being preternaturally swift they can be caught only by the sons of the North Wind (cf. Theogn. 715–16), if even then. Apollodoros *Bibl.* 1.122 reports that it was fated that the Harpyiai should die at the hands of the Boreadai, but also that these would die should they ever fail to catch their quarry; this sounds rather like a conundrum of the immovable-object-meets-irresistible-force variety, best known from the story of the Teumessian vixen and the hounds of Kephalos (the one fated never to be caught, the other fated to catch whatever it pursued: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.58–9). At all events the pursuit was bound to last a long time and end in disaster, had not the gods intervened (Hermes in Hes. fr. 156, Iris in Ap. Rhod. 2.286). The point at which they 'turned back' was the group of islands called after this event the Strophades (so Apollonios, after Antim. fr. 71, and later vulgate; Hesiod however (fr. 156) says it is where the Boreadai 'turned' to pray for help). Hesiod (fr. 155) had one of the Harpyiai fall into the river Tigris in the Peloponnese, now known as the Harpys (otherwise unattested), while the other got as far as the Echinades (offshore from the mouth of the Acheloos in Akarnania), where she and 'her pursuer' (singular) collapsed of exhaustion (at *Bibl.* 3.199 Apollod.

⁷⁷ For discussion of the link between transgression against gods and blindness see Buxton, 'Blindness and Limits'.

says that the Boreadai died in the pursuit). When **Pher. fr. 28** says, however, that they were chased 'through' the Sicilian sea, he may have in mind the two islands known in the later vulgate (Strabo 8.4.2) as the Strophades, south of Zakynthos on the eastern edge of said sea. Apollonios refers only to the islands hitherto known as the Plotai, which could be anywhere. He then has the Harpyiai take refuge on Crete (another place on the edge), in a cave on Mt Dikte in fact (2.434); **Pher. fr. 29** also says Crete, beneath the ridge Arginous (not otherwise known).⁷⁸ In another tradition, however, represented by **Akous. fr. 31**, the Harpyiai are actually killed by the Boreadai; Philodemos collected other examples in his *De pietate* (p. 79 Schober, quoting Ibykos *PMGF* 292, Aisch. fr. 260, Telestes *PMG* 812; the passage sits between Pher. fr. 127A and Epimen. fr. 8).

§6.4.5 IN THE BLACK SEA (Eumel. fr. 5; Hek. fr. 34; Herod. frr. 8, 48)

This part of the voyage is represented in our corpus by four fragments in addition to those discussed above in connection with individual Argonauts.⁷⁹ **Herod. fr. 48** offers a straightforward rationalizing reading of the altar of Eoios Apollo, built by the Argonauts, according to Apollonios of Rhodes in a splendid passage (2.669–93), when the god appeared to them at dawn; Herodoros says they built it because they landed on the island at dawn. We may assume he knew the story in Apollonios. The island lies not far west of Herakleia, Herodoros' home, and was inhabited by Herakleotai (ps.-Skylax 92; cf. Nymphis of Herakleia (*FGrHist* 432 F 13); see Ziegler, *RE* 6A.1.718–20.

Herod. fr. 8 says that when the Argonauts reached Herakleia (the author's home) they sailed fully five stades upriver to find anchorage. One can only guess at the point of this, but it is perhaps part of Herodoros' generally realistic portrayal; in Apollonios (2.727, 751) the ship is becalmed and finds good anchorage here, as in later centuries the Megarian founders called the river 'Soonantes' because they came safely ashore here after a wild storm (2.746–9). The identification with Acheron relies on a cave supposedly two stades deep at the entrance to the valley; for details, see Blakely in *BNJ* on this fr., and Lendle on Xen. *Anab.* 6.2.2. It is the site also of Herodoros' account of Herakles and Kerberos (fr. 31; → §8.4.12). There is in fact no natural harbour at Herakleia, but there is good protection afforded by the promontory, and travelling five stades upriver for anchorage seems unnecessary. Perhaps Herodoros' workaday crew were demonstrating their lack of foolish superstition about underworld rivers; did some version of the Argonautic saga involve a katabasis like that of Odysseus or Herakles?

Herakleia is a day's sailing from the entrance to the Black Sea in good conditions; Sinope (*IACP* no. 729) is another day or two. Apollonios (2.946–54) says that they

⁷⁸ This is also attested for the *Naupaktika* according to Wendel's text of the scholion, but see my app. crit. The join of *P.Herc.* N 247 Vb and N 242 Vb shows that the Sirenes are the subject of Epimen. fr. 8, *pace* A. Debiassi, *Eikasmos* 14 (2003) 99 n. 48.

⁷⁹ We know little of the arrangement of Hekataios' opus, but it looks as if Aiolidai belong in the first book, so the reference to Amazons in Hek. fr. 7, from the second book, is better taken as part of the Herakles saga: see §8.4.9.

reached 'Assyrian' territory, where Zeus himself settled Sinope daughter of Asopos; by the standard extract-a-promise-before-bestowing-favours method, she tricks Zeus into promising her her virginity. Apollo and the river Halys also fell for the same ruse. The scholia on this passage report a clutch of variants, among them **Eumel. fr. 5** and **Hek. fr. 34**. Eumelos is quoted only for the name of her father, which agrees with Apollonios; but the significance of Asopos as father is that she is a nymph rather than an Amazon, and at home in Greece rather than Pontos. Sinope itself was a Milesian foundation, and most scholars have seen this genealogy as part of Eumelos' programme of domiciling alien traditions in Corinth; whether it necessarily implies that the Argonautic epos first took shape in Miletos, as has often been said,⁸⁰ though perfectly possible, seems more doubtful, as many Greeks explored the region. Alternative genealogies are cited from the Orphics (Ares and Aigina) and 'others' (Ares and Parnasse); these try to have it both ways (she is native Greek and, as a daughter of Ares, Amazon-ish: **Pher. fr. 15c**, → §8.4.9). Aristotle has the deception story too, but Philostephanos (**fr. 14** Capel Badino) says she in fact gave birth to Syros, eponym of the (As)syrians in the area (the Leukosyroi, already mentioned in connection with Phineus). From Philostephanos too probably comes the bit at the beginning of the scholion, which refers to Syros, and says that Sinope was carried off from Hyria (according to a probable conjecture—the P-branch of the scholia have 'Boiotia'; **Il. 2.496**; for the eponym Hyrieus see §10.4). The idea was presumably suggested by the wordplay Hyria/Syria, but also has the effect of rooting her in Greek soil once again. In this case, the Boiotian Asopos will be in view; so also in the catalogue of Asopids offered by Korinna **PMG 654** (Sinope suppl. at ii 39).

Only the story about the drunken Amazon, quoted from Andron of Teos and **Hek. fr. 34**, makes the eponym unambiguously indigenous. There is no reason to doubt that the story as a whole goes back to Hekataios (Andron probably cited him), and he parades his knowledge of barbarian languages also in **fr. 21** (→ §7.2.5).⁸¹ (Hekataios might of course have told this story in connection with Herakles instead of the Argonauts, but it is Apollonios' scholia that cite him here.) Amazons are rather useful as eponyms in these and other parts (Toepffer, **RE 1.2.1755** for a list). The king of the city with whom she takes refuge is named as Lytidas, who is unknown; the name is at least possible (a 'Lytides' is attested in fourth-century Athens, **LGN 2**). From the Herakles saga comes the mytheme that some of his Thessalian crew on the Amazon expedition got stranded here (**Ap. Rhod. 2.956**: Deileon, Autolykos and Phlogios sons of Deimachos of Trikke; cf. **ps.-Skymn. 945–6**); this is no doubt retrospective mythmaking in the Milesian

⁸⁰ e.g. M. L. West, 'Odyssey and Argonautica' 58; Merkelbach, *Untersuchungen zur Odyssee* 201; P. Friedländer, *RhMus* 69 (1914) 300 = *Studien zur antiken Literatur und Kunst* (Berlin, 1969) 19.

⁸¹ Also *FGH Hist 1 F 272* (quoted with **fr. 21**), 'Chna' the original name of Phoenicia; as this is probably 'Canaan' (*Χαναάν*), he has got this one right. Hsch. 158 says *σανάπη* (*σαναπτιν* cod.; em. Scaliger) is a Skythian word meaning 'wine-drinker'; Ivantchik, 'Die Gründung von Sinope' 302, cites authorities who identify Iranian cognates of the word.

colony, to claim a link to the Argonautic saga. Strabo 12.3.11 says Autolykos was honoured as *oikistes* and had an oracle.⁸²

§6.5 The Trials at Kolchis (Herod. **frr. 52–3**; Pher. **frr. 30–1, 112**)

At Kolchis Jason is required to yoke fire-breathing, brazen-hooved bulls, and plough a field; he then sows a dragon's teeth in the field, from which sprout fearsome warriors he must defeat; finally he must get the fleece. The first of these trials features in Pindar's account (*Pyth.* 4.220–41), where Medeia's ointment protects Jason from the flames. Pindar omits the second labour, which might have been in Eumelos (**fr. 21** West), and was certainly in Sophokles' *Kolchides* (**fr. 341**), and regarding the third he says only that Jason slew the serpent using unspecified *τέχνηαι*, 'devices'; whatever this means (it probably alludes to Medeia's skilful assistance), it does not express a straightforward fight. The killing of the serpent presumably did not figure in the Hesiodic *Aigimios* or the *Naupaktika*, as in both of these the fleece was perhaps stored in the king's palace; the abbreviated reports of the scholia do not allow perfect certainty on the point. Those reporting Hesiod (on **Ap. Rhod. 3.587–88a**) say that according to that poem Aietes willingly accepted Phrixos in his house because of the fleece; after Phrixos had sacrificed the animal Aietes bore the fleece to the palace. Strictly speaking this does not preclude that Aietes then placed it elsewhere under the serpent's protection. Concerning the *Naupaktika* (quoted with **Herod. frr. 52, 53**) we are told that Aietes was planning to burn the Argo, which he would have accomplished had not Aphrodite inspired him to make love to his wife; Idmon, divining the situation, advised Jason to make his escape, whereupon Medeia, hearing their footsteps, arose from her bed, and retrieved the fleece which was *κατὰ τὸν ... οἶκον κείμενον* (a word often used of storage). However, we are also told that according to Herodoros, after the bulls were yoked Aietes sent Jason to fetch the fleece, who killed the serpent and brought the fleece back to the house; Aietes then invited them all treacherously to dinner. The scholiast explicitly says that Herodoros agreed with the *Naupaktika* about the narrowly avoided plot. So it is possible that the *Naupaktika* also had Jason kill the serpent. The point of *κείμενον* would be that, when the fleece was brought to the house, it was naturally placed with other valuables in an inner storeroom; this part of the house, and the task of safekeeping, was a woman's domain, which explains why Medeia was well placed to retrieve it (in Pherekydes, she does so on Jason's instructions).

The yoking of the fire-breathing, brazen-hooved bulls is attested for **Pher. (frr. 30, 112)** in his sixth book; he is the earliest source we have for this part of the story. The fight with the warriors born of the dragon's teeth is implied also by **Pher. fr. 22**, according to which Ares and Athena gave half the Theban dragon's teeth to Kadmos, the other half to Aietes. The apparent implication that they are contemporaries creates

⁸² 'Sinopos' is one of Odysseus' companions in **Pher. fr. 144**; see §18.5.6.

chronological difficulties, if Pherekydes followed the usual genealogy Kadmos→Polydoros→Labdakos→Laios→Oidipous (Hdt. 5.59, Soph. *OT* 267–8, Eur. *Phoin.* 5–9). This longer stemma suited those who needed room for the second founding of Thebes by Amphion and Thebes after Kadmos, but the implication of Pher. fr. 41 (which says that the twins' city was destroyed by the Phlegyai) is that Kadmos was the city's second founder (→§§10.2, 10.4). Yet even if he shortened the stemma (and he could hardly do without Laios), there is still some space between the generation of Kadmos and that of the Argonauts. Unless Pherekydes thought of Aietes as very long-lived (not impossible), this is a good example of how the early mythographers (indeed, most mythographers) did not concern themselves with chronological coordination across different lineages. Pherekydes noticed the similarity of the two stories, and without ado brought in the gods to effect the link.

Pherekydes also tells us (fr. 30) that the field of Ares was fifty γύαι, a truly prodigious size. Though the acreage of the Homeric γύης is unknown, fifty of them constitute a large estate at *Il.* 9.579, of which half is given over to vineyards, the other half to tillage; and to plough only four γύαι takes all day for both Odysseus (*Od.* 18.374) and Aietes (Ap. Rhod. 3.412).

In Pherekydes' seventh book (Pher. fr. 31) Jason was tasked with getting the fleece, and killed the serpent. In Apollonios, the deed is performed clandestinely with Medeia's help, who drugs the serpent; the thieves then make their escape. For the drugging, the scholia tell us that Antimachos (fr. 73) was Apollonios' authority; probably also then for the secrecy. The degree and kind of help rendered by Medeia varies from source to source, but as a princess who falls for the handsome foreigner and helps him against her father's wishes, like Ariadne, Komaitho and others, she is at home in the story. She is mentioned as early as Hesiod (*Th.* 961), though only as Jason's wife; still, that must imply some collaboration.⁸³ Her assistance does not in itself diminish Jason's heroism, but it provided an opportunity to do so for both Euripides, who in the *Medeia* emphasizes her agency, and Apollonios, whose quizzical presentation of Jason's character is the poem's most notable feature. Regarding Herodotos, in fr. 52A the little word πον suggests that the fragment is torn from a rationalizing account of the serpent ('I suppose there were large snakes in the Kaukasos, large and numerous');⁸⁴ it is consistent with this that the bulls in fr. 52 are described merely as 'wild' rather than fire-breathing.

No treatment of this story would be complete without reference to the famous cup by Douris of about 480 BC (*LIMC* Iason no. 32), showing a droopy Jason being disgorged

by a monstrous serpent, with the fleece to the left and Athena standing by. Two seventh-century Corinthian pieces probably also have the same scene, as well as three Etruscan depictions (*LIMC* Iason nos. 30–1, 33–5). These depict a version otherwise unattested in the literary sources, and are a prime example of both our patchy knowledge and of the independence of the artistic tradition. Herakles, in saving Hesione from the sea-monster (Hellan. fr. 26; →§8.5.3), with Athena's help, allowed himself to be swallowed by the beast, which he despatched from within. Possibly we have a similar story here about Jason.

§6.6 Getting Back (Hek. fr. 18; Herod. fr. 10; Pher. fr. 32)

The basic choice in the sources (which are mostly quoted together with Hek. fr. 18) is between a fantastic voyage round the edges of the known world and beyond (through Okeanos), or more prosaically back by the same route. The latter was the version of Herod. fr. 10, but also of Sophokles (fr. 547), Euripides (*Medea* 434–5) and Kallimachos (fr. 9), so it is not only the mythographer's rationalism at work here. Once the supernatural obstacles have been overcome, the journey is tamed for ever; the wandering rocks are stilled, the clashing rocks frozen. The early variants of the fantastic return route are:⁸⁵

- (i) Hekataios fr. 18: through the Phasis to Okeanos, thence to the Nile; the geography contradicted by Artemidoros and Eratosthenes.
- (ii) Pindar, *Pyth.* 4: through Okeanos, presumably reached via the Phasis, thence by a slightly unclear route to Libya, then overland for twelve days to Lake Tritonis and thence to the Mediterranean. Cf. Braswell on 251–2. Hesiod (fr. 241) and Antimachos (fr. 76) also have Okeanos and the overland jaunt according to the scholiast.⁸⁶
- (iii) Apollonios of Rhodes book 4: up the Ister (Danube) to the Adriatic, then through the Eridanos (Po) and the Rhône to the Tyrrhenian Sea; over to Libya, then to Crete and home. The scholia say that Apollonios drew on the geographer Timagetos for his map, though as reported Timagetos seems to say the western branch of the Ister emptied into the Tyrrhenian Sea; textual corruption makes it hard to be sure. Diod. Sic. 4.57.7–8 refutes this geography on the strength of Roman experience in the region; cf. the modified itinerary (carrying the ship over the Alps!) in Pliny *NH* 3.128.
- (iv) Skymnos (second century BC): up the Tanais (Don) in the north-east corner of Lake Maiotis (Sea of Azov) to 'the great sea' (Baltic?) thence to the

⁸³ Some scholars have thought her assistance is implied by Mimn. fr. 11 ('Jason would never have brought back the fleece, not even got to Okeanos... sc. 'without [name of helper]', but this will be the name of a god, or simply 'the gods' (Pfeiffer, *Ausgew. Schr.* 47); if one god, rather Hera than Aphrodite (Dräger, *Mnem.* 49 (1996) 30–45). For the myth of the 'Tarpeia' type see Krappe, 'Die Sage von der Tarpeja'; Graf, 'Medea' 23–5 (who points out that the innocent maiden-helper might not have been Medeia's original character); Hansen, *AT* 151–60.

⁸⁴ Fowler, 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 70.

⁸⁵ There is in addition the elaborate itinerary of the Orphic *Argonautika*, which I forbear to summarize here. For details of all variants see Moreau, *Le Mythe de Jason et Médée* 36–45; cf. his 'Les transformations du périple des Argonautes', and Hirschberger on *Megalai Éthoi* fr. 14 (253 M.–W.).

⁸⁶ That Hekataios said that the Nile flowed from Okeanos to the Mediterranean (*FGHHist* 1 F 302) does not necessarily preclude this, any more than it did for Pindar.

Mediterranean via the Atlantic. We happen to know that this was Timaios' solution (*FGrHist* 566 F 85), which some have thought was inspired by the voyage of Pytheas of Massalia (Roller, *Through the Pillars of Herakles* 69, 91).

The horrible execution of Apsyrtos happened on the return journey, an incident represented in our corpus by *Pher. fr. 32*, who calls him 'Axyrtos', presumably to indicate his age.⁸⁷ In Apollonios, Apsyrtos is a grown man, if young, and his murder is particularly treacherous and grisly (4305–481). Sophokles in his *Kolchides* said that he was murdered in Aietes' home (*fr. 343*; so also *Eur. Med. 1334–5*, *Kallim. fr. 8*), but Pherekydes says that the deed was done as the Argonauts were sailing upriver (which one is unfortunately not specified);⁸⁸ the boy was taken from his bed by Medea and delivered to the Argonauts, who killed and dismembered him, tossing the limbs into the river. Presumably, as in *Apollod. Bibl. 1.132–3* and *Ovid (Ov. Trist. 3.9.21–34; also Cic. Manil. 22)*, this had the effect of forcing Aietes to slow down and collect the pieces, allowing the Argonauts to escape.⁸⁹ In *Apollodoros* and *Ovid (Trist. loc. cit., Her. 6.129–30, 12.113–16)*, it is Medea who dismembers her brother, whereas in *Pherekydes* as we have just seen it is the Argonauts (so too the grown Apsyrtos in [*Orph.*] *Argon. 1028–35*). In *Apollonios*, Jason kills Apsyrtos, but it is clear that Medea shares the guilt.

That Apsyrtos should be killed is no obvious part of the Argonautic saga, and the episode might have been added in order to render the barbarian witch even more abominable.⁹⁰ Bremmer, 'The Myth of the Golden Fleece' 320–34, cites many examples of close relations between brothers and sisters in classical myth, literature and history, including of course Antigone and the wife of Intaphernes, who would save brothers before husbands or children; in Medea's case, Apsyrtos is her only brother, so the horror is even worse. Brothers are meant to protect a sister's honour and promote her welfare; by killing Apsyrtos, Medea has made it completely impossible to return, and placed herself entirely under Jason's protection.⁹¹

⁸⁷ It is a *hapax*, and Pherekydes is not known for his wordplay, but he does think carefully about names. It is probably too fanciful to think that we have a parallel here to the variants *Moxos* (Luwian/Hittite/Mycenaean Greek) and *Mopsos* (Phoenician/later Greek), which is variously explained (→ §18.5.2).

⁸⁸ In *Apollod.* the incident takes place on the Ister, but this is unlikely to be Pherekydes' version (*Gantz 363*). A late-5th-c. bell-krater in Gela shows the dead Apsyrtos about to be taken on board the ship, where he will be later dismembered: *LIMC Apsyrtos* add. 1 (*Suppl. 1.80*).

⁸⁹ H. Versnel, *Mnem.* 26 (1973) 62–3, regards this idea as a rationalism, and argues that the myth reflects apotropaic sacrifices at sea.

⁹⁰ See, however, E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* 35 (wholly barbarian Medea an invention of tragedy, esp. Euripides); Mossman, *Euripides: Medea* 6. Perhaps the episode might also be read as a version of the sacrifice required to enter and return from the beyond, as the god of the Underworld will not be denied his due (*locus classicus*, *Palinurus* in the *Aeneid* 5.814).

⁹¹ Bremmer further suggests, with due caution, that making Apsyrtos a child or only a half-brother (*Soph. fr. 546*) might be an attempt to soften the brutality of the murder in the eyes of Greeks, who tolerated infanticide; if true this would tell us something about Pherekydes. But *Apollonios*, though his Apsyrtos is only a half-brother (3.242), aims if anything to increase the horror, and the murder of children no longer infants was just as awful as murdering adults.

§6.7 Home at Last

§6.7.1 THE REJUVENATION OF JASON (*Pher. fr. 113*)

The most familiar tale, found first in the literary evidence trail in Euripides' *Peliades* (*fr. 601–16*), is that Medea tricked Pelias' daughters into attempting his rejuvenation by boiling him in a cauldron, having first demonstrated the technique with a ram.⁹² The daughters' attempt of course went horribly wrong, and thus was Jason avenged upon Pelias. The episode is illustrated in art from the late sixth century (*LIMC Peliaden* nos. 4–14). *Pher. fr. 113* and *Simonides (PMG 548)* said that Medea rejuvenated Jason; the cyclical *Nostoi* (*fr. 6*) said it was Aison. Though Jason was not old, and one might suspect some confusion with his father Aison, his rejuvenation is guaranteed not only by this scholion but by early art (*LIMC Iason* nos. 58–64), and by an allusion in *Lykophron (Alex. 1315)*.⁹³ To judge from art, the version with the ram was oldest; one may wonder whether Aison and/or Jason were alternatives to the ram (as in *Ovid*), or whether in some tellings Medea performed additional rejuvenations, after killing Pelias, as a favour.⁹⁴ Moreover, one should not assume without thought that Jason's rejuvenation took place in Iolkos; it could have happened in Kolchis, as *Lykophron's* train of thought actually seems to suggest.⁹⁵ In that case—or perhaps in any case—one would identify Jason's rejuvenation as another of the many initiatory motifs in the Argonautic saga: he is born again. There are obvious points of contact between the myth of Jason and those of Pelops and Dionysos.⁹⁶ As with Dionysos, there could have been ritual links behind the stories of Jason and Pelops at which we can now only idly guess; but equally possibly, the stories of dismemberment and rebirth told in Dionysiac aetiology were available for reuse in stories with no ritual link whatsoever.

Many examples of rejuvenation in Graeco-Roman literature are assembled by McCartney, 'Longevity and Rejuvenation'; some examples of similar stories from around the world are collected by Frazer, *Apollod. 2.359–62*. See also Uhsadel-Gülke, *Knochen und Kessel*, and the references given by Trenkner, *The Greek Novella* 47 n. 2.

⁹² Possibly already in *Soph. Rhizotomoi* (*fr. 534–6*); *Diphilos fr. 64*; *Plaut. Pseud. 868–72*; *Cic. De Sen. 83*; *Diod. Sic. 4.50–3*; *Ov. Met. 7.164–349* (different method of rejuvenation); *Paus. 8.11.2–3*; *Zenob. 4.92*; *Apollod. Bibl. 1.144*; *Hyg. Fab. 24*; *Argum. Eur. Med.* (which quotes our fragment). Medea's murder of Pelias (but not the method) is mentioned by *Pind. Pyth. 4.250*; *sim. Eur. Med. 9–10, 486–7, 504–5, 734*. *Ar. Eq. 1321* makes a joke based on the story. *Aischylos* in his *Nurses* (*fr. 246a*) said Medea rejuvenated all of *Dionysos's* carers and their husbands; *Ovid (Met. 7.294–6, cf. Hyg. Fab. 182.2)* tells us that *Dionysos* sought this service from Medea after witnessing the rejuvenation of Aison. This story is a calque on the others, then, and looks like an invention for the sake of what many scholars have thought was a satyr-play (see *Germer and Krumeich in Das griech. Satyrspiel 197–202*). Medea's boiling trick is alluded to in passing by *Plato at Buthyd. 285c4* and reinterpreted by *Palaiphatos (Incred. 43)*.

⁹³ *Gantz 367*; *Graf, 'Medea' 34*.

⁹⁴ Cf. H. Meyer, *Medea und die Peliaden* 70–1.

⁹⁵ Moreau, *Le Mythe de Jason et Médée* 35–6.

⁹⁶ *Farnell, Greek Hero Cults* 42–4; cf. *Scodel GRBS 21 (1980) 306–11*.

§6.7.2 CHILDREN (Hellan. fr. 132)

For the Medeios of Hes. *Th.* 1001 and Kinaithon fr. 2 (son of Jason and Medeia), see §1.3.2. In reporting Hellan. fr. 132, Pausanias first tells us that when Medeia fled to Aria, as it was then called, she gave her name to the land; she brought with her her child by Aigeus, called Medos. The first part of this comes from Hdt. 7.62.1, who does not mention Medos.⁹⁷ Hellanikos, however, says the child's name was Polyxenos, and the father was Jason. He presumably agreed with Herodotos that Medeia was the eponym, not Medos, but denies the Athenian pretension. The reason for her exile is the plot against her stepson Theseus. Aigeus' stop in Corinth en route to Troizen, Euripides' invention in all probability, implies that Medeia lived in Athens for something like 18 years until the ephebe Theseus showed up; in the absence of that innovation, she need not have been in Athens for any great length of time.⁹⁸

§6.7.3 TROUBLE AT CORINTH (Eumel. fr. 3; Hellan. fr. 133; Kreoph. fr. 3)

If Hellanikos said that Medeia brought one of her children by Jason to Athens, he might not have believed the story that she killed the others in Corinth; at all events, he did not follow Euripides' version, in which it is crucial that all the children die. He did, however, tell of Medeia's migration from Iolkos to Corinth (Hellan. fr. 133), and as we have just seen her migration from Athens to Media.

In Euripides' play, the two doomed children are unnamed. Apollodoros, who gives Euripides' version (1.146), says they were called Mermeros and Pheres. Pausanias (2.3.6) gives the same two names, but says that they were stoned by the Corinthians because of the gifts they brought to Glauke. When their own children began to die, an oracle advised them to found the cult. Pausanias also reports that in the *Naupaktika* (fr. 9), Jason fled directly from Iolkos after the death of Pelias to Korkyra, where his son Mermeros was killed by a lioness; the poem was silent about what happened to Pheres. A son of one Mermeros of Ephyra, probably in Thesprotia, is mentioned at *Od.* 1.259 (cf. scholia ad loc., quoting Apollod. *FGrHist* 244 F 180), which suggests that the version in the *Naupaktika* had no notion of the strange ideas prevailing in Corinth (and disputed Eumelos' identification of Ephyra with that city). Parmeniskos (fr. 13, below; quoted with Kreoph. fr. 3) says there were seven boys and seven girls (he provides no names) and links them to ritual groups, like the youths and maidens sent by the Athenians to the Minotaur (Bacchyl. 17.2–3).⁹⁹

⁹⁷ For Medos see e.g. Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 286 (no father named), Diod. Sic. 4.55.5 (Aigeus), 10.27.1, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.147, Hyg. *Fab.* 26.1, 27.2; son not of Aigeus but of an Asiatic king, Diod. Sic. 4.55.7 = Dion. Skyt. fr. 38; son of Jason, Strab. 11.13.10; Lesky, *RE* 15.1.47 s.v. Medeia.

⁹⁸ Mastronarde, *Euripides: Medea* 56.

⁹⁹ According to Dion. Skyt. fr. 38 ap. Diod. Sic. 4.54, Jason and Medeia lived in Corinth for ten years, and had Thettalos and Alkimenos, then the much younger Tisandros (significant name); Thettalos escaped the slaughter.

At some point in the archaic age, the legend of Medeia at Corinth, first attested in Eumelos (*Korinthiaka* fr. 20 = *EGM* fr. 3; attested also for Simonides *PMG* 545), was linked to a hero-cult of children at the sanctuary of Hera Akraia. The aition is variously given:¹⁰⁰

- (i) **Eumel. fr. 3:** In the absence of an heir the Corinthians sent for Medeia in Iolkos and gave her the throne. As Jacoby remarks, this precludes versions in which Medeia must flee Iolkos for killing Pelias. As each of her children was born, Medeia took it to the sanctuary, where she buried it¹⁰¹ in the belief that it would become immortal (cf. the stories of Demeter in the *Homeric Hymn*, and Thetis and Achilleus). She eventually realized her mistake, and was discovered by Jason. Not forgiving her, he went back to Iolkos; she too left (we are not told where she went), giving the rule to Sisypheos. This story unsurprisingly shows Medeia in the best light. I assume the prose summary used by Pausanias faithfully reflects the archaic epic (the beginning of fr. 3 does so vis-à-vis Eumel. fr. 17 West, for its admittedly short stretch), but the possibility needs to be borne in mind that revision has occurred in reaction to negative portraits. In the present case, Eumelos' version does involve conflict between Medeia and Jason, which might suggest knowledge of other versions in which Medeia's actions are less benign; but given that Eumelos has brought the Argonautic legend to Corinth, he had then to find a way to get Jason back to Iolkos or wherever he was to die, and Medeia out of Corinth to have whatever adventures in Athens, the Levant, or back in Kolchis his mythological inheritance suggested. The motif of conflict could therefore be his own idea.
- (ii) **Eur. *Med.* 1378–83:** Medeia says that she will bury the children in the sanctuary of Hera Akraia, so that their bodies and tombs will not be dishonoured by her enemies; she orders the Corinthians to institute a festival and rites. Mastronarde and Scullion ('Tradition and Invention in Euripidean Aitiology' 224) rightly notes the oddity of the murderess giving such an instruction, which implies that a pre-existing story has been modified. Parmeniskos fr. 12 (quoted with Hellan. fr. 133) claimed that the Corinthians paid Euripides a juicy bribe to transfer the blame to Medeia.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. the lucid discussion by Mastronarde, *Euripides: Medea* 50–7; on Neophron, 57–64. See also Harrauer, 'Der korinthische Kindermord'; Schwinge, 'Wer tötete Medeas Kinder?'; Mossman, *Euripides: Medea* 6–8.

¹⁰¹ Or hid it in the fire? cf. *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 239. For 'bury' in the ordinary sense see Radermacher, *Mythos und Sage* 229, citing e.g. Soph. *OC* 621, Paus. 3.20.5, Xen. *Kyr.* 3.3.3. See also schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13.74g: Medeia was living in Corinth and put an end to a famine by sacrificing to Demeter and the Lemnian Nymphs. Zeus became enamoured of her, but Medeia resisted out of fear for Hera. Hera promised to make her children immortal, but they died. The Corinthians honoured them, calling them *μυζοβάραροι* (cf. *μυζέλληνες* on Lemnos in Hellan. fr. 71a). Hera's promise may be a reflection of Eumelos.

- (iii) **Kreoph. fr. 3:**¹⁰² Medeia killed Kreon with poison (we are not told why). Fearing his friends and relatives she fled to Athens. Her two sons were too young to follow, so she left them on the altar of Hera Akraia, thinking Jason would protect them. But Kreon's family killed them, and gave out that Medeia had killed them as well as Kreon. Several times in Euripides fear is expressed of what Kreon's family will do, which could imply knowledge of this story (though not perhaps the last bit about the false rumours, if Medeia's murder is Euripides' invention; a detail that has led most scholars to suppose that Kreophylos post-dates Euripides, though drawing on older traditions). Karkinos (*fl.* 380–350 BC) had this version or something like it (*TrGR* 70 F 1c ap. Arist. *Rhet.* 2.23 p. 1400b 10 + *P.Louv.* E 10534).¹⁰³
- (iv) **Parmeniskos** (second century BC) fr. 13: The Corinthians were unwilling to be ruled by a barbarian sorceress, so they plotted against her and killed her children (seven girls, seven boys). They had taken refuge on the altar of Hera Akraia, but to no avail. Inevitable plague; many deaths. The oracle told them to expiate the pollution of Medeia's children, whereupon they instituted the service of seven girls and seven boys from the most prominent families who spend the year in the precinct and offer sacrifices.

In Neophron's *Medeia* the title character notoriously killed her children, and debate still continues as to whether Euripides copied him, as Dikaiarchos claimed (fr. 63 Wehrli = 62 Mirhady), or the other way around. Fortunately a decision on this point is not necessary here, but for what it is worth I do not believe that the author of Medeia's speech in Neophron fr. 2 can hold a candle to Euripides, and the claim of Dikaiarchos—in whose honesty confidence is misplaced—is typical literary gossip of the capacious *On Plagiarism* genre (e.g. Hek. test. 24), already a growth industry in the fourth century. Euripides was an easy target of such slander.

Of greater interest here is the connection with cult.¹⁰⁴ Except for Eumelos, each of the stories follows a classic pattern of conflict between the objects of veneration while alive (coded in political, ethnic, and familial terms), leading to violent death, followed by disaster which is expiated by the institution of the cult. The strangeness and dangerousness of the hero, and the uncomprehending nature of mortals in the face of greater

¹⁰² Those who attribute this fr. to the epic poet from Samos (himself a problematic figure, who exists only to have the *Sack of Oichalia* attributed to him and to be involved in the Homeric *vita*) must assume that the story introduced in the scholia in a manner usually indicating a verbatim quotation is actually a paraphrase, given precisely in the style of mythography, of a plot that does not sound like epic and has no obvious place in the story of Oichalia. It is also Kreophylos' version that is cited as an alternative (without name) by Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.146, which places it in the mythographic tradition. Authorities for and against are listed by Moreau, *Le Mythe de Jason et Médée* 76 n. 96 and Bernabé, *PEG* 1.164; add Daviles, *Mnem.* 42 (1989) 469–72.

¹⁰³ M. L. West, *ZPE* 161 (2007) 1–10.

¹⁰⁴ For a good overview of work on the Medeia figure generally see now Griffiths, *Medeia*; also Clauss and Johnston, *Medeia*; Gentili and Perusino, *Medeia*; Allan, *Euripides: Medea*. On the ritual link at Corinth, see Dunn, 'Euripides and the Rites of Hera Akraia'; Johnston, 'Corinthian Medea'; Menadier, 'The Sanctuary of Hera Akraia'; Pache, *Baby and Child Heroes* 9–48.

powers are dramatized in the myths. The power, otherwise destructive, is turned to the advantage of the community by the anxious ritual; the heroes offer general protection and prosperity to all, and (in this case) the care of specific groups such as children.¹⁰⁵ Parmeniskos' detail of children of the best families spending a year in the sanctuary inevitably suggests initiation, for all that one must reach for the somewhat problematic notion of a symbolic initiation by a select group on behalf of the whole. We do not know the antiquity of this detail.¹⁰⁶

Eumelos' version, at least as we are given it, and assuming that it is in fact aetiological of the cult, does not imply such a conflict (note that he has no Kreon in his king-list), but rather a disastrous mistake, for which the Corinthians make everlasting amends. The parallel between this version, in which Medeia's efforts (perhaps inspired by Hera's promise) went terribly wrong (perhaps because of a mistake on her part), and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, where Demeter's attempt to immortalize the child Demophon is ruined by his mother Metaneira's intrusion, is striking; in the *Hymn*, the passage is followed immediately by Demeter's instruction to establish the festival. The cult, if properly conducted, holds out the hope of the immortality that was only just missed in the myth. It is too bold to surmise that the archaic Corinthian cult was similar to the Eleusinian Mysteries, and certainly none of the evidence provides a link to agriculture, crucial at Eleusis. We might rather suppose a cult of Hera that by pious offerings and mourning (Paus. 2.3.7) sought the general flourishing of the population, particularly for the future represented by the children.

Note incidentally that this (apparently) early and native Corinthian myth does not support the view that Medeia was once a goddess there. She has special skills, to be sure, and is granddaughter of a god, but that is true of many heroes and insufficient in itself to support the thesis that she is the hypostasis of a deity like Helen. That Medeia was regarded as a goddess in some quarters in the archaic period is, however, clear; her place in the catalogue at Hes. *Th.* 992 indicates as much,¹⁰⁷ and Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.11) alludes to her divinity. Nevertheless, her mortal failings are conspicuous in Eumelos' story. His genealogical manoeuvres have the purpose of bringing a character at home in the far east into the orbit of Corinth (at the cost, it may be said, of considerable chronological improbability, as Medeia, still young, succeeds on the Corinthian throne someone who was born some two generations after her, and is succeeded by Sisyphos, who lived two

¹⁰⁵ On the typical pattern of aetiological myth see Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual* 252, 293–5, 344, 354, 364–5.

¹⁰⁶ Johnston, 'Corinthian Medea', plays down the initiatory links, noting that such rituals are found in non-initiatory contexts; contrast Graf, 'Medea' 39–41. Johnston's interesting essay suggests that Medeia was a 'reproductive demon' threatening the survival of children.

¹⁰⁷ West ad loc.; Graf, 'Medea' 31. It is very unlikely that Alkman (*PMGF* 163) and Hesiod (fr. 376) called her a goddess. Athenagoras seems to be saying that somebody did, but he also names Menelaos, Hektor, Theagenes, Niobe and others. On Mousalos' testimony, *FGrHist* 455 F 2 (2nd c. AD), no weight can be placed. Ibykos (*PMGF* 291) and Simonides (*PMG* 558) said Medeia married Achilles in the Elysian fields.

generations before);¹⁰⁸ at this distance no one can possibly say whether she replaced a pre-existing figure with a similar name, or was a completely new arrival on the Corinthian scene. The cult does not guarantee the primacy of Corinth's claim to the story; cult needs and generates myth, but myth can also generate cult (the whole growth of Greek hero-cult is the main case; though it built on pre-existing ritual behaviour, its proliferation had much to do with epic).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. M. L. West, "Eumelos" 125, who notes further that in Eumelos' version [Sisyphos], grandfather to Leda and therefore living a good three generations before the Trojan War, receives a visit from Nestor, his great-great-nephew. Leda's sons Kastor and Polydeukes visit Corinth as Argonauts even before Sisyphos' reign.

§7

INACHIDAI

§7.1 The genealogy of Io

§7.1.1 BEGINNINGS; SPARTON AND MYKENEUS; IO, NIOBE, PHORONIS, AND DANAIS (Akous. fr. 23-7)

THE early stages of the Argive genealogy vary in the usual manner from authority to authority. Perhaps the only constants are that Phoroneus is son of Inachos the river; that Niobe is his daughter, who with Zeus has Argos, the eponym of the region and/or the polis;¹ and that this eponymous figure, for obvious reasons, is not the same person as the monstrous guardian of Io. In Bacchylides, tragedy, and many other sources Io is a daughter of Inachos,² so that she and her guardian must have lived in the very first generations of Argive history. In epic and mythography, however, the relationships were different. There is first of all the *Catalogue of Women*, reconstructed from Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1-2, 5 (Fig. 7.1):³

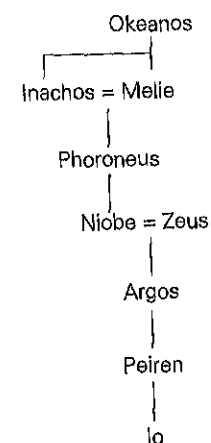


FIG. 7.1

¹ Nothing to do with Niobe daughter of Tantalos. The homonymy appears to be purely coincidental. For the river as regional ancestor cf. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 359-60.

² Bacchyl. 19.18; Aisch. *PV* 589; *Hdt.* 1.3; *Soph. El.* 5 and the fragmentary *Inachos*; Kallim. *Hymn* 3.254; etc.

³ West, *HCW* 76-7, making minimal assumptions; it is unlikely that the complications introduced by Apollod. (see below) stem from Hesiod (including for instance Sarapis, who does not enter the Greek

Phoroneus is an *Urmensch*, an Argive counterpart to Deukalion;⁴ his story was told in the epic *Phoronis*, where he was called 'father of mortal men' (fr. 1). *Akous. fr. 23a* agreed; *fr. 23b* reports that the great flood took place in his day, which would be a further link with Deukalion could we be sure that Akousilaos really said that (see §3.3). Like Prometheus, he brought fire to man (Paus. 2.19.5; cf. *Phoronis* fr. 2 on the invention of metallurgy). Adding in *Akous. fr. 23c-6*, we have for Akousilaos the stemma shown in Fig. 7.2.

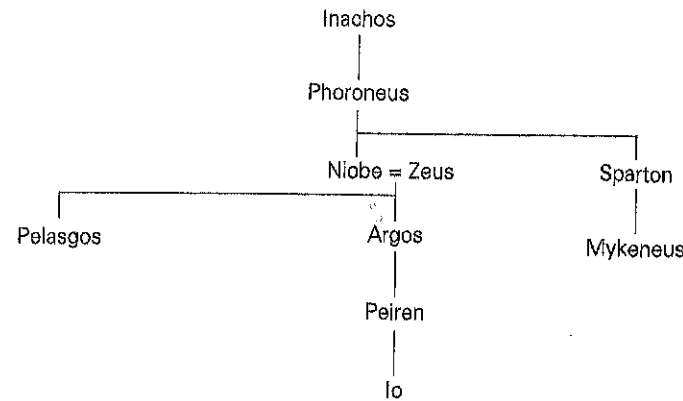


FIG. 7.2

This is not much different from Hesiod, but there are some disagreements between them nonetheless. Apollodoros, quoting fr. 25, tells us that Akousilaos differed from Hesiod (fr. 160) in his view of Pelasgos; the latter made him earthborn. We assume again that Peiren was son of Argos. From fr. 27 we learn that Akousilaos and Hesiod (or rather 'Kerkops', in the *Aigimios*) disagreed about the watchman Argos, the former making him earthborn (cf. Aisch. *PV* 567, *Supp.* 305), the latter (fr. 294) making him son of Argos and Ismene, daughter of Asopos. In another work attributed to Hesiod, the *Megalai Ehoiai* (fr. 246, quoted by Pausanias with fr. 24), Mykene, daughter of Inachos and Melie (therefore sister of Phoroneus), married Arestor; these are the parents of Argos in the *Nostoi* (fr. 8*) and probably also Hesiod, and Arestor is the name of Argos' father also in Pher. fr. 66 (below, p. 240) and in *Ov. Met.* 1.624. Akousilaos probably knew these works of pseudo-Hesiod and disregarded them; the *Aigimios*' genealogy is quite wayward, and that of the *Megalai Ehoiai* not only puts Argos Panoptes three generations earlier than his charge Io, but leaves one puzzled to find a father for Arestor.

pantheon until the 4th c.). 'Peirasos' is son of Argos (though not named as father of Io) in Paus. 2.16.1, 2.17.5, schol. Eur. *Or.* 932, and Plut. fr. 158 as emended by Kaibel (*Πείρας* δ codd.; Alpers, 'Hellanikos von Lesbos' 18 n. 57); 'Peiras' in Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.3, Georg. Synkell. p. 175.3 Mosshammer, Eus. (Hieron.) p. 37° Helm; 'Peranthus' in Hyg. *Fab.* 124, 'Piranthus' 145.2. Io is daughter of Peiren also in Hdn. *II. μόν. λέξ.* 2.923.7 Lentz.

⁴ Detienne, *The Writing of Orpheus* 42-3. A 2nd-c. BC monument for the tomb of Phoroneus (Paus. 2.20.3) has been discovered near the agora of Argos; see Piérart, 'Héros fondateurs' 428.

Pausanias is scornful of Akousilaos' genealogy of Sparton and Mykeneus (fr. 24), saying he would be amazed if the Lakedaimonians had even heard of it. Three observations may be made about Akousilaos' arrangement. (i) Most obviously, it is a chauvinistic subordination of Mykenai to Argos, like the incorporation of Arkadian Pelasgos into the stemma. (ii) Mykeneus is a son of Sparton, rather than the other way around, because of the greater antiquity of Sparta in pan-Hellenic tradition; there are, moreover, strong links between Agamemnon and Lakonia, where he seems to be more at home (J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 91-2). (iii) An eponymous Mykeneus means that Akousilaos did not regard Perseus as the first founder of Mykenai (on which see below, p. 259). This reflects the independence of the two cities' traditions, which however poets and mythographers struggled to bring together. In Hesiod, the Pelopid stemma has been transparently grafted on to that of the Perseidai (three of Perseus' sons marry three of Pelops' daughters). Grafted they had to be, owing to the polyvalence in epic of 'Argos', of which Agamemnon was king as well as Mykenai; the word hovered between the city, the region, the whole of the Peloponnese, and even the whole of Greece.⁵ Furthermore, there were no stories about Perseus' descendants; the line dies out, except for Herakles—his mother Alkmene is the product of one of the unions just mentioned (Elektryon son of Perseus and Lysidike daughter of Pelops). This is a notable exception, to be sure, and the Herakleidai had deep roots in the Argolid (→§9.1), but Herakles belonged to more cities than just Argos, and the Herakleidai represented a fresh start both in genealogy and history. That the Perseidai died out in this manner suggests a collective memory that the Pelopid dynasty at Mykenai eclipsed them, if they were ever there at all, themselves to be replaced in turn by the sons of Herakles.⁶

Niobe has the typical function of mating with a god and giving birth to the ethnic eponym; she is in fact the first mortal woman with whom Zeus lay. On normal patterns she might have been a daughter of Inachos, but Phoroneus intervenes, the significance of which we must now consider. As Io and Danaos are inseparable, and formed the subject of the archaic *Danais*, whereas Phoroneus comes from the *Phoronis*, scholars have thought that Hesiod and Akousilaos have combined two traditions, originally Tirynthian (the *Phoronis*) and Argive (the *Danais*), into one which redounded to the glory of Argos.⁷ There is a case to be made for this, if an ultimately uncertain one. The link to Tiryns is revealed first by the figure of Peirasos, generally agreed to be another

⁵ See *IgrE* s.v., and *The Homer Encyclopaedia* s.vv. 'Argives', 'Argos'. In Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μυκῆναι* Sparton is brother of Phoroneus; this could be a simple mistake, but cf. the similar genealogy in schol. Eur. *Or.* 1246 (Sparton son of Phegeus, brother of Phoroneus). Affiliating Sparta at the level of Inachos rather than Phoroneus emphasizes the independence even more, attaching Sparta to the region rather than the city of Argos as in Akousilaos.

⁶ Cf. J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* 90-1.

⁷ E. Meyer, *Forschungen* 1.67-101; Jacoby, *Hermes* 57 (1922) 366-74 = *Abhandlungen zur griech. Geschichtsschreibung* 1.334-41; Pellegrini, 'Sulle "Genealogie argive" di Acusilaos'. A note of caution sounded by Piérart, '«Argos assoiffée»' 127. Detailed discussion of the mythological tradition in Kipp, 'Io und Herodot'.

form of Peiren. According to Plut. fr. 158 Sandbach quoting Kallim. fr. 100, he was the first to establish the sanctuary of Argolid Hera, made his daughter Kallithyia the first priestess, and using pearwood from around Tiryns made the image of Hera.⁸ This information is corroborated by several sources, beginning with the lines quoted from the epic itself by Clement of Alexandria (fr. 4):

Καλλιθήη κληιδούχος Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλείης,
Ἥρης Ἀργείης, ἣ στέμμασι καὶ θυσάνοισιν
πρώτη εἰκόσησεν πέρι κίονα μακρὸν ἀνάσσης

Kallithyia is identified as the first priestess by schol. Arat. *Phain.* 161, by Africanus ap. Georg. Synkell. p. 175.3 Mosshammer, and by Eus. (Hieron.) p. 37^c Helm (in the chronographers also called daughter of Peiras).⁹ Pausanias (2.17.5) says that the old ξόανον was made of pearwood and dedicated by Peirasos son of Argos but transferred to the Heraion when the Argives destroyed Tiryns (in the 460s). We have seen in the discussion of the Proitides (→§5.3.3) that the story of their insult to Hera's temple or wooden statue was set in Tiryns. (When Demetrios in book 2 of his *Argolika*, *FGrHist* 304 F 1, says that this statue was made of pearwood but was made by Argos, it is an even more brazen takeover of the Tirynthian tradition.) We might speculate therefore that the *Phoronis* had the stemma shown in Fig. 7.3:

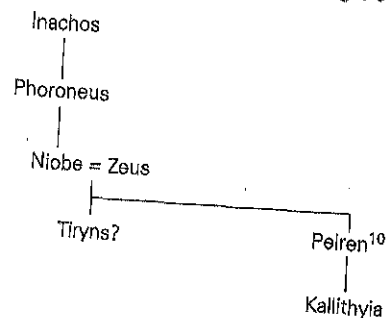


FIG. 7.3

whereas the *Danaïs* had simply that in Fig. 7.4:

⁸ Dowden, *Death and the Maiden* 119, suggests that his name actually means 'pear-man' (cf. Latin *pirum*). Others have thought of a connection with water, noting the spring Peirene in Corinth and the stream Peiros in Achaia (Paus. 7.18.1, 22.1; E. Meyer, *Forschungen* 1.91; Krischan, *RE* 19.1 101-2, 114; Roscher, *Lex.* s.vv. Peiranthos, Peiren), and Peiras consort of Styx in Epimen. fr. 7 (→§1.2.1). The mythology of water plays prominent role in the early history of thirsty Argos (Inachos, Amymone), though not so far as we know in the story of Kallithyia, except that as Hera's first priestess the contest with Poseidon must have immediately preceded her appointment.

⁹ Oddly, 'Callithias son of Piras' in Eusebios.

¹⁰ Adapting E. Meyer, *Forschungen* 1.92. Peirasos and Tiryns are brothers (sons of Argos) in schol. Eur. *Or.* 932, who adds also Epidauros (cf. 'Hes.' fr. 247, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.3). Possibly, though, Argos is at home here even in the putative Tirynthian original if he is the eponym of the region.

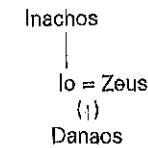


FIG. 7.4

One might suppose further (i) that Niobe was originally a daughter of Inachos like Io, and that Phoroneus intervened when the view was formed, no doubt quite early, that all mankind had originated on this ancient plain; (ii) that the line from Io to Danaos was originally solid, i.e. she was the *Stammutter* of the Danaans; but when (also at a quite early stage) the view was formed that Danaos had come from Egypt, she was made to sojourn there, resulting in the insertion of Epaphos, Libya and the rest.

If these stemmata were primary, then the combination of the two as we find it in Hesiod and Akousilaos does look like a demotion of Tirynthian interests, by ousting Kallithyia and inserting Argos, yet retaining Phoroneus for propaganda reasons. Note further the precision of the chronographers, who almost certainly have Hellanikos' *Priestesses of Hera in Argos* (frr. 74-84) as their ultimate source. They mention only Kallithyia; but Io too was a priestess (Akous. fr. 26; κληιδούχον Ἥρας ... δωμάτων Aisch. *Supp.* 291, echoing the *Phoronis*). In the posited stemmata of the two epics, Kallithyia and Io are both close enough to the *Urzeit* (especially if we lose Phoroneus) to perform such a function. In the extended genealogy, however, Io can no longer be the first.

Now a notice in Hesychios (11185), conjecturally attributed to the *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 125), asserts that they were originally the same (or that 'Kallithyessa' was used as an epithet of Io): Ἰὼ Καλλιθέσσα· Καλλιθέσσα ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ πρώτη ἱέρεια τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς (τῆς ἐν Ἀργεὶ Ἥρας Knaack, with much probability; τῆς Ἀνθείας <Ἥρας> Latte, cf. Paus. 2.22.1). Jacoby thought Hellanikos separated two figures who had come to be closely associated. This might well be the case, but herein lies the problem with this tidy reconstruction of *Phoronis* + *Danaïs* = Hesiod and Akousilaos (NB already Hesiod). Io and Kallithyia do indeed have much in common; Io is defined by her wandering, and Kallithyia is the 'fair runner'.¹¹ The Proitids are likewise mad runners subjected to physical modifications, and confusion as to whether they were Argive or Tirynthian reached back to the classical age at least (→§5.3.3). The stories of both Io and the Proitides suggest problems with marriage (to put it mildly), and conflict with their fathers; the same is true of the Danaid Hypermestra ('too-clever' girl),

¹¹ Nothing to do with sacrifice, as some have thought; cf. Oreithyia and the Thyiai. The variant 'Kallithoe' in the *Phoronis* fr. 4 points the same way. All these names evoke maenadic associations.

another priestess of Hera (Eus. (Hieron.) p. 47¹ Helm, i.e. Hellanikos). Maidens, yet priestesses of the archetypal wife, they are perfectly poised between two states in this myth heavy with initiatory motifs. There must have been cross-fertilization from a very early stage.

Similar issues arise in the myth of the transfer of power between Argive Perseus and Tirynthian Megapenthes son of Proitos, whereby Perseus, having killed his grandfather Akrisios, cannot bring himself to take up the throne of Argos (below). Why the switch? If the descendants of Akrisios (the Perseidai) were to end up as Tirynthian, why not put them there in the first place (and ditto for the Proitides in Argos)? J. M. Hall (*Ethnic Identity* 94–5) suggests that the best way to understand this story is to see the two lines, Proitid and Perseid, as competitive rather than complementary—both trying to lay claims to both Argos and Tiryns. And yet all were Argives in the epic sense. If this is correct, we can expect the appropriation and entanglement of the various stories to have a long history which we can never hope to unravel. Finally, we know of no other *Urmensch* for Argos than Phoroneus; one can readily believe that both Argos and Tiryns embraced him from an early period.

§7.1.2 FURTHER REFINEMENTS (Hellan. fr. 36, 91; Pher. fr. 66)

One advantage of adding more generations in front of Io is that it opened up room for eponymous figures, much beloved of poets and mythographers. These we find, together with further variation and complications, in **Pher. fr. 66**. Argos son of Zeus (and we may assume of Niobe) marries an Okeanid Peitho¹² and has Kriasos, father of Ereuthalion, eponym of the polis Ereuthalie, and Phorbas; Phorbas is then father of Arestor, and he of Argos, guardian of Io. The tree is thus as shown in Fig. 7.5.

We do not know how Pherekydes handled some of the other figures we have been discussing so far. The polis Ereuthalie is nowhere else attested (*IACP* omits it), and

¹² The only variant recorded with respect to his wife is Euadne daughter of Strymon (the Thracian river) and Neaira (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.3, Hyg. *Fab.* 145.2). In Aischylos' *Suppliants* Pelasgos makes the Strymon the boundary of his kingdom (*Supp.* 255). Peitho is the wife of Phoroneus in the stemma in schol. Eur. *Or.* 932, and in a new inscription from Argos of the 2nd c. BC published by Olga Psychogylou, and reported in *REG* 122 (2009) 439. The inscription is from Phoroneus' tomb (Paus. 2.20.3) and reads:

Τόνδε τάφον λαοὶ τεύξαν βασιλῆι Φορωνεῖ
κτίσασσι πρεσβίστης Ἰναχίης πόλεως
ὃς δείξεν νύκτωρ τε πάτρην χρῆσθαι τε νόμοισι
πρώτος ἀποστρέψας ἀγριότητα βίου.
ταῦ δ' υἱὸς Ἄπυρ τε καὶ Εὐρυπα Αἰγυαλὴ τε
καὶ Νεόβηρ [sic] Πειθῶ γένετο καλλικόμος.
πρώτη δὲ θυγατὴρ μάκαρος Διὸς ἦλθεν ἐς εὐνήν
τεύξαν τε ἀνθρώπων ἡμιθέων γένεσιν.

The offspring also match those in schol. Eur. *Or.* 932.

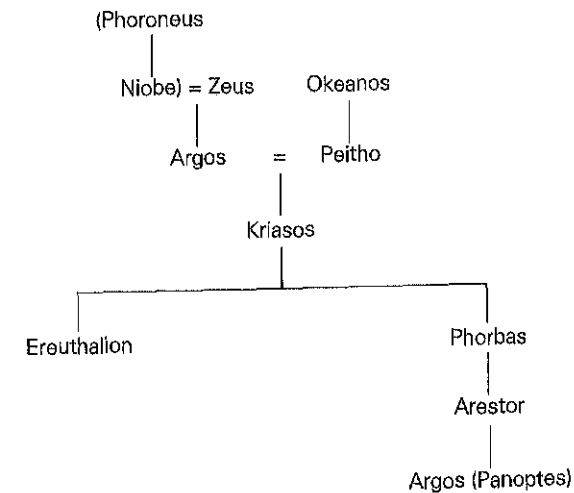


FIG. 7.5

perhaps it was a city only in some lost epic; alternatively, Pherekydes might have inferred its existence.¹³ The possibility arises that Kriasos (about whom nothing else is known) and Phorbas (of whom Roscher distinguishes 17 in his *Lexikon*, from many places and doing many things) are also obscure eponyms; encouragingly, there was a Mt Phorbantion near Troizen (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Φόρβας*).

Of Argos Panoptes, Pherekydes says in his charming way (the fragment is a quotation) that Hera 'puts an eye in the back of his head'¹⁴ and takes away his [need to] sleep and places him guard over Io. Then Hermes kills him.¹⁵ But even this brief account is interesting for its hint of rationalism as against Akousilaos, for the idea is that Argos, rather than being some primeval, unnatural monster, is a normal human who has been altered by divine intervention (all things being possible for the gods).¹⁵ Had Hermes not dispatched him he might have recovered his normal appearance, and got a night's sleep.

¹³ On this habit see Part B, Introduction to Hellanikos.

¹⁴ The conception of his physiognomy varies: the *Aigimios* (Hes. fr. 294) gives him two eyes before and two eyes behind; Aisch. *PV* 568 gives him countless eyes (τὸν μυριωνόον . . . βούταν), cf. 678; Ovid at *Met.* 1.625 gives him a hundred just on his head, but at *Am.* 3.4.19 a hundred on the front, and another hundred on the back of his head; whereas Eur. *Phoin.* 1116–17, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4, and many artistic depictions give him eyes all over his body (see Mastronarde on *Phoin.* loc. cit.). He is normally ever-wakeful, but occasionally (e.g. Eur. loc. cit.) the eyes take turns sleeping. Dräger on Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4 berates scholars who understand Panoptes to mean 'all-seeing' instead of 'all-eye', but the ending has verbal force; Aisch. *Supp.* 303, τὸν πάνθ' ὄρωντα φύλακ' ἐπέστησεν βοῖ, followed by ποῖον πανόπτην . . . λέγεις; is decisive. On this figure cf. Pettazzoni, *The All-Seeing God* 151.

¹⁵ Hera also intervenes directly in Pher. fr. 105.

Argos son of Arestor figured in the Hesiodic corpus (fr. 246, noted above); it is clear that Pherekydes does not entirely follow that version, according to which Arestor's wife was a sister of Phoroneus. Intriguingly, Argos son of Arestor is also an Argonaut (Ap. Rhod. 1.112); the two are likely to be somehow related. Argos Panoptes is sometimes imagined as being clothed in a leather hide (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4, Dionys. *FGrHist* 15 F 1, on which see Ceccarelli in *BNJ*), which Apollonios also gives the Argonaut (1.324–5), suggesting he knows of some link. It is unlikely that Pherekydes' Argos was also an Argonaut, given that we are still 12 (!) generations away from their contemporary Herakles (and Apollonios' Argos comes from Boiotia); but one wonders whether early poets, casting around for the genealogy of Argos, borrowed a father from the Argonautic saga.

The same thing might very well have happened in *Hell.* fr. 36. There is first a slight discrepancy in our reports: we are told that Pelasgos, Iasos and Agenor were the sons of Phoroneus (fr. 36a) or Triopas (fr. 36b). 'Phoroneus' is the *lectio facilior* and accords with nothing else we know about these genealogies, so it is most probably a mistake (cf. *Pelasgus Triopae filius*, Hyg. *Fab.* 225.1). The two older brothers Pelasgos and Iasos divided the kingdom between them after the death of their father, taking the western and eastern halves respectively; Pelasgos established Larisa, the acropolis of Argos (compare the 'Pelasgian' wall around the Acropolis in Athens, Hdt. 6.137). We learn from *Hell.* fr. 91 and from Paus. 2.24.1 that Larisa was Pelasgos' daughter, and that the Thessalian Larisai were also named for her. The two sources for fr. 36 differ about what happened next, and we cannot hope to determine which came from Hellanikos: in fr. 36a, Agenor got the cavalry as a consolation prize, whereas in fr. 36b he conquered the place at the head of a force of cavalry when the other two had died. Either way the result was the threefold description of Argos which we find in epic: *Πελασγικόν, Ἰάσον, ἱππόβοτον* (the second of these only at *Od.* 18.246 in surviving epic poetry). Whoever invented this story was engaging in Homeric criticism of a philological sort we think of as arising in the late fifth century, so it is quite possibly Hellanikos himself.¹⁶ As we saw in §5.2.3, Phorbas and Triopas are son and father respectively in Rhodes, where they look to be more at home. But we have seen above that Pherekydes had a Phorbas also in Argos. Hellanikos might have brought Triopas in as well as a way of solving his Homeric problem. Perhaps the first part of Triopas' name suggested the three sons; or perhaps Hellanikos was influenced by the 'three-eyed' (= 'Triopas') statue of Zeus to be seen on Larisa according to Paus. 2.24.3.

The slightly different treatment of Agenor is a nice touch, corresponding to the difference of the epithets in epic: 'Pelasgian' and 'Iasian' derive from people, but 'horse-rearing' must have derived from some incident. Moreover, in the two other genealogies

¹⁶ Cf. Demokritos *Vors.* 68 B 2; Ford, *The Origins of Criticism* 155, 170, *al.* Stephanie West points out to me the anachronism of cavalry in the heroic age, according to Homer's picture; so as a piece of Homeric philology, this cannot be judged a success.

that display this innovation (schol. Eur. *Or.* 932, Paus. 2.16.1),¹⁷ and which probably depend in part on Hellanikos, Io is daughter of Iasos; if we accept that this detail also goes back to Hellanikos, then he has found a way to insert his new information about Triopas and his three sons with minimal impact, indeed with some advantage as he now has some good Greeks—Agenor and his progeny—to keep the throne warm until Danaos arrives. Io as daughter of Iasos (perhaps the similarity of names suggested the genealogy) is inserted in the tree in good time to emigrate.

In §2.1 we saw that the account of Pelasgian history in Dionysios of Halikarnassos probably owes something to Hellanikos. We are no doubt dealing in *Hell.* fr. 36 with Pelasgos I, though he is not the same, it would seem, as Dionysios' Pelasgos I. Combining *Ant. Rom.* 1.11 and 1.17, we have for Dionysios the stemma shown in Fig. 7.6:

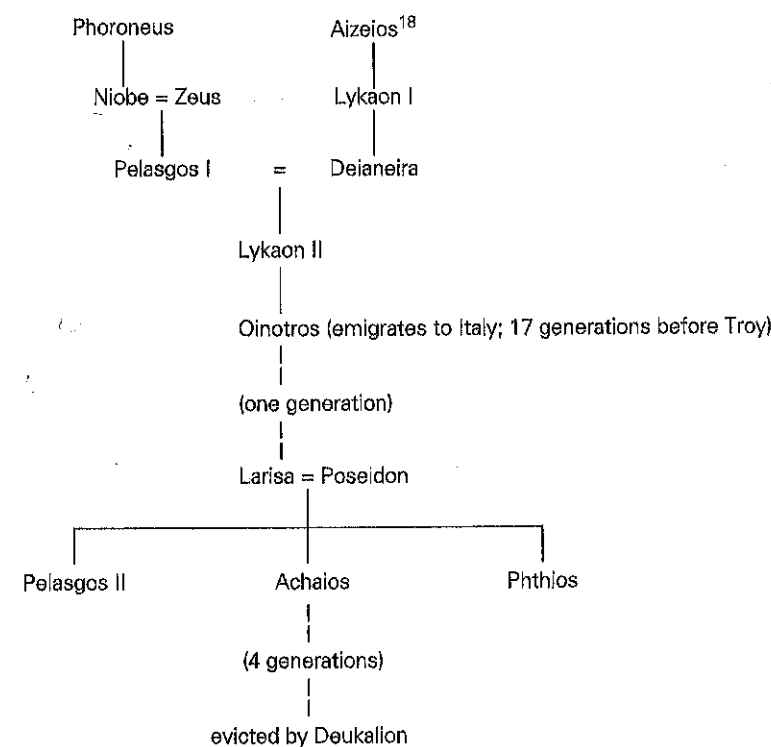


FIG. 7.6

¹⁷ These and other stemmata are conveniently drawn by J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 79–85; the sources are written out and studied from a slightly different perspective by Piérart, 'Héros fondateurs'. Cf. also schol. Eur. *Or.* 1246, Charax *FGrHist* 103 FF 4, 14, 15. Iasos is father of Io also in Kallim. fr. 66.1 *Ἰάσος νέποδες* (quoted at *BGM* 1.34, Agias/Derkylos fr. 4b), Plut. *De Herod. mal.* 14 p. 857e; Steph. Byz. *α400*; Arat. *Phain.* 179; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.

¹⁸ Otherwise unknown. Is this the autochthonous first inhabitant of Arkadia in Hellanikos' account? Cf. §2.4.

Neither of Dionysios' Pelasgoi has the same parentage as Pelasgos in Hellan. fr. 36. In theory, Dionysios' Pelasgos I might come from Hellanikos (he would then be a brother of Argos in the table below, as in Akous. fr. 25), and the Pelasgos of fr. 36 could in fact be a Pelasgos II in Hellanikos rather than (as seems likelier) Pelasgos I. However, it is hard to see the use of two Pelasgoi so early in Hellanikos' tree, and it is easier to think that Dionysios' Pelasgos I comes from Akousilaos. The similarity between the three sons of Triopas (below) and the three sons of Larisa and Poseidon (above), in each case explaining Homeric toponyms, is intriguing, as is the connection between Larisa and Pelasgos in both Hellanikos and Dionysios. In Hellanikos, however, Larisa was daughter of Pelasgos, not his mother. In Hellanikos fr. 4, we find Pelasgos II in Thessaly; it seems unlikely that Pelasgos son of Triopas in fr. 36, who built Larisa in Argos and then perhaps the temple of Olympian Zeus in Arkadia (Hyg. *Fab.* 225; → §2.4), also then found time in his life to emigrate to Thessaly. If that assumption is accepted, we do not know how Pelasgos II was related to Pelasgos I; perhaps as grandson.

The above discussion yields as a possible genealogy for Hellanikos that shown in Fig. 7.7.

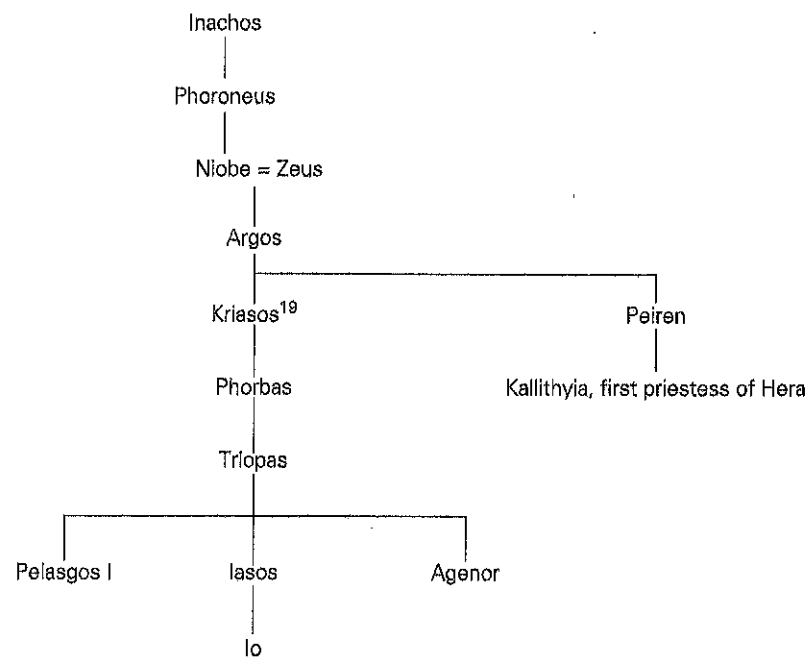


FIG. 7.7

¹⁹ As in Pher. and schol. Eur. *Or.* 932.

§7.1.3 EGYPTIAN SOJOURN (Hek. fr. 19)

The story that Io, descended from the river Inachos, went to Egypt, whence her descendant Danaos returned, allowed the inhabitants of the Argolid to remain autochthonous, but also to assert their ethnicity through the common device of arrival of the founder from abroad. The Thebans were similar with respect to Phoenicia (→ §10.1). As J. M. Hall remarks (*Ethnic Identity* 87–8):

It is not the *place of departure* which is as important as the *fact of arrival* [his emphasis], and this is because the Greeks had great difficulties in 'thinking their origins'. In tracing back genealogies from child to parent, there was a danger of an infinite regress to which two solutions were possible—either an autochthonous *Urvater*, or the arrival of a *Stammvater* whose ancestry could be ignored since it had no specifically local significance.

The union in this case is uxori-local; Aigyptos' sons follow their wives to their new home, which preserves the primacy of the Greek location. That their father stayed behind according to Hek. fr. 19²⁰ may reflect this understanding (or more simply that the king and eponym of Egypt had to stay put). To this innovation Hekataios added a dose of rationalism, that the sons so far from being fifty in number were not even twenty.²¹

Belief in or denial of the historical reality of this migration from Egypt has a long and contentious history which need not be rehearsed here.²² The mention of a land 'Danaia' or something like it (*tniw*) in Egyptian inscriptions of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries BC, centred on but not confined to the Peloponnese, and the mention of *Danuna* among the sea-peoples in the twelfth century suggests that the ethnonym was already in use by the Bronze Age inhabitants of Greece.²³ Contact between Greece and Egypt is increasingly well documented throughout these centuries, but this is not sufficient to prove a migration. For some reason it made sense to later Greeks to say that the eponym of the Danaoi was Egyptian, or at any rate came from there; but the Argives no more thought of themselves as Egyptian than the English think of themselves as Norman. (This did not of course prevent *others* from using the story to label the Argives barbarians ([Pl.] *Menex.* 245d), and for Herodotos the Egyptian origin of much

²⁰ Cf. Aisch. *Supp.* 928, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.15; *contra* Hes. fr. 127(?), Phrynichos *TrGF* 3 F 1, Eur. fr. 846. Eur. *Or.* 872 may mean Aigyptos came afterwards seeking justice for the death of his sons (cf. schol. ad loc.).

²¹ An emendation, to be sure, but it is hard to see what else the word could be. The number remains improbably high but perhaps not for the heroic age.

²² The bibliography surrounding Martin Bernal's *Black Athena* and Mary Lefkowitz's robust response is large. For recent work on Egypt and Greece see e.g. Lloyd on Hdt. 2 in the Oxford commentary; Hartog, *Memories of Odysseus* 41–77; Shelmerdine, *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*; R. D. Griffith, *Mummy Wheat*. On the general question see also §10.1. Regarding the Argive stemma, Auffarth, 'Constructing the Identity of the *Polis*' 47, argues that Phoenician influence is more fundamental; it was subsequently modified under the 'Egyptomania' of the 6th c. BC.

²³ Burkert, 'Typen griechischer Mythen' 534 and 'La cité d'Argos' 49 (= *Kl. Schr.* 1.9, 168); West, *EPH* 5–6; Latacz, *Troy and Homer* 130–3.

Greek culture was a thesis whose controversial implications were not the least of its attractions.) Since the genealogies work as Hall describes them, the 'place of departure' could be wholly fictitious, real, or somewhere in between, but the burden of proof grows as one moves closer to the real end of the spectrum. Most probably, actual contacts between Greece and Egypt suggested the latter as the place of departure when the genealogical dynamic asserted itself in Argos, as Phoenicia was the choice in Thebes.

§7.1.4 DANAOS AND WRITING (Anaxim. fr. 3; Andr. fr. 9; Hek. fr. 20)

A scholion on Dionysios Thrax 6 (*Gramm. Graec.* 1.3.182–3 Hilgard) is a particularly crowded *Zitatennest* on the invention of writing. The candidates and their champions are:

1. Kadmos (Ephoros)
2. Phoenicians, but conveyed to Greece by Kadmos (Herodotos, Aristotle)
3. Conveyed before Kadmos by Danaos (Pythodoros, Phyllis of Delos; also Anaxim. fr. 3, Dionysios and Hek. fr. 20 as reported by Apollodoros of Athens)
4. Mousaios (ἐνιοί)
5. Egyptians (Antikleides of Athens)
6. 'in Crete' (Dosiades)
7. Prometheus (Aischylos)
8. Palamedes (Stesichoros, Euripides)
9. Hermes (Mnaseas)

Later on (p. 184.25–6), the same scholia add that the letters were called 'Phoenician' after

10. Phoinike daughter of Aktaion (Andr. fr. 9 and one Menekrates of Olynthos)

Although the run of the scholion quoting nos. 1–9 suggests that the Phoenician invention is still the subject when we come to no. 3, we must be dealing with an Egyptian invention if Danaos is the transmitter. The origin of their writing was a subject of perennial interest to the Greeks;²⁴ Herodotos implies that it was already a topic of debate in his day (5.58.1 γράμματα οὐκ ἔδοντα πρὶν Ἑλλήσιν ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, i.e. before Kadmos). The target could be Hekataios, who might have mentioned both Phoenicians and Egyptians, rejecting the former no doubt in his usual decisive style.²⁵ In most

²⁴ Jeffery, 'Ἀρχαία γράμματα'; Heubeck, *Schrift* 105–9; A. Willi, *MH* 62 (2005) 169 n. 28.

²⁵ Jeffery and Heubeck unnecessarily dispute this. Heubeck thinks Kadmos is obviously Herodotos' idea, but the expression 'Phoenician letters' is older than he and could well imply a popular belief (used in the Teian imprecations c.470 BC (PEP 261 = ML 30; see Rhodes, *Decrees* p. 391); cf. Soph. fr. 514, *SEG* 27.631 (Rhodes, *Decrees* p. 301) with Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician* 177); Herodotos' contribution is to say that his experience in Boiotia, whither Kadmos emigrated, confirms this view. Moreover, Hekataios' rejection of Palamedes is not a rationalization of legend, as Jeffery and Heubeck say; he has a reason for choosing Danaos, to be sure (the incomparable antiquity of Egypt), but Danaos was no less 'legendary' (or more historical) than Palamedes.

calculations, Danaos lived before Kadmos,²⁶ but in some accounts there was not much in it (e.g. Pher. fr. 21, though Danaos remains slightly older). The Phoenicians generally got the credit for the invention,²⁷ but Palamedes also gets the palm in Gorgias' *Palamedes* (Vors. 82 B11a 30); S. R. West notes the slight difficulty posed by the story of Odysseus' plot to destroy him, which involved forged correspondence with Priam.²⁸ Writing is only one item in a long list of innovations for which the Greeks nominated the 'first' or 'best' inventor, an enterprise already implicit in mythological accounts of origins but gathering pace in the scientific revolution of the sixth and fifth centuries, until 'heurematography' became a literary genre in the fourth.²⁹ Inventors might be divine, heroic, human, a whole city or people (the list for nations inventing writing above is not exhaustive); suggestions might or might not be linked to larger theories of human development.

Regarding no. 10, we know that Andron of Ephesos discussed the alphabet in his *Tripod* (*FGrHist* 1005 F 5), so it is possible that he is the author in view here (see Bollansée's commentary). Menekrates of Olynthos is otherwise unknown. As it happens, Skamon of Mytilene in his *On Inventions*, *FGrHist* 476 F 3, gives us further information: Aktaion had four daughters, Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos, and Phoinike; Phoinike died young, and wishing to honour her memory he dubbed the alphabet 'Phoenician', which we presume he invented. 'Aktaion' will be the same as Aktaios, Attica's first king; his daughter Aglauros is attested by Eur. *Ion* 23, 496 (cf. Apollod. 3.180, Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 4.16.2), but normal tradition is that she then has Aglauros II, Herse, and Pandrosos with Kekrops (Apollod. loc. cit.). The genealogy is unusual, the story odd; it looks like an Athenophile's adventurous theory.

The majority view about the Phoenicians and writing was of course correct about provenance if not timing. The mechanics and date of this momentous transfer are still the subject of vigorous dispute, and there is a huge bibliography.³⁰ Actual examples of Greek writing appear sporadically throughout the eighth century BC until a veritable explosion inaugurates a new age c.700. The most recent find could be as early as 830,

²⁶ See Jacoby on Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 20 and Ephoros 70 F 105.

²⁷ On 'Phoenician' letters see n. 25. Phoenicians: Hdt. loc. cit.; Kritias Vors. 88 B2.10; Diod. Sic. 3.67.1 (a different view in 5.57 = Zenon *FGrHist* 523 F 1: the Telchines, then the Heliadae on Rhodes invented writing, but the flood destroyed their books and thereafter the Egyptians took the credit); other passages cited by A. Willi, *CQ* 58 (2008) 415 n. 59, q.v. also for the dispute about *φωνικήα*. For Pelasgian inventors see Jeffery, 'Ἀρχαία γράμματα' 158–61. Egyptians: Pl. *Phlb.* 18b–c, *Phdr.* 274c–275b (Theuth/Thoth = Hermes; cf. the app. crit. to Hek. fr. 20) and other passages cited by Willi, *MH* 62 (2005) 169 n. 28.

²⁸ S. R. West, *CQ* 35 (1985) 294, q.v. also for other references to writing in tragedy, often before the Trojan War, and for a close discussion of Herodotos. Not only ancients have believed in Palamedes or someone like him: Powell, 'Homer and Writing' 25–32.

²⁹ The earliest explicit example is the *Phoronis* fr. 2 (quoted with Pher. fr. 47). Cf. Part B, 'Skamon'.

³⁰ For orientation see A. Willi, *CQ* 58 (2008) 407 n. 25; Voutiras, 'The Introduction of the Alphabet'; Brixhe, 'History of the Alphabet'; Woodard, 'Phoinikēta Grammata'. For the find at Osteria dell'Osa, Woodard 44.

mistake, perhaps wilful.³⁴ At any rate, Apollodoros omits mention of Pindar. The quarrel between Proitos and Akrisios is, however, old tradition. Bacchyl. 11.64–6 says that the dispute arose from a trivial difference; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.24 says they quarrelled already in the womb (like Krisos and Panopeus, Hes. fr. 58), and when they grew up fought over the kingship (cf. Paus. 2.25.7). Their dispute may have been referred to also by Pindar fr. 70a (van der Weiden, *The Dithyrambs of Pindar* 41). It reflects of course the historical hostility between Argos and Tiryns, culminating in the destruction of the latter in the 460s.

Apollodoros abbreviates the opening of the story, whereas the scholion (Pher. fr. 10) preserves some details from Pherekydes: a nurse is also imprisoned with Danae;³⁵ Zeus enters the chamber (as in Apollod.) by way of the shower of gold, but then reveals himself and has intercourse with her;³⁶ the nurse and Danae raise the child secretly, until one day, when it is three or four years old, Akrisios hears it playing;³⁷ she and the nurse are summoned to the altar of Zeus Herkeios, where Akrisios demands to know who the father is; (as in Apollod.) he does not believe the answer. When the *λάρναξ* (this word also in Apollod., in Hes. fr. 135.3 and Simon. PMG 543.1)³⁸ arrives at Seriphos, Diktys retrieves it *δικτύω ἀλιεύων*. It turns out they are related, as he is descended from Nauplios the son of Poseidon and Amymone.³⁹ The genealogy is Pher. fr. 4; it comes from his first book, and bespeaks research on the scholiast's part: Pherekydes' original text might simply have mentioned the fact of kinship at this point. Conversely, Pherekydes' inclusion of this unusual genealogy in Book 1 as preparation for Book 2 would suggest detailed planning. He rejects the Hesiodic genealogy, fr. 8 (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.88), which makes Diktys and Polydektes sons of Magnes and a Naiad; his motives are unclear, as we do not know where he placed

³⁴ On this passage see the Excursus §10.10.

³⁵ This motif is well studied by Seaford, 'The Imprisonment of Women in Greek Tragedy' (Danae esp. pp. 77–8).

³⁶ Apollodoros says only that Zeus was thus received into Danae's *κόλπος* ('lap'), implying that the union took place thus (interestingly, in medical writers *κόλπος* is a polite substitute for 'vagina': LSJ s.v. 2); in art (LIMC Danae nos. 1–36) the convention is to show Danae holding up the folds of her peplos to collect the gold. Pher. says that she received Zeus into her *κόλπος*, but then Zeus revealed himself and they had intercourse. Is this a kind of rationalism, which wants the union to take place anthropomorphically? This could be the point of Hek. fr. 21. Contrast Soph. *Ant.* 944–50.

³⁷ In Simonides it is still an infant; cf. Kassel, *Kl. Schr.* 41 n. 149. On vases Perseus in the chest ranges from infant to youth. Danae's nurse is depicted on an Attic hydria of about 430 BC (LIMC Danae no. 6); see Karamanou, *Euripides*, Danae and Diktys 25–6 on the role she might have played in Euripides.

³⁸ Cf. §3.4.

³⁹ 'Kastor' rather than 'Perikastor' was the father of Androthoe in Wendel's (and my) text. The famous Kastor is not known to have had children, but it does not seem impossible. No other Kastor is known; nor is a Perikastor. The story of Amymone is poorly attested in early sources, but formed the subject of Aischylos' satyr-play of that title which concluded the Danaid tetralogy: *Das griech. Satyrspiel* 91–7. It is otherwise alluded to only here, in Pindar *Pyth.* 9.112–14 (474 BC), and Eur. *Phoin.* 185–9. In art, the subject appears from c.460 on (the approximate date of Aischylos' play).

Magnes, but it was perhaps uncongenial to him to think of Diktys as a grandson of Zeus. We have little knowledge of traditions about Seriphos,⁴⁰ only that the island was colonized by Ionians from Athens (Hdt. 8.48). The island was a member of the Delian League from the start, and fought on the right side in the Persian War. Pausanias (2.18.1) says that outside Mykenai the greatest honours were paid to Perseus by the Athenians and the Seriphians. There is no obvious reason why Perseus should afford a link between these two communities, and their shared Ionicity would not be reflected in a Danaid genealogy for Diktys.

Note that Pherekydes has been careful to make the generations match; Amymone is daughter of Danaos, and her descendant Diktys is contemporary with Perseus. This is a clear example of concern for chronological consistency between closely related lines. Strabo (8.6.2), however, rejected the genealogy on chronological grounds, because of the story that Nauplios' deliberately false signals wrecked the Greek fleet on its return from Troy; according to him the whole mess is an invention of the νεώτεροι. Pherekydes would have known this story from the Cycle (*Nostoi* fr. 1, cf. Hes. fr. 297); if he accepted it, he would have had to invent a Nauplios II—which is in fact the solution of Apollonios (1.133–8). Apollodoros, also aware of the difficulty, decides that Nauplios enjoyed an extraordinarily long life (*Bibl.* 2.23). As an eponym, Nauplios I is firmly rooted in the Argolid, and Pherekydes might have derived his knowledge from a local source; the placing of the Nauplios II story at Cape Kaphereus in Euboea suggests a non-Argive appropriation of a figure renowned mainly for his seamanship.

The surprise fact of kinship also serves to enliven the story, and is in keeping with other realistic touches, such as the nurse, the altar of Zeus Herkeios (who preserves the integrity of the household), the disbelieving father (like Staphylos no doubt in Pher. fr. 140), and other points still to come. The nurse, we assume, is the typical old retainer, inseparable from Danae; but she comes in handy when the child is born. But three would be a crowd in the *λάρναξ*, so the nurse is summarily executed, since the union with a human obviously could not have taken place without her complicity. The wordplay *Δίκτυς* ~ *δίκτυον* is also a favourite device of the folktale, but it and its close companion etymology are also useful tools for the mythographer (e.g. Hek. fr. 22, below §7.2.6).

§7.2.3 THE *ἔρᾱνος* (Pher. fr. 11)

It is difficult to make sense of this part of the story as reported. The scholion says (i) Polydektes lusted after Danae⁴¹ and (ii) decided to hold an *ἔρᾱνος*, which is a feast at

⁴⁰ In general see IACP no. 517; Constantakopoulou, *The Dance of the Islands* 103–6.

⁴¹ In Pindar, *Pyth.* 12.15, a forced marriage has already taken place.

which all the guests bring a contribution (*Od.* 4.621–3), or a group gift/loan to a friend or patron.⁴² Perseus asks the price of admission, and Polydektes replies ‘a horse’; to which Perseus responds, ‘the Gorgon’s head’, i.e. he is prepared to pay any price; the expression is not literally meant. But on the day, when Perseus brings the stipulated horse, Polydektes is not accepting of it; taking Perseus at his word, he demands the Gorgon’s head. The motif of the backfiring promise is familiar enough, but how could Polydektes know that Perseus would make it? Doubtless he did not, so one should not infer a causal link between (i) and (ii) above; at least as Pherekydes told the story, Polydektes did not plan the *ἔρανος* as a way of getting rid of Perseus. He simply took advantage of an unexpected turn of good fortune, like Pelias in Pherekydes fr. 105.⁴³

The interpretation that Perseus, having been raised in poverty, could not afford a horse, so responds sarcastically ‘(you might as well ask for) the Gorgon’s head’, is precluded by the statement of the scholiast that Perseus did bring a horse (and by the invitation itself, which would not be issued to everyone). Nonetheless the motif that Diktys finds the *λάρναξ* while fishing suggests that, in spite of his aristocratic birth, Perseus’ guardian is leading a humble life, sidelined by his brother (and raised again to noble status at the end of the story, in good folktale fashion). In Hyg. *Fab.* 63.3, Diktys is described as a fisherman. In Aischylos’ *Diktyoulokoí* (fr. 46a), he seems to be working alongside a fisherman, or at any rate keeping him company. In identified images of Diktys on fifth-century vases, he is clothed in a fisherman’s garb.⁴⁴

Apollodoros has interpreted Pherekydes along the lines indicated above (*καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς Γοργόνης οὐκ ἀντερεῖν*), but adds that the *ἔρανος* was arranged for the suit of Hippodameia, Oinomaos’ daughter; this could be from Pherekydes.⁴⁵ Horses are not contributions to your everyday *ἔρανος*, so some grand reason was needed. The timing more or less works, as Pelops, the successful suitor, and Perseus are contemporary (their children marry each other); Polydektes is only one generation older.⁴⁶ His suit is not necessarily a pretence; he wanted Hippodameia as wife, Danae as concubine (which would make him even more villainous). Apollodoros omits the oddity (if accurately

⁴² See Diggle on Theophr. *Char.* 1.5. Pindar comments ironically on the *λυγρὸς ἔρανος* that awaited Polydektes upon Perseus’ return (*Pyth.* 12.14).

⁴³ Further on this odd sequence see Ogden, *Perseus* 27.

⁴⁴ Oakley, *AJA* 86 (1982) 111–15; Maffre, *LIMC* 3.1 332. However, the identification of the figure with the staff as Polydektes (Oakley calls it a ‘sceptre’), and the other figure therefore as Diktys, seems to me not quite secure. It could be Diktys with an ordinary staff, in the company of a fisherman (as in Aischylos).

⁴⁵ On the other hand Pherekydes’ *ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο* has become *οὐ λαβών*, which changes the meaning: Perseus did not bring a horse after all. This may be put down to careless reading on someone’s part, either Apollodoros or an intermediary. Translations such as ‘nahm er ... nicht an’ (Dräger) or ‘non accettò’ (Ciani) cannot be supported by *λαβών*.

⁴⁶ Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 838 (loosely based on Apollodoros) somehow calculated three and pronounced the story ‘rubbish’.

reported by the scholiast, fr. 11 l. 10) that Polydektes said he would seize Danae if Perseus failed to bring the head; of course this is his plan, as he assumes Perseus will not return, but the reason for the condition is slightly opaque. One infers that it is an extra threat to ensure that Perseus does not back out of his commitment. The brief synopsis of the tale in schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 10.72a smooths out all these bumps.

§7.2.4 THE QUEST (Pher. fr. 11)

Schol. Ap. Rhod. is slightly more detailed about the next stage, preserving for instance the Graiai’s clamouring after their lost eye and tooth;⁴⁷ he also has Perseus retire in despair to a remote location, where Hermes appears to him, like Thetis to Achilleus in *Iliad* 1: more realistic touches. As a god of ephebes Hermes is very appropriate to this tale of maturation (see below), but Athena is the traditional hero’s helper (Pind. *Pyth.* 10.45; in art Athena appears with Perseus from the seventh century, Hermes from the sixth, and often both: *LIMC* Perseus e.g. nos 113, 151, 156, Suppl. 2009 add. 3). Pherekydes, who shows a tendency to lay on his motifs thickly, includes both of them, not without some awkwardness.⁴⁸ Functionally too the Graiai are a doublet of the Nymphs as divine helpers en route, and if Hermes and Athena could guide Perseus to the first they could guide him to the second. But Pherekydes includes both. The Graiai are known already from Hesiod (*Th.* 270–3) and from Akous, fr. 11 (→§1.6.4), and double in a way also for the Gorgons themselves, as the horrible demons the young man must confront and defeat. Pherekydes and Apollodoros have the same names for the Graiai, if one accepts the emendation of the scholion; Hesiod has only two, Pemphredo and Enyo, but in the PV (795) we are back up to three (unnamed). The names appropriately denote pain, terror, and strife.⁴⁹ The Nymphs, on the other hand, are *kourotrophoi* and well suited to help the young hero. The winged sandals, the pouch, and the cap of Hades in their possession are all known from the *ekphrasis* in the Hesiodic *Scutum* (216–27), and from art on a Chalkidian vase of c. 520 BC (*LIMC* Perseus no. 88; the nymphs are labelled ‘Neides’; cf. Paus. 3.17.3, describing an image in the temple of Athena at Sparta of similar date).

⁴⁷ Pherekydes is the first writer unambiguously to state that they share one of each between them, unless Aischylos’ *Phorkides* was earlier (fr. 262); cf. PV 795–6. The story-type (Aarne-Thompson 581, ‘Magic Object and the Trolls’) is elucidated by Hansen, *AT* 246–51.

⁴⁸ *EMG* 1.280.12–15: ‘Hermes appeared and upon interrogation learned the cause of his lamentation, bid him be of good cheer, and led the way to the Graiai, Athena having gone first’; Apollod. simplifies all this to ‘Hermes and Athena leading the way’. For *φθασάσης* cod. P offers *φρασάσης*, which is not much easier.

⁴⁹ *Πεμφρηδών* denotes a kind of wasp; the variant *Πεφρηδών/Πεφριδών* found in MSS of Hesiod and schol. Ap. Rhod. would be understood as coming from *φρίσσω*, to shudder. *Ἐνυώ* denotes the terror of the war-cry. The third name is subject to variation: corrupt in Pher. fr. 11; ‘Deino’ (‘terror’) in Apollod.; ‘Perso’ (destroyer) in Herakleitos. *Incred.* 13 and the Homeric Cup in Halle (MB 42 in Sinn, *Die homerischen Becher*); †Chersis in Hyg. *Fab. praef.* 9 (who cites ‘Dino’ as a variant). It looks as if the two laid down by Hesiod remained canonical, but a third was added out of a feeling that such groups ought to be trios, on which see Usener’s classic if outdated work ‘Dreihheit’.

Aischylos treated the story in his *Phorkides* (fr. 262) and appears to have simplified the tale in order to adapt it to the stage, eliminating the Nymphs and dramatizing the encounter with the Graiai. The tools Perseus needs therefore come from Hermes.⁵⁰ The Graiai are guardians of the Gorgons (whose sisters they are), and Perseus throws their eye into Lake Tritonis, which blinds them; this could be the version Pindar has in mind when he says at *Pyth.* 12.13 (490 BC) that Perseus 'made dark the awful tribe of Phorkos', but his meaning is not quite clear.

As often with the mythical geography of the edges of the world, there is confusion about the location of these events. In Hes. *Th.* 270–5, the Graiai, Gorgons, and Hesperides all live in the west, near Okeanos' springs (*πηγαί*, whence Pegasus, 282). Aischylos in the *PV* (791–800) puts them in the far east, where Io will encounter them, but in the *Phorkides* Lake Tritonis is in Libya; cf. Hdt. 2.91, 4.178, 4.186.1, Paus. 3.173. Though it is not perfectly clear in the sources, Pherekydes probably put them in the west, where Okeanos is perhaps most easily thought to reside; if we could know that he told also of the petrification of Atlas, first alluded to in Polyidos *PMG* 837 (cf. *Ov. Met.* 4.621–62), we should be certain. At any rate, Perseus' association with Andromeda tells us nothing about where the Gorgons were situated, as they chase him for an indeterminate period of time, but no doubt heroically long, after he kills their sister. Apollodoros (2.43) says vaguely that Andromeda was a princess in Ethiopia, as did Euripides in his *Andromeda*.⁵¹ Pindar (*Pyth.* 10.31) even has Perseus visit the Hyperboreans during his travels. The archaic exuberance of these wonderful itineraries is on show again in Pherekydes' account of the labours of Herakles (→§8.4.10).

For the next part of the story it is Apollodoros' turn to be more detailed. In addition to the gifts of the Nymphs, Hermes gives Perseus an adamantine *ἄρπη*, a sickle (*Bibl.* 2.39). In the *Scutum*, a simple sword was mentioned, and this is standard in the earliest artistic representations, but from c.600 the short, curved dagger—a youth's weapon—becomes the norm. Perhaps encouraged by the orientalizing fashion of the period, the motif is borrowed also from the Succession Myth of Hesiod's *Theogony*, as this is the weapon used to castrate Ouranos (175, where see West). Furthermore, this was precisely the implement dedicated by boys who competed in the contests of Artemis Ortheia at Sparta, in a ritual surely relevant to the Perseus story; also dedicated there are masks of hideous females much like the Graiai (Jameson, 'Perseus' 217–18; see further below). Nevertheless, it seems that this detail has been

⁵⁰ Eratosth. *Katast.* 22 and parallel sources quoting Aischylos; they also say the *ἄρπη* was a gift of Hephaistos, but as Jacoby says this might be a misunderstanding of *ἡφαιστότευκτον*. Hephaistos does not appear in art with Perseus. Vase-painters, who have their own constraints, sometimes show Perseus already in possession of his equipment when he approaches the Graiai (e.g. *LIMC* nos. 89, 90), and Athena may give him the sickle (e.g. no. 93).

⁵¹ Hellan. *FGHst* 4 F 59 makes Kepheus king of Babylon, i.e. Assyria rather than coastal Syria. The link to Persia is easier on this understanding; he is after all son of Belos (Hdt. 7.61.3, *al.*). See further below.

added to Pherekydes by Apollodoros from his general knowledge; he also stops at this point to explain what the cap of Hades does. The scholion does not mention the sickle at the end when the gifts are returned.

Perseus finds the Gorgons asleep (more narrative plausibility); Apollodoros names the Gorgons, following Hesiod (*Th.* 276), and describes them. He has the detail of Perseus using the reflection in the shield to cut off Medousa's head, and says that Athena guided his hand; he tells us about the birth of Pegasus and Chrysaor (named after Perseus' sword). The shield trick is found on fourth-century South Italian vases (*LIMC* Perseus nos. 69–73) but in literature not until Ovid, *Met.* 4.782–3. The Gorgon's head now finds its place on Athena's aegis, as known from the *Iliad* and elsewhere, though as we noted above the aegis does not necessarily imply the Perseus story (and a different explanation is in fact found at Eur. *Ion* 989–96).

There follows in Apollodoros the Andromeda story, which is omitted entirely by Apollonios' scholiast for some reason. Andromeda is mentioned in fr. 12, and it would be amazing if Pherekydes did not tell the tale.⁵² When Apollodoros returns to the part of the tale covered by the remainder of fr. 10 and fr. 11, his wording differs much more from the scholia than it has hitherto, and there are some differences in content. We conclude Pherekydes is no longer his source at this point; for the preceding Andromeda episode we have no way of telling.

As far as the folktale is concerned, when Perseus marries Andromeda the business is concluded. The Greek myth continues owing to Perseus' importance in the historical Argolid, and because of his descendant Herakles.

§7.2.5 THE SEQUEL (Hek. fr. 21; Pher. fr. 11–12)

The differences between Pherekydes and Apollodoros are as follows:

Pher.	Apollod. <i>Bibl.</i>
Perseus 'bids' Polydektes summon the people; he petrifies the lot (though it turns out some have survived to be ruled by Diktys, fr. 12).	Upon return Perseus finds Diktys and his mother taking refuge at an altar. ⁵³ He enters the palace, calls Polydektes' <i>φύλοι</i> together, and petrifies them.
Perseus returns with the Kyklopes to Argos.	—

⁵² Kepheus, probably Andromeda's father, is mentioned by Alkman (*PMGF* 74).

⁵³ This is redolent of the stage; Euripides' *Diktys* is a possible source. The same detail, in similar language, recurs in Theon's commentary on Pindar *Pyth.* 12, *P.Oxy.* 2536. Compare also the 4th-c. Apulian volute-crater, *LIMC* Polydektes no. 6. Since it is unlikely that Apollodoros consulted Theon, or (given the similar wording) that both writers consulted Euripides directly, the conclusion is that Theon used a book of mythography that lay also in Apollodoros' background; this book in its turn used a manual like the 'Tales of Euripides'.

Not finding Akrisios at home, Perseus leaves his mother behind with Andromeda and the Kyklopes, and goes to Larisa, where he makes himself known to his grandfather, and persuades him to return to Argos. As they were about to depart there happened to be an agon of young men at Larisa, and Perseus entered the discus throw (the pentathlon did not yet exist). He hit Akrisios on the foot, who eventually died of the wound.

Akrisios is buried in front of the city and given a *ῥῥῶν* by the locals (*ἐπιχώριοι*, a good Herodotean word).

Perseus sets off for Argos. (The exchange of kingdoms might have followed after the scholion leaves off.)

Teutamides⁵⁴ king of Larisa has arranged funeral games for his father. Perseus takes part in the pentathlon and kills Akrisios with the discus. He dies instantly.

Perseus, ashamed to return to Argos, arranges the exchange of kingdoms with Proitos' son Megapenthes.

For these Kyklopes, who will build the walls of Mykenai and Tiryns, see §1.7.6; Apollodoros, however (*Bibl.* 2.25), has them build the walls of Tiryns for Proitos upon his return from Lycia, and Perseus himself build the walls of Mykenai and Mideia (2.48). (For Mykenai, Kyklopes, and Perseus, cf. Pind. fr. 169a.7, Eur. *IA* 1501.) The picture of the earnest young man pursuing his grandfather and effecting a reconciliation is a charming one (expanded in Paus. 2.16.2); Apollodoros seems to suggest rather that Perseus went to Larisa in order to compete, without knowing Akrisios was there. In Sophokles' *Larisaioi* (fr. 378), Akrisios himself arranges the games. Pherekydes says ἀφικόμενος Αἰκρίσιον ἀναγνωρίζει; there is a perfect parallel for the recognition motif at Diod. Sic. 4.59.6 τὸν Αἰγέα διὰ τῶν συμβόλων ἀνεγνώρισε, sc. ὁ Θεσεύς.⁵⁵ Though most familiar to us from tragedy and comedy, this folktale motif plainly had a wider life. Pindar (*Isthm.* 1.26–7; undated) also attests the tradition that the pentathlon was an innovation; moreover, like Pherekydes, he petrifies the whole population of Seriphos (*Pyth.* 10.47, 12.12; the first of 498 BC, the second probably of 490).⁵⁶ The particularity of the details suggest a link between the two, and in view of the dates Pindar would have to be the source; but there is much more in Pherekydes than these allusive details, so we should think instead of shared traditions, perhaps coming from a lost epic. The point about the pentathlon bespeaks an interesting aversion to

⁵⁴ Hellan. fr. 4:→§2.1.

⁵⁵ Rudolf Kassel refers me to Johannes Vahlen's discussion of this verb at *Ges. philol. Schr.* 2 (Leipzig, 1923) 502–10, and Lucas on Arist. *Poet.* 1454b 32.

⁵⁶ Was this an aition of rocks strewn about the island (cf. the Phaiacians' ship, *Od.* 13.163, Niobe's people in *Il.* 24.611, and the aition for all the stones in the Plaine de la Crau, Aisch. fr. 199)? So Strabo 10.5.10, who got it from οἱ καμυδοῦντες (cf. Radt ad loc. and PCG 4.233). For the 'not yet' of mythological time beloved by Hellenistic poets cf. Hollis on Kallim, *Hek.* fr. 70.10.

anachronism in both poet and mythographer. According to Philostr. *Gymn.* 3, Jason first put the five events together on Lemnos. The piece of local information about the ῥῥῶν is not unique in Pherekydes or the mythographers.⁵⁷ Akrisios' grave was in the temple of Athena according to Antiochos *FGrHist* 29 F 2, who implies what schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.40 states, that Akrisios was Larisa's founder; this view cannot be reconciled with Pherekydes' words, but the ῥῥῶν implies that the Thessalians claimed a special relationship with this Argive, as with others.

Like other stories of young adventurers, the myth of Perseus is laden with initiatory motifs. We can suspect that it was connected also to actual rites of maturation at Mykenai, but the city's institutions did not live on to be recorded after its destruction in the 460s. Pausanias in his day recorded a ῥῥῶν of Perseus near Mykenai (2.18.1), commenting also on his worship at Seriphos and Athens. The evidence for the early cult, most of it necessarily indirect, has been assembled and assessed by Jameson, 'Perseus'. He draws attention first to IG IV 493, an inscription from Mykenai of the late sixth/early fifth century in which the *hieromnēmōnes* of Perseus are required to adjudicate in disputes with parents, it would seem about the status of their offspring. He notes also the masks and sickles dedicated at the sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia in Sparta, and posits, with other scholars, a ritual in which boys confront adversaries disguised as female monsters, whom they must outwit and escape.⁵⁸ They could be pubescent boys, as at Sparta (where Xenophon, *Lak.* 2.9, tells us about boys running the gauntlet and stealing cheese from Artemis' altar; cf. Plato *Laws* 633b), or they could be ephebes; Perseus could serve as model for either. At Tiryns, too, horrific archaic masks have been found in a goddess's sanctuary, perhaps Hera's:⁵⁹ her hated stepson Herakles had to pass more tests than any other mortal, but was her glory in the end as his name suggests. In archaic art, Herakles often carries a sickle (N. Marinatos ap. Jameson, 'Perseus' 223).

The monsters confronting these young heroes are often female: Perseus meets the Gorgon; Herakles the (similarly snaky) Hydra; Bellerophon the Chimaira; Oidipous the Sphinx, etc. Theseus, like Herakles, has the terrifying Amazons to defeat; the Minotaur is male, but offspring of perverted female lust, and to get to it he must enter the labyrinth, and gain a virgin's help. The underlying sexual anxiety has been clear since Freud, who famously went so far as to equate Medousa with female genitalia. Although Freud has been fiercely criticized for placing the demonized female at the centre of his (male-oriented) psychoanalysis, such demons clearly have a role to play for these uncertain,

⁵⁷ See index s.v. 'mythography, local knowledge in'.

⁵⁸ See also Auffarth, 'Constructing the Identity of the Polis' 44–5. On Artemis Ortheia see e.g. Vernant, 'Une divinité des marges'; Carter, 'The Masks of Ortheia'; des Bouvrie, 'Artemis Ortheia'; further references in Kowalzig, *BNP* s.v. Ortheia.

⁵⁹ Carter, 'The Masks of Ortheia' 360.

would-be heroes, who also have issues with their fathers; in Perseus' case, since he can hardly kill Zeus, his grandfather substitutes.⁶⁰

The story-type is very old; whether this particular story is rooted in the Bronze Age of Greece, or a later import from the Near East, or both (a Greek story modified under foreign influence), cannot be said. The sickle has eastern precedents; the iconography of the Gorgon is adapted from depictions of Gilgamesh and Enkidu killing Humbaba; the slaying of the sea-monster is set at Jaffa, and may find an analogue in a story of Astarte being offered to the god of the sea; the earliest iconography of Perseus slaying the monster is based on a Mesopotamian prototype; the word denoting his satchel, and little else (*κίβισις*), was a Cypriot dialect word according to Hesychios.⁶¹ But the pictures belonged to different stories and were creatively misread by the Greeks. The sickle was not Perseus' original instrument. His name might, or might not, be Indo-European (Jameson, 'Perseus' 221 with references; the root appears to be attested in Linear B). If imported, the transfer occurred before our first records, as Homer knows the name of Perseus (*Il.* 19.116, 123, 14.320). The link of Perseus or his son Perses to the Persians as their eponym, whenever the Greeks first drew it, could not precede the existence of the Persians as a nation c.700 BC (→§13.2), by which time Perseus was already known to Greeks; so at this stage of the story, at any rate, we seem to have a Greek figure being foisted on foreigners rather than a foreign figure being embraced by Greeks and worked into their mythology. The localization of the tale's dénouement at the otherwise insignificant Seriphos is also a puzzle.

By the late archaic period, the connection between Persians and Perseus had long been accepted. When Hekataios in fr. 21 claims that 'Dana' is the Phoenician form of Danae's name, he suggests that these foreigners know and accept the Greek story in some form. His statement raises the same issue as one encounters in the proem and other parts of Herodotos. On Perseus in particular, Herodotos reports (6.54) that the Persians accept that Perseus *became* Greek, but he was originally Assyrian, and his remote ancestors were all Egyptian (as the Greeks themselves acknowledge). It is typical that the researcher presents the foreign version as being more authentic than the Greek: the Phoenicians ought to know Danae's real name; to have discovered this enhances the researcher's authority. Why Phoenicians rather than Persians? Perhaps because Hekataios is here telling the story of Andromeda; the fragment is assigned only

⁶⁰ Ogden, *Perseus* 134–5 is scornful of Freud; there are plenty of lines of attack but the underlying sexual tension is real enough. Hélène Cixous's 'Le rire de la Méduse' is probably the most famous response to Freud on this subject; see also Zajko and Leonard, *Laughing with Medusa*.

⁶¹ Pfeiffer on Kallim. fr. 531; Pontenrose, *Python* 274–306; Burkert, 'Oriental and Greek Mythology', 26–9 = 64–9, with earlier references; OR 85–7; Carter, 'The Masks of Ortheia'; Napier, *Masks, Transformation and Paradox* 83–134; West, *EPH* 454; Bremmer, *GRC* 337; Ogden, *Perseus* 34–40. The bones of the monster were shown to tourists at Jaffa in historical times (Pomp. Mela 1.64; Bremmer, *La Religion grecque* 98 = *Greek Religion* 62).

conjecturally to the *Genealogies*, and might have been told also at the appropriate point in the *Periodos*.

§7.2.6 THE FOUNDING OF MYKENAI (Hek. fr. 22)

The A scholia to the *Iliad* quote Hek. fr. 22 for the declension of the word *μύκης*, thus revealing that he told the story of how Perseus lost the cap of his scabbard on the site, and so named the place Mykenai.⁶² Pausanias (2.16.3) tells the same story, and an alternative, that he pulled an actual mushroom from the earth, upon which water gushed forth and he slaked his thirst. He also reports two eponyms, Mykene daughter of Inachos (*Od.* 2.120, Hesiod fr. 246), and Akousilaos' Sparton (above, p. 237). The etymological game is continued by 'Ktesias of Ephesos' ap. ps.-Plut., *De fluviis* 18.6 (after the *μυκηθμός* of the despairing Gorgons, who gave up their chase here), by 'Chrysermos of Corinth' *FGrHist* 287 F 1, *ibid.* 18.7 (flying over, Perseus lost his pommel here; but it was Gorgophonos, exiled king of the Epidaurians, who found it and named the place in accordance with an oracle), and by an anonymous source in Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μυκεῖναι* (from Io's lowing; Stephanos also tells us that it was on Hermes' instructions that Perseus built the city where his *μύκης* fell). Why Mykenai should especially come in for such treatment is not obvious—plenty of other place-names could be matched to interesting words—but the game once joined seemed irresistible.

⁶² The *μύκης*, 'mushroom', is the cap on the end of the scabbard. See Hdt. 3.64.3; Nik. Alex. 103 with scholia; Archil. fr. 252 *sensu obscuro*. Grammarians (e.g. *Etym. Magn.* 594.7) also offer the meaning 'handle' which if accurate would have to refer to the pommel on the end. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* index s.v. sword-pommel.

§8

HERAKLES

§8.1 Introduction

IN a famous passage of Homer, Agamemnon explains how Hera tricked Zeus into making the rash promise that whoever of his descent was born on that day should rule over all his neighbours; having extracted his irreversible oath, Hera dashed off to ensure that Eurystheus would be born first, and that Alkmene, Herakles' mother, would wait until the following day to give birth in Thebes. Thus Eurystheus became the lord, Herakles his vassal (*Il.* 19.95–133). Eurystheus' grandfather was Perseus son of Zeus (*Il.* 123); the result of this disaster was the Labours, ἀεθλα (*Il.* 133; 8.363). Elsewhere, Homer reveals his knowledge of Zeus' affair with Alkmene, the enmity between Hera and Herakles, Amphitryon, and Herakles' wife Megara (*Il.* 5.392, 14.323–4, *Od.* 11.266–70). He knows of various sons of Herakles (Tlepolemos, *Il.* 2.653–66, 5.628; Thessalos, *Il.* 2.679). He knows of Herakles' campaign against Neleus and his sons (*Il.* 11.690); he mentions his treacherous murder of Iphitos (*Od.* 21.22–30). He knows of the first sack of Troy (*Il.* 14.266, 20.145), and the storm sent by Hera which drove him to Kos (*Il.* 15.24–8). He mentions Herakles' fame as an archer (*Od.* 8.224–5, 11.607). He knows of his death, and Hera's bitter hatred to the end (*Od.* 11.601–26, *Il.* 18.117–19), but also of his transfer to Olympos (*Od.* loc. cit.). He mentions his descent to the Underworld to fetch the hound of Hades (*Od.* loc. cit.; *Il.* 8.367–8). Though some of these references are allusive (the reference to Megara does not necessarily mean he knows about the death of the children, and a reference to Amphitryon does not necessarily mean he knows the story of Zeus's disguise), they suffice to show that the mythology of Herakles was already rich in Homer's day, including the key points of his birth and descent, the Labours, including the greatest, and some of his other exploits.

A similar picture would emerge from a catalogue of references to Herakles in Hesiod;¹ there is then the Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles* and *The Wedding of Keyx*, a *Homeric Hymn*, the *Kerkopes* and at least three lost epics (the *Capture of Oichalia*, and *Herakleiai* of

¹ *Th.* 289 (Geryoneus), 315 (Hydra), 332 (Nemean Lion), 527 (Prometheus' eagle), 943 (birth), 951 (marriage to Hebe), 982 (Geryoneus again); some 21 mentions in the *fr.* of the *Cat.*, in contexts including his birth, the Pylian campaign, the birth of Telephos, his marriage to Deianeira, death and apotheosis.

Peisandros and Panyassis); more, if there was an Eleusinian poem about his descent to Hades,² or if the *Meropis* (*SH* 903A) is archaic. There is the wealth of lyric poetry including Stesichoros' *Geryoneis*, *Kyknos*, and *Kerberos*. The rich store of artistic representations (3,520 in *LIMC* under 'Herakles', plus hundreds more under other headings) begins in the late eighth century (the Hydra: *LIMC* Herakles nos. 2019–20)—or even earlier, if the ninth-century Lefkandi Centaur is Cheiron wounded by Herakles.³ There is little doubt that some form of this figure was known in Mycenaean times, and the ancestor of Herakles in one of his most important guises, the Master of Animals, is perhaps as old as humankind.⁴ By the time we reach the classical period, the conglomerate of stories and traditions is dense and enormous, and continues to grow with the contribution of dramatic writers, mythographers, and historians; in the background too are his many cults and their aetiology,⁵ and a thick undergrowth of folktale. On the one hand this amplitude of evidence gives confidence that we may be able to understand better passing references in the mythographers; on the other hand, problems multiply, and we realize how little we know, and how deluded our confident reconstructions of meanings in this and other myths might be.

In this commentary we naturally concentrate on those stories represented in the fragments of the mythographers, without attempting to offer a complete account of this multi-faceted figure; several such accounts exist, which readers may consult with profit.⁶ Most of the famous incidents are at least reflected in our corpus, if sometimes frustratingly briefly.

§8.2 Birth and Childhood (Anaxim. *fr.* 1; Aristoph. *fr.* 8, 9B; Armen. *fr.* 5; Herod. *fr.* 15–19; Pher. *fr.* 13, 68–9)

The crucial genealogical link between the Perseids and the Pelopids was accomplished already in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (*fr.* 135, 190–1, 193), with three sons of Perseus (Sthenelos, Alkaios, Elektryon) marrying three daughters of Pelops (→§7.1.1). Sthenelos'

² Lloyd-Jones, *Academic Papers* 1.167–87.

³ *LIMC* Kentauroi et Kentaurides (in *LIMC* 8.1) no. 20 = Cheiron no. 1; Mylonas Shear, *JHS* 122 (2002) 149; Padgett, *The Centaur's Smile* 6–9.

⁴ Burkert, *SH* ch. 4. The formulae βίη 'Hρακλήειη and 'Hρακλῆος θεόιο are reconstructable as Mycenaean (e.g. Wathelot, 'Héraklès' 61–2 after Ruijgh). The name itself may appear in Linear B, KN Xd 305 e-[ra-ke-re-we] : Risch, *ZVS* 100 (1987) 7; Jorro, *DMic.* 2.217.

⁵ Gruppe, *RE* Suppl. 3.910–1015.

⁶ Gruppe, *RE* Suppl. 3.910–1121; Brommer, *Herakles*; Boardman, *LIMC* 4.1728–31 with bibliography including Vollkommer, *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece*; Gantz 374–466; Graf, *BNP* s.v. Heracles; Stafford, *Herakles* and 'Herakles between Gods and Heroes'; a typically incisive overview by Burkert in 'Héraclès et les animaux'. Note also Csapo's insightful interpretation in *Theories of Mythology* 301–15. The absent article on Herakles in myth is an enormous hole in Roscher's *Lexikon*; no wonder the editors named and shamed the culprit.

wife's name was, as usual, variable: **Pher. fr. 68** calls her Amphibia, whereas the *Catalogue* had called her Nikippe; Antibia daughter of Amphidamas (son of Arkadian Lykourgos) and Menippe are also recorded (schol. *Il.* 19.116) as well as Kalliphobe on a late archaic cup (*LIMC* Herakles no. 2129; cf. nos. 2124, 2130). Sthenelos' daughter was probably the Astymedousa who was Oidipous' third wife according to **Pher. fr. 95** (→§12.2.3).

Amphitryon was son of Alkaïos son of Perseus, and Alkmene was daughter of Alkaïos' brother Elektryon;⁷ they are thus cousins to each other, and to Eurystheus. The opening of the story is essentially that Amphitryon kills his father-in-law, and goes into exile to Thebes; that Alkmene refused to go to bed with him until he had avenged the death of her brothers; and that Zeus's liaison with Alkmene coincided with Amphitryon's return from this campaign. The death of Elektryon was related in the *Catalogue* (fr. 195), represented for us by *Il.* 1–56 of the *Scutum*;⁸ the author says that Amphitryon killed Elektryon in a fit of anger over a herd of cattle, whereas in *Apollod. Bibl.* 2.56 the death is accidental. These two alternatives are offered also in **Pher. fr. 13b–c**, which casts doubt on the authenticity of the subscription in one if not both of these fragments; the subscription in 13c is, however, suspect for other reasons (see the app. crit.), so formally at any rate we may take 13b as Pherecydean for the moment. The murder of Elektryon, a common motive for exile, has the obvious purpose of getting Alkmene out of Argos to Thebes so as to give birth in Herakles' undisputed birthplace. Her origin in the Argolid on the other hand acknowledges the ancient claim of the Perseids that Herakles was one of theirs.

The story of the cattle is summarized in **Herod. fr. 15** and **Pher. fr. 13b–c**, and is the context of **Anaxim. fr. 1**. The genealogy according to Herodotos is shown in Fig. 8.1:

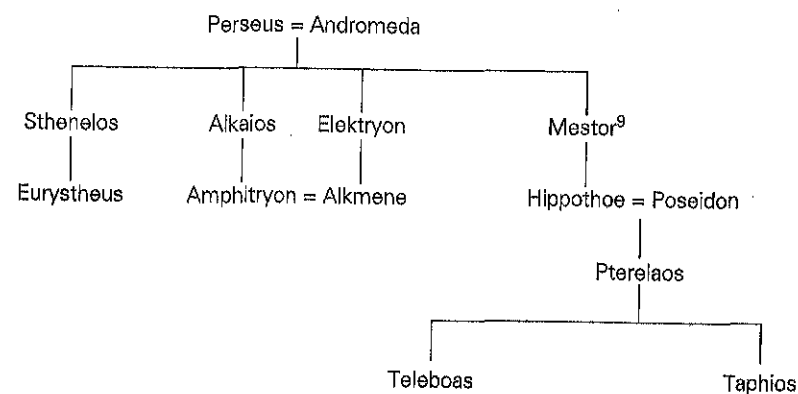


FIG. 8.1

⁷ Her mother is either a daughter of Lysidike daughter of Pelops, as in *Hes. fr.* 193.20, or of Anaxo daughter of Alkaïos, as in **Pher. fr. 13c**, *Apollod. Bibl.* 2.52.

⁸ The story also seems to have figured in *Pind. Paean* 18 (S7 Rutherford).

⁹ Mestor also married a daughter of Pelops according to *Apollod. Bibl.* 2.50. This son of Perseus does not seem to have been named in *Hes. Cat.* (fr. 135).

Teleboas gave his name to the (wholly mythical) people the Teleboans, Taphios to the island off the coast of Akarnania (and the 'Taphian' islands around it).¹⁰ In *Anaximander*, however, Teleboas is the son of Poseidon, and his son is Pterelaos; in *Apollod. Bibl.* 2.50 Taphios is the son of Poseidon, who settles the island and calls the people 'Teleboans' because he had travelled far from his homeland (τηλοῦ ἔβη); his son is Pterelaos. *Apollodoros* says that the sons of Pterelaos laid claim to Mestor's kingdom; on what grounds their claim was based is not stated. A clue might be had from *Herodotos*, who says that the four sons of Perseus held the kingdom in common; the sons of Pterelaos came and asked for τὰ τῆς μάμμης ἱπποθόης, which might mean no more than her inheritance/dowry, the cattle; compare the cattle of Tyro (→§5.3.2). Mestor must have died without male issue. The sons of Elektryon, intent upon keeping the cattle and no doubt the kingdom for themselves, put up a fight and paid with their lives. This has become slightly confused in *Apollodoros*, who also says (what is wrong even on his own showing) that Mestor was maternal grandfather of Pterelaos' sons.¹¹ *Apollodoros* goes on to say that Amphitryon retrieved the cattle, and would have been king of Mykenai but for Elektryon's unfortunate death. The abbreviated account at the beginning of **Pher. fr. 13b** does not allow us to see how he handled this sequence of events.¹²

Alkmene places her natal family before that of her husband, which resembles the loyalties of Althaia, *Meleagros*' mother, to her brothers over her son, or *Antigone* and the wife of *Intaphrenes* (*Hdt.* 3.119) to their brothers. Amphitryon duly undertakes to pay the price for marrying Alkmene; the alliance he assembles in **Pher. fr. 13c** of Boiotians, Lokrians, and Phokians is the same as takes the field against the Taphians/Teleboans in *Scut.* 24–5, and is usually interpreted as a reflection of political circumstances at the time of the First Sacred War (c. 595–586 BC), when these states were allied against Thessaly.¹³

Among the spoils of the campaign was the famous cup, which *Anaxim. fr. 1* designated a σκύφος, but **Pher. fr. 13a, b** and **Herod. fr. 16** designated a καρχήσιον. The latter is a particular kind of kantharos which, as Boardman showed,¹⁴ is associated with Herakles in vase-paintings; whether legend inspired the pictures or vice versa cannot be

¹⁰ Teleboans in this region: *Strabo* 7.7.2. Ancient scholars disputed whether 'Taphians' and 'Teleboans' were synonymous; see the app. to *Herod. fr. 15* and cf. *Strabo* 10.2.20, 10.2.14 with *Radt*. They are mentioned together *Scut.* 19; cf. *Hes. fr.* 135.10, 193.16.

¹¹ Heyne suggested deleting τοῦ μητροπόρος as a misplaced or erroneous gloss, which could be right; but there were clearly different stories in circulation, which became entangled. According to schol. *Il.* 19.116 Mestor's daughter Hippothoe married a Pterelaos: possibly a mistake, or yet another variant.

¹² *Akous. fr.* 43 (→§18.5.9) puts Pterelaos on Kephallenia, and says his two sons, who settled Ithake, were descended from Zeus; this looks to be a different genealogy and history, though the Kephallenes cover both regions; cf. §16.2.2.

¹³ Jeffery, *Archaic Greece* 74; Janko, *CQ* 36 (1986) 43–4.

¹⁴ *JHS* 99 (1979) 149–51. On the history of the cup and the legend see Pace, 'La coppa nel mito di Anfitrione'.

determined, but anyone looking at the vases who knew the legend could regard Herakles' possession of this cup as proof that he was 'his father's (or fathers') son', as Boardman puts it (151). The origin of the name is unknown but might have been associated by Greeks with Carthaginians (*Καρχηδόνας*).¹⁵ Originally this cup, says Anaximander, was given by Poseidon to Pterelaos and would have counted as the most precious item of plunder; thus Zeus, disguised as Amphitryon according to Pher. fr. 13b, says it was given to him by the army as a prize of valour. In that account, disguise and gift go together; the same combination is found in the story of Prokris and Kephalos (Pher. fr. 34; → §16.2.2), albeit in slightly different configuration (the husband is disguised as somebody else). Some scholars have seen disguise and gift as independent motifs—surely only one is needed?—which have here been rather clumsily combined. The point is, however, as Pherekydes says, that 'Amphitryon' needs to convince Alkmene that the campaign has been successful; this fabulous heirloom, a gift of the gods, is the proof. She accepts it gladly, and stores it away (*ἀποτίθησιν*, fr. 13b.20). It is a constant temptation to apply too much logic to such tales. If we ask how Zeus got the cup from Amphitryon, we answer, as Mercury did, *abstulimus: facile meus pater quod volt facit* (Plaut. *Amph.* 138–9). We may wonder how it is that, if Amphitryon had murdered Elektryon with intent, he could then be concerned to avenge his sons, or how Alkmene could accept him as her husband; but all these ideas coexist in the opening of the *Scutum*. The poet says it shows what a remarkable wife she was.

The disguise and the gift could both be traditional, particularly if the story is a reflection, distant or close, of ritual unions in which a human impersonated a god.¹⁶ Indeed, the business with Alkmene's brothers has no other purpose but to get Amphitryon out of the way, to return on the same night; Zeus' many other sons did not require such palaver to beget. Pherekydes is our first witness to the disguise, if we accept fr. 13b as a faithful account of his version; it could however be hinted at by the *Scutum* which refers

¹⁵ This may account for the oddity at the beginning of Pher. fr. 13b, that the 'Teleboans campaigned ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνας, which I have left in the text as an originary mistake by the scholiast; the name is not in use as an ethnic.

¹⁶ The unusual word *πασις* Pher. fr. 13b may be ritually significant: ZPE 97 (1993) 36. On the Egyptian antecedents of the Amphitryon story (thus were Pharaohs conceived) see West, *EFH* 458–9; Burkert, 'Oriental and Greek Mythology' 69 n. 83; Stärk, 'Die Geschichte des Amphitryonstoffes vor Plautus' 285–7, with further literature; Hirschberger on *Aspis* 30 (p. 369 of her commentary on the *Cat.*), who cites also a parallel from the *Rāmāyana*. The motif that Zeus disguised himself as the human husband is also attested late in connection with Atymnos the son of Phoinix (Pher. fr. 86 → §10.1); Clem. Rom. *Hom.* 5.13.6. Stärk notes also the obvious parallel with the story of Demaretos in Hdt. 6.69 (complete with both disguise and gift). Poseidon and Aigeus were supposed to have slept in the same night with Althra, and Zeus and Tyndareos on the same night with Leda. On the other hand tales of different fathers of twins (sometimes one divine, one human) is a recurring feature in world mythology; D. J. Ward, 'The Separate Functions of the Indo-European Divine Twins', 195–7. Doniger, *The Bedtrick: Tales of Sex and Masquerade*, offers a rich study of these and related phenomena.

to Zeus's δόλος. Pindar, *Nem.* 10.15 (perhaps of 444 BC), is explicit. It was the subject of comic treatments by Archippos (*Amphitryon*, PCG 2.539), Plato (*The Long Night*, PCG 7.469) and Rhinthon (*Amphitryon*, PCG 1.262) as well as the surviving one by Plautus. Euripides' *Alkmene* climaxed in a scene in which a disbelieving Amphitryon was preparing to immolate his wife.¹⁷ Clearly the story was well established by the late fifth century. In the Roman author, the cup was not given until after Zeus's purpose was accomplished, which resembles his gift of a necklace to Europe in similar circumstances; this gives rise to yet more possibilities: Pausanias saw a figure on the Kypselos chest (mid-sixth century) whom he took to be Zeus disguised as Amphitryon, giving Alkmene both a cup and a necklace (5.18.3). In Plautus, Jupiter opens his account with multiple gifts.

The cup became a relic, which on some unknown occasion the Spartans stole, since Charon of Lampsakos saw it in Lakonia (*FGrHist* 262 F 2: *δέρας* is the word used). Jacoby ad loc. thought this might be connected with Agesilaos' removal of the bones of Alkmene to Sparta (Plut. *De gen. Soc.* 577e), but as Agesilaos succeeded to the throne in 400, this is too late for Charon.¹⁸ Herodotos (5.59) claims to have seen tripods at Thebes dedicated by Amphitryon from the same campaign. Pausanias also saw a tripod dedicated by Amphitryon (9.10.4), his house, with Alkmene's room still visible in the ruins (9.11.1), and his tomb (1.41.1; also at Pind. *Pyth.* 9.81–2). Bones, tombs, and other relics of heroes are commonplace, but parallels are rare for an object like this cup which was once held by a god.¹⁹ The necklace of Harmonia was 'said' to have been laid up at Delphi (Paus. 8.24.10, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.89), but it was stolen during the Third Sacred War and subsequently destroyed (Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 96, Phylarchos *FGrHist* 81 F 70, Diod. Sic. 16.64, Paus. 9.41.2). But the Delians claimed already to have it in their possession by then (*IDēlos* 101.26, 104.89, *IG* XI.2.161 B.42; Lightfoot on Parthen. 25.2); so did the Amathousians in Cyprus (Paus. 9.41.2). Pelops' ivory shoulder had disappeared by the time Pausanias went to see it (Paus. 5.13.6). The spear of Achilles, presented by Cheiron (*Il.* 16.143), was laid up in Phaselis (Paus. 3.3.8), and the sceptre of Agamemnon, which Hephaistos made for Zeus (*Il.* 2.101), was worshipped in Chaironeia (Paus. 9.40.11); it is the only object in Pausanias' catalogue here that he is prepared to credit (9.41.1–5).²⁰ Pausanias also reports (2.1.8) that the peplos of Harmonia, made by Athena (Hellan. fr. 98, probably from the *Thebais*), was laid up in a sanctuary of the Nereid Doto—suitably far away, at Gabala in Syria. Three locations in south Italy claimed the bow of Herakles,

¹⁷ Aischylos, Ion, Dionysios of Syracuse, and Astydamas II also wrote an *Alkmene*, Sophokles and Aischylos of Alexandria an *Amphitryon*, but little is known of them. On Plautus' sources see Christenson's edition (Cambridge, 2000) 45–55.

¹⁸ Fowler, 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 65.

¹⁹ Most of the following examples are culled from Pfister, *Reliquienkult* 331–9.

²⁰ On Pausanias' attitude see Pirenne-Delforge, 'Under Which Conditions Did the Greeks "Believe" in their Myths?' 45–6. At 7.19.6–10 he is more credulous regarding the chest of Eurypylos; cf. Osborne, 'Relics and Remains' 64–72.

which came from Apollo (Arist. *Mir.* 840a 19–20, Euphorion fr. 209; cf. Justin 20.1.16). Not quite an artefact, remnants of the clay with which Prometheus created man were to be seen in Panopeus (Paus. 10.4.4). Doubtless the *δεικνύμενα* of mystery cults were bequeathed by the founding gods, and any city possessing a (or the) Palladion would have thought it came ultimately from heaven. In general, however, items personally made by gods were hard to find, unless one counts features of the natural landscape accredited to their agency.

The three days' night, or at any rate a long night, which Zeus arranged according to the end of **Pher. fr. 13c** is also attested, apart from the fragment of Plato already mentioned, at e.g. Plautus *Amph.* 112–14, Diod. Sic. 4.9.2, Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 320b, Luc. *Dial. Deor.* 14 (10), Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.61,²¹ schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 33. But whether it is actually attested for Pherekydes is doubtful; the subscription is found only in one manuscript of no authority, and is omitted by van Thiel in his new edition of the D scholia. The detail is also found at the beginning of Herod. fr. 14, but is unlikely to be from Herodorus (below, §8.5.10).

Aristoph. fr. 9B, if the fragment is in fact from our mythographer, fits here. The hexameter form, the present tense of the verb, and *ποτε* all point to an oracular utterance. The consultation might have taken place between the visitation of Zeus and the delivery of the twins;²² Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.61 tells how Amphytryon, on his return from the war, finds he is not received by his wife in a particularly loving manner; *μανθάνει παρὰ Τειρεσίου τὴν γενομένην τοῦ Διὸς συνουσίαν*. If so, we must imagine the old soothsayer speaking in portentous hexameters, and misleading riddles: 'Amphytryon begets a nobler son than himself' refers to Herakles, but he does not mean that Amphytryon is the biological father.

When the two sons are born, Amphytryon is in doubt as to which is which until Hera sends the serpents in the well-known story;²³ but according to **Pher. fr. 69**, who perhaps thought gods should not behave like that,²⁴ Amphytryon himself introduced them into the cot for this very purpose. As this detail is given in Apollodorus shortly after the consultation of Teiresias, perhaps the latter comes from Pherekydes too. Fr. 69b says that the boys were a year old when they underwent this test; the age varies in the sources,

²¹ The epitome is more detailed here, reporting five nights as well as three in some authorities; Hyg. *Fab.* 29.2 says two nights.

²² After ten months, says Pher. fr. 13c, which is normal; the mistake in Dindorf's old edition of the scholia ('seven months', reprinted in Jacoby) has misled people into various speculations.

²³ Pind. *Nem.* 1.33–47 ('an old story' he calls it; see Braswell), *Paeon* 20 (S1 Rutherford), Eur. *HF* 1266, Theok. *Id.* 24, Apollod. loc. cit., etc.; also in early 5th-c. art (references in Moret's appendix in Braswell, and Rutherford) and coins (Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* plate 20 nos. 361–2; Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 2.18 n. 7), though without Hera in the picture (Moret ap. Braswell 85 n. 4). Burkert, *OR* 87 cites a third-millennium Mesopotamian snake-strangler who may be a forerunner of Herakles.

²⁴ Van der Valk, *Researches* 1.383 n. 284.

but always indicates infancy (one day old in Pindar; 'unweaned' in Euripides; ten months in Theokritos; eight months in Apollodorus; *infans* in Hyg. *Fab.* 30.1).

Once born, Herakles had to be educated. **Aristoph. fr. 8** says he was taught by Rhadamanthys, but **Herod. fr. 17** says rather by Amphytryon's herdsmen; the scholiast who quotes both says that others say Cheiron and Thestios (i.e. the Boiotian; see below §8.5.1). This hardly exhausts the list; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.63 lists five teachers: Amphytryon for chariot-eering, Autolykos for wrestling, Eurytos for archery (cf. Theok. *Id.* 24.108), armed battle from Kastor, citharody from Linos. The catalogue is modified and extended by Theok. *Id.* 24.103–33. The unfortunate musician in the well-known story (already in art from the early fifth century, including the cup by Douris of c. 480, LIMC Herakles no. 1671) was killed in a fit of rage by Herakles.²⁵ This tragic chapter apart, incidents from this stage of the hero's life afforded obvious comic potential; though we do not know which childhood episodes formed the plot, Sophokles wrote a satyr-play *Herakleiskos* (with which the *Herakles* might have been identical; *Das griech. Satyrspiel* 266–74), while Alexis' *Linos* (PCG fr. 140) certainly involved the music-teacher, as might other plays such as Anaxandrides' *Herakles* (PCG fr. 16). Aristophanes' rather unusual Rhadamanthys figures obliquely in Apollodorus' narrative: a law of his allowed Herakles to be acquitted of murder. Fearing further incidents, Amphytryon sent the boy off to the country to be educated by herdsman, as in Herodorus, who probably had him go there right from the start. Alkmene married Rhadamanthys after the death of Amphytryon (Plut. *Lys.* 28.5, *De gen. Socr.* 5, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.70, 3.6, AP 3.13; Tzezes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 50, who also says that Rhadamanthys taught Herakles archery); if Antoninus' ascription is correct, Pherekydes (fr. 84) also married the two, but on the Isles of the Blessed (which Armen. fr. 5 subsequently claimed was actually the acropolis of Thebes; → §17.2). For other connections of Rhadamanthys with Boiotia see Stein, *RE* 1A.132–3; Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 3.25.

Herod. fr. 18 says that Herakles used Scythian weapons, and in some parallel sources (see the app. crit.) the information is added that his teacher was a Scythian named Teutaros; so Lykophron 56, 458, who further identifies him as a herdsman (as in Herod. fr. 17), suggesting that his source might have been Herodorus. There is one possible depiction in surviving art of Herakles learning his archery, on a Roman relief of Hadrianic date (LIMC Athena/Minerva no. 375); the barbaric attire of the teacher suggests that Teutaros is intended (Brommer, *Herakles* 2.4).²⁶ Herakles is often depicted in Greek art as carrying a Scythian, double-curved composite bow, a choice fact known not only to Lykophron but to Theok. 13.56, whose scholia quote both Herodorus and Kallimachos fr. 692. The bow itself he was supposed to have got from Apollo (Mosch. 4.13, Diod. Sic. 4.14.3, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.71). Thus the vulgate, in which one might see the

²⁵ See M. Schmidt, 'Linos, Eracle ed altri ragazzi' for discussion.

²⁶ Against this, Boardman in LIMC 4.1.833 notes that Herakles' lionskin in this scene does not suggest early education.

foreignness of the weapon as a marker of Herakles' marginal nature, like his lionskin and primitive club. Against this stands Herodotos' suggestion (4.9–10) that Herakles himself taught the Scythians their archery, which presumes the same armament but reverses the direction of the transfer. The attempt to graft foreigners onto Greek myth is especially typical of the much-travelled Herakles (Bremmer, *Herakles* 2.142–3 gives the list of foreign founders and eponyms who were his descendants). In Scythia, Herakles was perhaps the *interpretatio Graeca* of the hero Targitaos (Hdt. 4.5).²⁷

The appearance of the fully-grown Herakles was a matter of some interest in antiquity.²⁸ As a man of the people, prone to comic adventures, he is more apt than others to deviate from the standards of heroic perfection. His curious incarnation as a Daktyl has been noted in §1.73. As Brelich pointed out, however (*Gli eroi greci* 232–48 = 188–200), heroes often have uncommon physical features: Battos has his stutter, Oidipous is lame, Philoktetes has a suppurating wound, and so on. Pindar's short but sturdy Herakles (*Isthm.* 4.53) defeats the giant Antaios, as Odysseus does the Kyklops (*Od.* 9.515; cf. *Il.* 3.192–211). Tydeus was similarly built (*Il.* 5.801). Such things mark the hero as exceptional. Herodotos (fr. 19), however, declared his native city's eponym to be unusually tall; the Pindaric scholion reporting his view says that he made him a foot taller than other people, so that he was in all four cubits and a foot. The sameness of all the 'others' reflects a common notion of an admirable height for a man; cf. e.g. Ar. *Vesp.* 553, *Ran.* 1014, Athen. 5.27 p. 198a, Philostr. *VA* 2.4. Four cubits was Herakles' own height according to Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.64. The length of the Greek cubit averages around 45 cm, the foot two-thirds of that (*BNP* s.v. 'Measures'); four cubits is therefore approximately 180 cm or just under six foot tall, four cubits and a foot 210 cm, not far short of seven feet, tall even for today. Some scholars²⁹ have thought that Herodotos' extra foot reflects the Pythagorean argument reported by Aulus Gellius, *NA* 1.1 (= Plutarch fr. 7 Sandbach): since Herakles was supposed to have measured out the 600 feet of the Olympic stadion, which was longer than other stadia, one could infer the size of his feet and thus his height, which, it turned out, exceeded other men's by the same amount that the Olympic stadion exceeded theirs.³⁰ There are indeed suggestive points of contact between Herodotos and Pythagorean traditions (→Part B), but Herodotos did not need to have heard this piece of ingenuity to advance his view about Herakles' height. *πελώριος* is a standard epithet for heroes, and Orestes, as represented by his skeleton, was seven cubits tall (Hdt. 1.68); Achilles according to Lykophron stretched to an astounding nine cubits (*Alex.* 860); but this is as nothing compared to Herakles among the

Scythians, whose footprint in a rock measured two cubits on its own (Hdt. 4.82), or Perseus among the Egyptians, whose sandal had similar dimensions (Hdt. 2.91)—even bigger, if they were Egyptian cubits.³¹

§8.3 Megara (Herod. fr. 32; Menek. fr. 5A; Pher. fr. 14)

According to Diodoros (4.10.6) and Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.70), Kreon gave his daughter Megara to Herakles after he killed Erginos; it is difficult to reconcile this sequence of events with Pherekydes fr. 95, in which Erginos and his Minyans kill two sons of Oidipous after Kreon has abdicated. Possibly Pherekydes had a different reason for their betrothal, or in telling the two tales in separate parts of his work failed to notice the problem (→§5.5). Stesichoros (*PMGF* 230) provides the earliest references to Herakles' killing of their children in a fit of madness; Pausanias, who quotes him (9.11.2), cites also Panyassis (fr. 1) to the same effect. The madness of Herakles was mentioned in the *Kypria* (*Argum.* 4, p. 70 West), very likely with the same reference. Pindar (*Isthm.* 3/4.80–2) mentions the tomb of the eight children 'armed with bronze', which probably indicates that they were grown men, killed by some unknown opponent(s) in battle (so e.g. Wilamowitz, *Euripides Herakles* 2.82, both Farnell and Privitera ad loc.). Pious Theban that he is, Pindar has altered the usual story to preserve Herakles' good name. He is reacting to what is already established vulgate by his time. Pindar also tells us of newly built altars to honour these sons, but this need not have been the first institution of their cult. The festival of fire and agon he mentions is attested in a variety of sources and could be quite old (see Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 2.14–30; Privitera on Pind. *Isthm.* 4.61–4); the tombs were near Amphitryon's home outside the Elektran gate. The pattern—death of a hero's children under disputed circumstances, expiation—resembles that of Medeia's children in Corinth (→§6.73).³² In itself the story may be read as indicating the extremes that this greatest of the heroes combines, from fits of berserk violence to acts of great benevolence, from raging beast to serene divinity. The mode of death in Pherekydes (tossing in the fire) and the link to a fire-festival have led some scholars to compare the story of Meleagros (in the version involving the firebrand) and to posit an initiatory background, though this must be regarded as uncertain.³³

²⁷ 0.563 m; Lloyd on Hdt. 2.168.1. See also Corcella on 4.82; Osborne, 'Relics and Remains' 56–61. Luc. *VH* 1.7 parodies such things.

²⁸ These two figures are, interestingly, brought together by Diodoros (4.55.4), who says Medeia came to Thebes from Corinth, and cured Herakles of his madness; they appear together also on a 4th-c. volute-krater by the Darius painter (*LMC* Herakles no. 1409 = Medeia 68), which shows children on an altar (Herakles, or Medeia's?); see M. Schmidt, 'Medea und Herakles'.

²⁹ Bremmer, 'La plasticité du mythe' 45–7; M. L. West, 'The Calydonian Boar'. The cult of Herakles on Oita was also a fire festival: see Nilsson, *ARW* 21 (1922) 310–16; Béquignon, *La Vallée du Spercheios* 204–31; Boardman, 'Herakles in extremis'; Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 411–12; P. Holt, *JHS* 109 (1989) 73.

²⁷ See Corcella on Hdt. 4.8–10, 4.59.1; for the Scythian bow, Corcella on 4.9.4–5; Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* 81–2.

²⁸ See e.g. the descriptions in Dikaiarchos fr. 54, Hieronymos fr. 16 Wehrli; Boardman, *LMC* 4.1.730.

²⁹ Jacoby ad loc; Detienne, 'Héraclès'; Borin, 'Recherche su Erodofo'.

³⁰ Holford-Strevens, *Aulus Gellius* 262–3, using Vitruvius' ratio of 1:6, does the calculation: the height is 1.9227 m.

Pindar's scholiast quotes **Pher. fr. 14**, **Herod. fr. 32** and **Menek. fr. 5A** amid a welter of competing variants about the number, names, and killers of these children; as in many other fragments, the names of minor characters are fair game for the mythographer's invention, and the obvious fictiveness seems not to have been an issue. We learn that in Pherekydes Herakles tossed the (five) children on a fire; this method of murder is depicted also on a Paestan calyx-krater of the mid-fourth century (*LIMC* Herakles no. 1684). Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.72) too has the fire, but only three children (2.70); two of the names, Therimachos and Kreontiades, agree with Pherekydes; the third is Deikoon, which recurs in Dionysios and Deinias, also quoted by the Pindaric scholiast. According to Herodorus, Herakles went mad on two occasions;³⁴ the second might be when he killed Iphitos (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.129, *μαρὲς δὲ αἰθῆς*); Tzetzes, *Chil.* 2.425 says Hera was again to blame, as in Euripides. Madness being something to which heroes are prone as another mark of their exceptionality (Brelch, *Gli eroi greci* 264 = 210–11), Herakles, the greatest of them, has more of it than the others.

In his surviving play *Herakles*, as is well known, Euripides places the killing of the children (and Megara, in his version)³⁵ after the completion of the Labours; since the apparent senselessness of Hera's continuing persecution is central to his tragedy, scholars have generally agreed with Wilamowitz (*Euripides Herakles* 2.87–8) that his chronology is an innovation. In addition to Apollodoros, other post-Euripidean writers preserve the original order (Mosch. *Megara*, Nik. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 13, Diod. Sic. 4.10.6–11.2). Apollodoros also suggests that the Labours were a penance ordered by the Delphic oracle; this logical tidiness could be due to the mythographer supplying a missing motivation. But Herakles made a trip to Delphi already in Panyassis (fr. 2 = 15 Matthews), perhaps on this occasion (see Matthews), so possibly the sequence was traditional. Apollodoros adds that, according to the Pythia, Herakles would thus become immortal (cf. Diod. Sic. 4.10.7), an additional motive that cannot predate his apotheosis (perhaps sixth century). The detail that Herakles had hitherto been called Alkaidas after his grandfather Alkaios (and his children Alkaidai not Herakleidai; Menek. fr. 5A) could also be mythographical tying-off of loose ends; but the implicit point (that his renaming represents a new start in life after the murder) would not be beyond the ingenuity of a poet either. The change in name does not of course correspond to any development in surviving archaic texts, in which Herakles has his name from the start. He is once called 'Alkaidas' by Pindar at *Paean* 20.4 (S1 Rutherford; cf. *Ol.* 6.68), and so is his father Amphitryon (*Scut.* 112); it is used also by Kallimachos (*Hymn.* 3.145) and later Greek poets, and 'Alcides' is common in Latin. It might have

³⁴ This could be the scholiast's inference from his account, rather than an explicit disagreement with somebody in Herodorus' text.

³⁵ In Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.127 (cf. Diod. Sic. 4.31.1, Paus. 10.29.7) she is given by Herakles to Iolaos after the death of the children.

been commoner in early Greek than we know.³⁶ (Pindar, it is true, if correctly reported, is supposed to have said that he changed his name; fr. 291. Cf. Diod. Sic. 1.24.4, 4.10.1.) Menekrates also says that one Sikalos, if that is the right reading,³⁷ purified Herakles of the pollution; Apollodoros names the Aitolian Thespios; in Euripides, Theseus performs this task (*HF* 1324).

§8.4 The Labours

§8.4.0 INTRODUCTION (Hek. fr. 23)

The familiar division of Herakles' deeds into *ἄθλα*, *πάρεργα*, and *πράξεις* (the Labours, deeds performed incidentally to the Labours, and other deeds) appears to have little ancient authority; Hyginus offers *Athla* and *Parerga* in *Fabulae* 30–1, and other stories (not labelled *Praxeis*) in *Fab.* 32–6, but among the *Parerga* he has some deeds that have nothing to do with the Labours. Plutarch, *Comp. Thes. et Rom.* 1.2, speaks of Theseus' killing of Skeiron and others as *πάρεργα καὶ προάγωνες*. Diodoros (4.7.4) and the *Tabula Albana* (*FGrHist* 40 F 1a) call the whole of their accounts of Herakles simply *πράξεις Ἡρακλέους*, *πράξεις* being one of the topics of any conventional biography.

The standard reason given in Greek mythology why Herakles should have to perform the Labours at all is the hatred of Hera and the oath she extracted from Zeus. From an early date, poets and others were anxious to find better reasons, relating to his service to mankind, his bid for glory, and the promise of immortality. Of these, Pindar is by far the most eloquent, in a passage particularly revealing of his profound religiosity and intellectual penetration (*Nem.* 1.61–72). Sophokles, Theokritos, Apollodoros and Diodoros all speak of the reward of immortality (*Soph. Trach.* 1418–20; *Theok.* 24.82; Diod. Sic. 4.10.7; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.73), but Apollodoros also implies the more prosaic reason that he had to do service to expiate the murder of his children by Megara (as later he would have to expiate the murder of Iphitos by serving Omphale). Euripides, in the interests of his own plot (the children have yet to be murdered), invents the rather lame idea that Herakles wished to return to the Argolid and so struck a deal with Eurystheus (*HF* 14–22), adding 'whether goaded by Hera, or necessity'. Modern scholars have looked elsewhere for the explanation, usually to the history thought to lurk behind the myth: Herakles as Dorian, Eurystheus as Achaeon (or vice versa).³⁸ The importance of Herakles to the Dorian people is undeniable but it is a complicated story; the myth, so

³⁶ Wilamowitz, *Euripides Herakles* 2.48–50.

³⁷ An unknown name; Lobeck's 'Sykalos', though also unique, would be a more comprehensible formation. The MSS offer also Sibalos, whence Abel conjectured Oibalos, a suitably august, foreign figure like Thespios to whom Herakles might have repaired.

³⁸ Burkert, *SH* 78–9.

far as its history can be established, intersects with the facts of recorded history and pre-history, so far as they can be established, in various and uncertain ways. The myth/history of the Herakleidae is reserved for discussion in §9. With respect to Herakles himself, further complicating factors are the immense antiquity of the tamer-of-animals figure who banishes danger and enables men to live peaceful lives, and as we shall see in a moment cross-fertilization from similar stories in the Near East, to which the Greeks had been exposed for centuries before our written records begin.

Apollodoros claims that because Iolaos had helped Herakles kill the Hydra, Eurystheus refused to accept the Labour; he also refused to accept the Augeian stables, because Herakles had done the job for a fee (*Bibl.* 2.80, 91). Accordingly, there were twelve Labours instead of ten. Apollodoros is alone in this odd idea, which obviously postdates the establishment of twelve as the canonical number. We do not know exactly when this occurred. Peisandros, according to Theok. *Epigr.* 22, catalogued Herakles' ἀεθλοὶ, no number given; from the canon are attested in his fragments the Lion, the Hydra, the Kerynitian Hind, the Stymphalian Birds, and Geryoneus, from outside the canon Antaios, the Centaurs, and Troy. The number and the list of Labours are the same in Diodoros and Apollodoros, if in different order,³⁹ and on the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, which was probably influential in fixing the canon. Pindar (fr. 169a) had some notion of a set number, since he provides a number or numbers at ll. 40–3 (perhaps 'ninth' and 'tenth', the latter it seems of Kerberos). The ten metopes of the Hephaisteion in Athens depict nine Labours from the same list (since Geryoneus gets two metopes); omitted are the Stymphalian Birds, the Augeian Stables, and the Cretan Bull. Euripides (*HF* 359–435) also has twelve, but with some differences in the list (Birds, Stables, Bull, and Erymanthian Boar are omitted; the Centaurs, Kyknos, and ridding the sea of monsters are added, and the Hesperides and Atlas are split into two Labours). Sophocles, *Trach.* 1089–1100, in a partial list mentions the Lion, the Hydra, the Centaurs, the Boar, Kerberos, the Hesperides—and refers to 'ten thousand others'. On the late sixth-century Athenian treasury at Delphi, the Lion, the Hind, and Geryoneus are identifiable. There are references to all of the Labours in the archaic period, in both literature and art, but there are references also to Herakles' many other trials, and not all of the Labours are explicitly connected with Eurystheus. The combination of twelve Labours enjoined by Eurystheus is first encountered in Apollonios of Rhodes (1.1317–18).⁴⁰

Thus far the Greek evidence. As has often been pointed out, there are striking parallels between Herakles and the very ancient (third-millennium) Sumerian figure

Ninurta. Ninurta, or Ningirsu, with whom he was early identified, was son of the storm-god, and kills monsters including a lion, a stag(?), a fabulous bird, a bull(?), a crab(?) which he kills by stamping (cf. Panyas. fr. 8), and especially a seven-headed serpent. In a ninth- or eighth-century seal, an archer faces a snake and monstrous scorpion, and a much earlier seal (c. 2400 BC) shows a god fighting a seven-headed serpent, set in a frieze of scorpions (ill. Burkert, *SH* 82). If correctly identified in the iconography, Ninurta carries a club and bow and wears an animal-skin. In spite of not negligible differences (and parallels also in the stories of Gilgamesh and Samson), some kind of association with Herakles seems clear, however one imagines this as coming about (and over a space of so many years, much mixing, adaptation, and transferral of motifs will have occurred). Ninurta/Ningirsu performed a set of labours, and delivered his trophies back to Nippur as Herakles delivered his to Tiryns. Unfortunately, the number appears to have been eleven, not twelve.⁴¹ That mismatch notwithstanding, the notion of a large number of Labours performed at the behest of a hostile king could have been taken over from the Near East, along with some of the specific tasks. It might be permissible to think of a fluid situation similar to other such recurring groups (Twelve Olympians, Seven Wise Men, etc.); there was a set number, and general agreement on the most important candidates for inclusion, but the notion of an authoritative canon had to wait for the world of Hellenistic scholars (who claimed authority to determine them, even if they failed to do so). We might accept then that the number twelve was associated with Herakles already in the archaic period, without a canon.

Before turning to the individual Labours we may mention briefly *Hek. fr.* 23 in which a grammarian records that Hekataios used the word λεῶς to denote Herakles as Eurystheus' underling. This idiomatic usage of the word elsewhere meaning 'people' is unambiguously attested nowhere else; a possible example from Ionian Zeleia is λεῶς αὐτοῦκος (*SGDI* 5533e = Schwyzler, *DGEE* 734 = Michel 531), perhaps denoting a slave with his own family (given as a reward for public service along with other benefits). It is presumably the singular of λαοί / λεῶ, which is common in epic for the mass of soldiers, alongside the singular denoting their collectivity. The latter would have predominated in any proto-democratic political context; the plural denoting vassals may survive in the archaic formula ἀκούετε λεῶ (Sousarion fr. 1.1, *Ar. Ach.* 1000, *Pax* 551, *Av.* 448, cf. *Vesp.* 1015), which could be a survival from more aristocratic times. According to *Plut. Thes.* 25.1 = *Arist. fr.* 384, when Theseus first created the Athenian nation he would issue the summons to gather δεῦρ' ἵτε πάντες λεῶ (cf. *Ar. Pax* 298, *Eur. fr.* 773.69). The aristocratic ethos may be detected in Pindar when he says that the stones of Deukalion and Pyrrha were turned into λαοί (*Ol.* 9.46; the upper class were born in the usual

³⁹ Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 30; the Tabula Albana, *JG XIV* 1293 = *FGrHist* 40 F1c; Quint. Smyrn. 6.200–68; Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 8.299.

⁴⁰ The number twelve also in Theok. *Id.* 24.82. For detailed discussion of the canon, see Brommer, *Herakles* 1.53–63; Bond on Eur. *HF* 359 ff.; Boardman in *LIMC* 5.1.5–6; Gantz 381–3.

⁴¹ Burkert, *SH* 80–3; 'Oriental and Greek Mythology' 52–8; West, *EPH* 460–72.

way:→§3.2), and in tragedy when Teukros asks Menelaos by what right he presumes to issue orders to the *λεῶν* of Ajax (Soph. *Ai.* 1100).⁴²

§8.4.1 THE NEMEAN LION (Hellan. fr. 102; Herod. fr. 4, 12, 21–2)

Bembina, or Bembinos/on as **Hellan. fr. 102** has it, was a village (or polis, as Hellanikos has it) in the Nemean district where poetic tradition located the first Labour (Panyassis fr. 6–7, Rhianos fr. 7 Powell, Theok. 25.202, Strabo 8.6.19, Pliny *NH* 4.20). Pliny puts the settlement between Kleonai and Kleitorion, wherever that was. We know nothing else about it. If it was in fact thought of as belonging to Nemea, there is no necessary conflict between this more precise indication and the usual 'Nemea' (e.g. Hes. *Theog.* 327, Pindar *Isthm.* 6.48).

According to **Herod. fr. 4**, the lion came from an 'upper world', which is possibly but not necessarily the moon. In **fr. 21–2** we learn about moon-women who lay eggs and bear children fifteen times the size of ours, and about vultures. Fr. 22 is explicitly linked to Herakles, who was said to have rejoiced to see a vulture above all other birds as a good omen when embarking on an enterprise; the reason is firstly the supposed virtue of the bird, abstaining as it does from all food but carrion, and secondly its rare and unexpected appearances, as if sent by the gods. The fact that nobody has seen their young adds to their uncanniness. Herodotos explained this by saying that they inhabited 'another, unknown land', whence they journey to our world.⁴³ If this were the moon, it is strange that neither Aristotle nor Plutarch says so. Burkert (*Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* 347) argues that a mythical 'counter-world' is meant, like the land of the Hyperboreans (cf. Apul. *Met.* 11.24.3). It is not at all certain, therefore, whether we have one, two, or three different locations for Nemean lion, moon-women, and vultures, or that these three fragments come from the same part of Herodotos' book or books. If they are all from the book on Herakles, we may suppose that a general discussion of life on the moon was appended to the story of the lion.

Fr. 21 could in fact be a fragment of the book *On Orpheus and Mousaios*, from which **Herod. fr. 12** is cited.⁴⁴ In that fragment, the el-Kharga Oasis (Hdt. 3.26.1, where see Asheri) is dubbed 'Phaiacian', whereas Herodotos had said that in Greek the name 'Oasis' meant 'Isles of the Blessed'. The two accounts are not so very far apart. The Phaiacians

themselves have characteristics of a blessed race on the edge of the world, like the Hyperboreans or the Ethiopians; the gods dine with all of them (*Il.* 1.423, *Od.* 7.201–3, Pind. *Pyth.* 10.34–6). The Phaiacians and Isles of the Blessed are associated by schol. Hom. *Od.* 7.324 and schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 750 which begins *πρὸς τῷ πυρὶνῳ κύκλῳ καὶ τῇ ζώνῃ τοῦ πυρὸς ἑτέραν ἐμύθευσαν εἶναι γῆν ἐν ᾗ πλείστα καὶ θαυμαστά φύονται*, suggestively parallel to Herodotos' *ἑτέρα γῆ ἄδελος*. The moon and/or the sun were also associated by philosophers with the Isles of the Blessed.⁴⁵ In both writers, we have an example of the familiar process, visible already in our oldest Greek records, of locating mythic places in the known world. The more the world became settled, the less fantastic such places seemed, and the balance between their perception as mythical and as real would have shifted more and more to the latter; in time their magical colouring would have paled. Herodotos, as we shall see again in discussing fr. 2 (below, §8.4.11), is a demythologizer, translating tradition into language suitable to contemporary audiences. But whether the mythical end of the spectrum ever entirely vanishes may be doubted.

Scientific interest in the moon was well established by Herodotos' day.⁴⁶ There is a clear link between fr. 21 and Philolaos *Vors.* 44 A20 which makes the same point about the size of moon-beings, adding that they pass no excrement,⁴⁷ and that the day there is fifteen times longer. A standard item in theories about the moon was a calculation of its size, with which these estimates of the size of its inhabitants cohere. In fact, Herodotos could be trying to explain the monstrous beast, which Hesiod (*Theog.* 327) had said was a son of Orthos and Chimaira, as a natural phenomenon.

The idea of life on the moon did not originate with Herodotos. Its first attestation in Epimenides (*Vors.* 3 B2 ap. Ael. *NA* 12.7) looks purely mythological:

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ γένος εἰμὶ Σελήνης ἡκυόμοιο
ἢ δεινὸν φρίξας ἀπεσείσατο θῆρα λέοντα
ἐν Ἰνέμειαι ἄγρουσ' ἃ τὸν διὰ πότνια Ἥραν.

By 'I too am sprung from the moon' Epimenides means 'like Mousaios', whose descent from the moon—genealogically and no doubt also physically—is attested in Mousaios' own pseudepigrapha (fr. 10–14 Bernabé), and in the poetic fragments of Ion of Chios.⁴⁸ The moon-born lion is later attested in schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.498 (perhaps from

⁴⁵ *Vors.* 58 C4 (Pythagoreans); Porphyry ap. Stob. *Ecl.* 1.49.61, Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 5.735 (Orphics).

⁴⁶ Hübner, *BNP* s.v. 'Moon'; Kirk–Raven–Schofield, index s.v. 'moon'; M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* 49–50; Burkert, 'Heraklitus and the Moon'. For life on the moon specifically, Taylor on Pl. *Tim.* 41e5; Guthrie, *Hist. Gk. Phil.* 2.308 n. 4; Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* 346. **Pher. fr. 177**, on ambrosia issuing from the moon and feeding the gods, is very doubtfully by the Athenian; much more likely the Syrian (cf. Schibli, *Pherekydes of Syros* 67 n. 43, 117 n. 32).

⁴⁷ A faculty possessed also by Epimenides (Diog. Laert. 1.114).

⁴⁸ Fr. eleg. 30A Campbell; M. L. West, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 46; Henrichs, *ZPE* 58 (1985) 1–8; contra Mele, 'Il corpus epimenideo' 242–3, and Breglia Pulci Doria, 'Osservazioni sulla *Teogonia* di Epimenide' 293–7, do not see a reference to Mousaios in Epimenides. Could the *καὶ γὰρ* in fact be explained by what follows ('I too, like the lion')? Such elliptical thought processes are typical of vatic literature.

⁴² Cf. Favre, *Thesaurus* 248; Björck, *Das alpha impurum* 320–2, Hekataios perhaps said *ληόν* (cf. Hippon. fr. 158) but *λεών* is hardly 'unbelievable' (Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides* 277); cf. *Ἄνων* Hes. fr. 235.3, *Πρωτοσίλων* Hdt. 9.116.3, *Μενέλεων* 2.113.2; Smyth, *Ionic* §477; M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* 79.

⁴³ Cf. Plin. *NH* 10.19. On this passage and vultures in the Greek *imaginaire* cf. Detienne, *The Gardens of Adonis* 23–4 (Herodotos is alone in his view: 'for most Greeks the vulture remained the bird most detested both by gods and by men'); for vultures see also Arnott, *Birds in the Ancient World* 60–1.

⁴⁴ Taking the citation at face value (*Orphic.* 1129 Bernabé); Jacoby, *RE* 8.1.986 = *Griechische Historiker* 244, raised the possibility that it was part of the *Herakleia* or the *Argonautika*. See Part B.

Anaxagoras, *Vors.* 59 A77), Plut. *De fac. in orbe lunae* 937f, [Plut.] *De fluv.* 18.4, Steph. Byz. 356, schol. Stat. *Theb.* 2.58; the mythological version is reflected in the later genealogy which makes the lion son of Selene (e.g. Euphion fr. 107.4, Seneca *HF* 83, Hyg. *Fab.* 30.2).⁴⁹ The shift from thinking of the Moon as goddess to the moon as planet, without the difference necessarily being totally effaced, is visible in these texts.

Herodorus' interest in vultures was not purely scientific, however, if his remarks on their virtue are meant to reflect well on his hero's capacity for its appreciation. In portraying Herakles thus he resembles his older contemporary Prodikos in his famous depiction of Herakles at the crossroads choosing between the temptations of Virtue and Vice,⁵⁰ which inaugurated a long philosophical tradition of such interpretations of the myths.⁵¹

§8.4.2 THE LERNAIAN HYDRA (Hek. fr. 24; Hellan. fr. 103; Herod. fr. 23; Pher. fr. 70)

The monstrous Lerna is given a suitable genealogy in the *Theogony* (daughter of Echidna and Typhon, 313–18), where we are also told that Hera raised it out of anger with Herakles, and that Herakles killed it with Iolaos' help. Hesiod does not mention the crab in this short reference, but the double act is obviously a fixture in the story, and the crab appears from the start in artistic representations (as does Iolaos; details in Gantz 384–5 and Venit, 'Herakles and the Hydra'). There are fragmentary references then in Peisandros (fr. 2: the snake had many heads), Alkaios (fr. 443: the snake had nine heads), Simonides (*PMG* 569: fifty heads), Stesichoros (*PMGF* S15 ii 1–6: the Hydra's blood was poisonous; cf. Soph. *Trach.* 573–4, Eur. *HF* 422), and Panyassis (fr. 8: first literary mention of the crab). The first reference to the heads growing back is in Euripides (*HF* 419–24, 1274–5; cf. *Ion* 191–200), but already in late sixth-century art Iolaos busily cauterizes the stumps (*LIMC* Herakles nos. 2002, 2004). Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.77) is alone in saying that one of the (nine) heads was immortal, which Herakles cut off and buried under a rock on the road from Lerna to Elaiou. This is a very choice piece of information; the town is mentioned in no other source besides Steph. Byz. 332. The source might have been a local historian or Hellenistic poetry (itself drawing on a local historian).⁵²

⁴⁹ Gruppe, *RE* Suppl. 3.1031. On Plutarch's treatise see Detienne, *Héraclès* 27 n. 2; Görgemanns, *Untersuchungen zu Plutarchs Dialog De facie in orbe lunae*.

⁵⁰ Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.21–33; Sansone, 'Heracles at the Y'; Gray, 'The Linguistic Philosophies of Prodicus'; Kuntz, 'The Prodician "Choice of Herakles"'. See now R. Mayhew's commentary on Prodikos (Oxford, 2011).

⁵¹ Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme*.

⁵² See further (not an exhaustive list) Palaiphatos 38 (the first to say that two heads grew back in the place of one; he has fifty heads), Eratosth. *Katast.* 11, Diod. Sic. 4.11.5–6 (one hundred heads, when severed replaced by two), Verg. *Aen.* 6.576 (fifty heads), 7.658 (one hundred heads, as in Eur. *HF* 1188, *Phoin.* 1135–6), 8.299–300 ('crowd' of heads), Ov. *Met.* 9.69–74, 193 (as Diodoros), Paus. 2.37.4 (one head), Hyg. *Fab.* 30.3 (nine heads), Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 6.575 (three heads), Quint. Smyrn. 6.212–19 (many heads). Vase paintings are ambivalent, as the artist is often restricted by space.

In *Hek. fr.* 24 we are told only that Hekataios related the Hydra story in a manner Aelian deemed mythical. *Pher. fr.* 70 (in which we learn that Pherekydes called Lerna a polis)⁵³ is also evidence that he had the story, but again that is all we know. *Hellan. fr.* 103 and *Herod. fr.* 23 are quoted by the T scholiast on Plato *Phaidon* 89c, where Plato had used the proverb 'against two not even Herakles (can win)';⁵⁴ the mythographers said that the 'two' were the Hydra and the crab (so too Palaiphatos). He then called Iolaos to help. Plato, too, refers to Iolaos, who is mentioned in literary sources almost exclusively in connection with this Labour; we may assume that Plato has it in mind too. In some authorities, however, Iolaos' help is needed because of the formidable number of heads (Diod. Sic., Quint. Smyrn., Hesiod perhaps by implication; Apollodoros fudges); and in some writers, the proverb was explained rather by reference to the Molionidai (on whom see below, p. 280). Just possibly, Stesichoros had the proverb in mind when he told (*PMGF* 207) how Herakles was obliged to flee Kyknos so long as his father Ares aided him; when the god left, Herakles returned and prevailed.

§8.4.3 THE KERYNITTAN HIND (Pher. fr. 71)

This Labour is certainly represented in the corpus only by *Pher. fr.* 71, a scholiast's note on Pind. *Ol.* 3.50 about the animal's female sex and its golden horns. The ancient commentator affirms that Pindar has good authority for both views, citing the *Thebais*, Peisandros, Pherekydes, and Anakreon. 'Mythic does have mythic horns', remarked Gildersleeve ad loc., wisely leaving the matter there, but scholars both ancient and modern have been unable to resist mixing categories. The Pindaric scholia record ancient attempts to explain the matter as a natural phenomenon, and interpret the poetic texts accordingly;⁵⁵ in modern times, scholars have thought that the myth must refer to reindeer, the only species of deer whose females have antlers.⁵⁶ Whatever their origin, unknown to those who actually used the myth, the marvellous horns were the main point of fascination, as is clear from the artistic record, where Herakles often grasps the horns or even breaks one off.⁵⁷ The unique animal is sacred to Artemis, and, as the long chase indicates, all but impossible to catch; Herakles does not have the option of killing it. This is presumably the point of the Labour. Only Euripides,

⁵³ *IACP* p. 601, listed among the pre-Hellenistic settlements 'not attested as *poleis*'; this reference is overlooked (granted, mythography is unrestrained by contemporary realities in such matters).

⁵⁴ First attested Archil. fr. 259. *Pher. fr.* 79a, quoted by the same scholion, had a different explanation: below, §8.4.5.

⁵⁵ Cf. Ael. *NA* 739 and other passages assembled by Wellmann, *Hermes* 51 (1916) 21–2.

⁵⁶ e.g. W. Ridgeway, *PCPS* 39 (1894) 14–15; Meuli, *Ges. Schr.* 2.797–813; Verdenius ad loc.

⁵⁷ Details in Gantz 388–9; cf. also Burkert, 'Eracle e gli altri eroi culturali del Vicino Oriente' 77–8. It should be noted, however, that in some depictions certainly, and in others possibly, the animal lacks its horns; E. Robbins, *Phoenix* 36 (1982) 301 n. 20; Brommer, *Herakles* 1.24. Cf. the horns of Achelous and Amaltheia (below, p. 323).

HF 375–9 for his own reasons makes the animal a threat to man and beast, requiring violent dispatch.⁵⁸ The sacredness of the animal is also highlighted in Kallimachos' idiosyncratic version of the tale (*Hymn* 3.99–109); in Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.81–2) Herakles finally wounds the hind after a year of chasing, and is able to appease Apollo and Artemis by pleading necessity.

Scholars seeking echoes of rituals in myths may draw encouragement from the clutch of stories about Taygete in the Pindaric scholia, perhaps assembled by Apollodoros of Athens in his note on Artemis Orthosia (*FGrHist* 244 F 127). In one of them Taygete gilds the horns (as in animal sacrifice), and in another she attaches false horns to it; a hint of a costume in an initiation ritual, in which the girls played the fabulous deer?⁵⁹ Meuli had a different ritual link, to prehistoric hunters and sacrificial ritual, specifically of Scythian hunters of the far north: he cited both the reindeer and the Hyperboreans in Pindar, to whose land Herakles chased the animal. In all likelihood, however, Pindar made this journey up;⁶⁰ it is found nowhere else. The mythical connotations of Hyperboreans that led him to associate the journey with Herakles' bringing the olive tree to Olympia are well explored by Sfyroeras.⁶¹ On the Hyperboreans see §20.

§8.4.4 THE ERYMANTHIAN BOAR (Hek. fr. 6; Herod. fr. 24)

Although no one tells us where this boar came from or states that it was of supernatural descent, most of Herakles' other opponents in the Labours answer that description or have remarkable qualities of some kind. When therefore Hek. fr. 6 with notable understatement writes 'There was a boar in the mountain and it was causing the Psophidians a lot of trouble', we may be right to detect another example of his trademark rationalization. It was just a particularly nasty boar (the Erymanthian range is proverbial for boar-hunting in *Od.* 6.101–2). Pausanias notes that in the old days, animals were more ferocious, including this one (1.27.9). In the lacuna in Stephanos who quotes fr. 6 might have stood the information that Psophis (*IACP* no. 294) was formerly called Erymanthos (at Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ψόφεια*, whence this detail comes, the source is Charax of Pergamon *FGrHist* 103 F 4; cf. Paus. 8.24.1–2). At all events, the town was at the foot of the Erymanthian range, at the juncture of the rivers Erymanthos and Aroanios. More specifically, as Apollonios of Rhodes says (1.127; cf. Diod. Sic. 4.12.1), the boar roamed

Mt Lampeia (Strabo 8.3.10), which was the part of the range closest to Psophis (Paus. 8.24.4; *Barrington Atlas* map 58). Apollonios says that Herakles delivered the beast in chains to Mykenai, and his scholiast remarks 'Herodorus too (Herod. fr. 24) says that he brought it to the gates of Mykenai, where he deposited it'; the point of his comment is that in Herodorus too the beast was captured live.⁶² Diodoros (loc. cit.) says this was indeed the point of the Labour; Apollodoros agrees (*Bibl.* 2.83), adding (2.87) that he chased the animal into the snow, so that it became bogged down and he could get a noose around it. (Hyginus *Fab.* 30.4, on the other hand, thinks he killed it.) Other than these, literary references to the Boar are scarce, excepting the catalogues (above, at n. 39). The case is different in art, however, where the scene of Herakles presenting the living Boar to the craven Eurystheus cowering in a pithos is popular from at least the sixth century.⁶³ Apollodoros transfers the pithos to the first Labour, where Eurystheus uses it to hide from Herakles (*Bibl.* 2.76), ordering that in future the prizes be brought no further than the gates (cf. Herod., and Pindar fr. 169a 7 *Κυκλώπειον ἐπὶ πρόθυρον Ἐὐρυσθέος*), and communicating with Herakles through a herald bearing the lowly name Kopreus (*Il.* 15.641, *Argum. Eur. Hkld.*). Comedy makes jokes about the poor demesmen of Kopros (*Ar. Eq.* 899, *Eccl.* 317), and the story of King Eurystheus in his jar is surely comical. Poor Demos in his straitened circumstances had to dwell in *πιθάκναι* (*Eq.* 792), but Diogenes the Cynic did so by choice. One can imagine children playing in those enormous pots.

It was while on this Labour that Herakles accidentally shot Cheiron (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.83–7); the incident is represented in our corpus by Pher. fr. 83. See §15 for discussion.

§8.4.5 THE AUGEIAN STABLES (Hek. fr. 25; Hellan. fr. 113; Herod. fr. 34; Pher. fr. 79)

The earliest literary allusions to this Labour (the artistic record does not begin until the metopes on the temple of Zeus at Olympia, *LIMC* Herakles no. 2302; Paus. 5.10.9) indicate that Augeias, like Laomedon of Troy and his horses (below, p. 311), failed to pay Herakles the fee he had promised him for cleaning out the stables (*Il.* 2.628–9; Pind. *Ol.* 10.26–38). In Kallimachos (fr. 77) and in Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.88–91), Augeias declines to pay the fee when he learned that Herakles had been ordered to do the job anyway; in Apollodoros, Eurystheus then declined to count this as a Labour because he did it for money (even though he did not get paid). The motifs of diverting the Alpheios and that he had to do the task in one day first appear in Diod. Sic. 4.13.3.

⁵⁸ At *Hel.* 381–3 he suggests yet another version, in which Taygete is transformed into a deer by Artemis not to help her escape Zeus's attentions, but as punishment for having responded to them. The chase of the hind is mentioned also in fr. 740. Euripides in *HF* 379 places the hind at Oinoe in the Argolid, near Mt Artemision (Paus. 2.25.3); this Labour is thus one possible context for Hek. fr. 4 (→§20). Kallimachos, *Hymn* 3.107–9, is the first to call the hind Keryneian (after the mountain in Achaia). Apollodoros says 'Kerynitian' after the river (Paus. 7.25.5), but puts the hind at Oinoe nonetheless. Cf. Robbins, *Phoenix* 36 (1982) 295 n. 1.

⁵⁹ On Taygete and Orthia, cf. Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece* 161.

⁶⁰ Köhnken, 'Mythical Chronology' 55–6.

⁶¹ 'Olive Trees, North Wind, and Time'; see also Krummen, *Pysos Hymnon* 255–63.

⁶² Apollonios' text is slightly problematic, but with the reading *ἐνὶ πρώτῃσι* ... *ἀγορήσι* (an easy change) he appears to have Herakles bring the boar right into the town, depositing it at market's edge, i.e. before a no doubt terrified crowd; the expression as in *Il.* 19.50, the plural as at Soph. *OT* 20. The scholion does not justify the idea that Apollonios had not the choice *ἀγορήσι* but something approximating to Herodorus' *πόλαι*. Cf. E. Livrea, *Gnomon* 49 (1977) 12 = id., *Studia Hellenistica* 1.103.

⁶³ Overview in Gantz 389; *LIMC* Herakles nos. 2105–7, 2113–36.

Herakles of course takes his revenge. The scholion to Plato which quotes **Pher. fr. 79a** offers three accounts of the proverb 'against two not even Herakles (can fight)'. The third relates to the Hydra (above, §8.4.2). The first two appear at first sight to be quite distinct explanations, but given the equivalence of athletes and warriors in Greek myth they have similar valency. In the first account, quoted from Douris (ob. post 281 BC), Herakles was defeated in an athletic contest; having 'established an altar by the Alpheios', i.e. founded the Olympic Games, and won in the boxing, he was then defeated in the following Olympiad in wrestling by 'Elatos and Pherandros'.⁶⁴ They are not said to be unusual in any way in this brief scholion, and the parallel accounts add the thoughtful explanation that Herakles was over-confident and so offered to wrestle two opponents at once; but it is likely that we have here a pair of Siamese twins, as the Molionidai clearly are in the early artistic record and other literary texts (including **Pher. fr. 79b**), who compete as a duo in the Games because they have no choice (cf. *Il.* 23.638–42). In the second account, Herakles is defeated by the Molionidai Kteatos and Eurytos in battle during his campaign against Augeias, and was obliged subsequently to kill them by laying an ambush rather than in open combat. Echephylidas is the main authority cited, who says that when Herakles reached Bouprasis in his flight, he paused and saw that he was no longer being pursued; so he drank from a refreshing spring, and declared it to be 'Sweet Water'. The spring still exists on the road from Dyme to Elis. Pherekydes, Komarchos and Istros are said to have the same information; Istros will be the source of the other two, but probably not of Echephylidas and Douris. One cannot of course infer that all these authorities told both of the battle/ambush and the aition; from fr. 79b we know that Pherekydes at least had the fighting.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ The correct text of the scholion is now clear from Cufalo's new edition of the Platonic scholia: *νικήσαντα πάλιν ἀγωνιζόμενον ὑπὸ Ἑλαίου καὶ Φεράνδρου πάγῃ ληφθῆναι*; both *πάλιν* and *πάγῃ* are in the MS. Hermann wanted to read *πάλιν* and *πάγῃ*; Cufalo wonders whether the first might be right, as the parallel sources in the paroemiographical tradition say the second round was also a boxing match. 'Elatos' is Hermann's sagacious emendation for the non-name 'Elaios' of the single MS (there are no *recentiores*); the parallel sources have substituted 'Laios'. The 'snare' by which the Molionidai defeated Herakles, if it is the right reading, is obscure and may be a confusion on the part of the commentator. (Rudolf Kassel asks whether it could be the name of some special trick in wrestling, *τεχνικώτατον καὶ πανουργώτατον τῶν ἀθλημάτων* according to Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 2.4 p. 638d.) Though this scholion is by far the fullest account we have, it does not follow that it is the least corrupt.

⁶⁵ The scholion from *ἡττηθῆναι τοῦ ὕδαρος* in l. 12 has now turned up in *P.Oxy.* 4942, from the Athoan recension of Zenobios; it continues with a quotation of Euphorion rather than Pherekydes, unfortunately truncated (though apparently involving the river Inachos). The correspondence between the papyrus and the scholion is close (the papyrus has *ἐπ' Αὐγείαν, προσαγορεύσαι τοῦτον*, and *ἀδὺ ὕδαρ* twice, the first time rightly as against the scholion, the second time wrongly). The divergence at l. 12 suggests that the scholion here has switched sources; hence my inference above about Istros. A. Benaïssa, editor of the papyrus, was not able to consult Cufalo's new edition of the scholia, so refers as I did in *EGM* 1 to the non-existent *recentiores* (a misunderstanding of Greene's vague *vulg.* for which one may be forgiven). Hermann suggested amending *Σαδὺ ὕδαρ* to *Βαδὺ ὕδαρ* on the basis of Paus. 5.3.2; though that is a different context, the coincidence is intriguing. Perhaps we have to do with multiple interpretations and localizations, changing over time, of a local landmark that had a dialect name: *σαδύ* and *βαδύ* could both derive from *Φαδύ*; see Thévenot-Warelle, *Le Dialecte grec d'Élide* 73–5; Minon, *Les Inscriptions éléennes dialectales* 2.566. Cf. also Hsch. β38, β72. Martin West suggests to me a possible original spelling **οαδύ*, comparing **Οαξος/Φάξος*.

The crossover between athletes and warriors is clear in the continuation, in which we learn that Herakles lay in wait for the Molionidai as they were on their way to the Isthmian Games;⁶⁶ a less obvious indication is that Bouprasis, or Bouprasion as Homer has it, was the site of the funeral games in honour of the Epeian Amarynkeus, at which the Molionidai defeated Nestor in the chariot race (*Il.* 23.638–42). The combination is very clear both in Pindar's account, *Ol.* 10.26–38 and in Apollodoros', *Bibl.* 2.139–42, which appear to be the same: Augeias declined to pay Herakles his wage for clearing the stables; Herakles led an army against him, but it was defeated by the Molionidai (Apollodoros explains that Herakles was ill and arranged a truce, but when the Molionidai found he was absent, they attacked the army—a face-saving story for the hero, perhaps derived from Pherekydes); Herakles later (on the third Isthmiad thereafter, says Apollodoros) ambushed them at Kleonai (en route to the Games), and went on to sack Elis. He *then* founded the Olympic Games. Roughly the same story is envisaged at the end of **Pher. fr. 79b**, where we are told that the Molionidai were formidable athletes *and* warriors. The paroemiographers who parallel fr. 79a⁶⁷ collapse the two explanations in **Pher. fr. 79a**, and say simply that Herakles founded the Games and was defeated the next time by two boxers; abbreviated and simplified, to be sure, but the confusion is reasonable.

It is pretty clear that in archaic poetry now lost to us these Siamese twins were the object of some curiosity (the artistic record suggests as much)⁶⁸ and that they were formidable athletes and warriors, Augeias' principal champions. To defeat Augeias, Herakles had to defeat the Molionidai. Revealing is *Il.* 11.709, where Nestor is telling of his exploits against the Epeioi: he says that the Molionidai were still young, and at 750–2 he says he would have killed them had not their 'father'—doubtless Poseidon—saved them. Clearly they have a reputation already in epic as the great champions of the Epeioi. The story of the denied fee is also alluded to at *Il.* 2.628–9 (cf. schol. D). But, in Pindar and elsewhere, the sequel to Herakles' victory is the foundation of the Olympic Games.⁶⁹ It is easy to read the battle and the Games as equivalent: guest-cheater Augeias (as Pindar calls him) and his violent (*ὑπερφύλοι*), unnatural champions must be

⁶⁶ This detail may be a late classical or post-classical refinement: see G. Anderson's *BNJ* comm. on Echephylidas 409 F 1.

⁶⁷ Principally Dinon *FGHHist* 690 F 2 (ap. *Suda* 0780 = Paus. Att. 030 Erbse), *Suda* 0794, Zenob. vulg. 5.49.

⁶⁸ See *LIMC* s.v. Aktorione: all 16 identified depictions interestingly date from the period 760 to 690 BC except for the Amyklai throne (Paus. 3.18.15); thereafter, they disappear from view. Perhaps artists found the visually similar story of the triple-bodied Geryoneus (below, §8.4.10) more congenial, which is well represented in subsequent centuries. Discussion also in Dasen, *Jumeaux, jumelles* 148–52. If the scholion accurately reported Pherekydes (which may be doubted), his version of the twins—each one had two heads, four arms, and four legs—was unique.

⁶⁹ For this tradition about Herakles see also §1.7.3. On the subject generally see Instone, 'Origins of the Olympics'.

eliminated for the sake of peace and good order (which the Games symbolize). Scholars have from time to time been tempted to read this story as anti-Eleian;⁷⁰ perhaps it is; it would complement the Eleian tale of the Daktyl Herakles as anti-Doric, if that is what it is.⁷¹ But if we recall that Augeias was Epeian rather than Eleian, one can argue just the opposite: he belongs to the pre-Eleian substrate whose ousting, more symbolic than historical, is part of the Eleians' charter myth whereby they laid claim to the Olympics and Hellenism. Kallimachos fr. 77, commanding that the rule of Elis be handed over to Augeias' good son Phyleus, can easily be read in the same light.⁷² When the Eleians built the new temple of Zeus at Olympia, Herakles' cleansing of the Augeian stables made its first appearance in Greek artistic history (Scott, *Delphi and Olympia* 184).

The danger of too-confident reading of such stories is illustrated by the explicit report in *Hek. fr. 25* that Herakles led the *Epeians* against Augeias. (Or—what comes to the same thing—this is a mark of how easily they could be deployed for quite different purposes.) Strabo in the same passage quotes *FGrHist* 1 F 121, that Hekataios said Dyme was both Achaian and Epeian. It is possible to see this as reflecting a late sixth-century claim by the people of Dyme that they were the true heirs of the Epeioi, not the Eleians.⁷³ On Eleians and Epeians see further §4.2.

As the Games have come up it is convenient to treat *Hell. fr. 113* on the Hellanodikai, and (below) Herod. fr. 34 on the altars of the Twelve Gods. Pausanias 5.9.4–6 gives a fairly detailed history of the Olympic officials: initially, there was but one ἀγωνοθέτης (Iphitos; then the descendants of Oxylos); in the 50th Olympiad (580 BC) they appointed two ἀγωνοθέται by lot; in the 75th (480 BC)⁷⁴ they appointed nine Hellanodikai. In the second Olympiad after that (472 BC), they added a tenth. In the 103rd (368 BC) they started appointing one from each of the 12 Eleian tribes. After a war with the Arkadians and loss of territory they were reduced to 8 tribes and 8 Hellanodikai in the 104th Olympiad (364 BC). Finally in the 108th Olympiad (348 BC) they came back up to 10 and so it remained. In addition there is Aristotle's *Constitution of the Eleians* (fr. 492 Rose), which is quoted by Harpokration s.v. 'Ἑλλανοδίκαί: Ἀριστοτέλης Ἡλείων πολιτεία τὸ μὲν πρῶτον φησιν ἓνα καταστῆσαι τοὺς Ἡλείους Ἑλλανοδίκην, χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος

β', τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον θ'. Ἀριστόδημος δ' ὁ Ἡλείος (*FGrHist* 414 F 2a; fr. 2b is quoted with our fr. of Hellan.) φησὶ τοὺς τελευταίους τῶν ἀγῶνα Ἑλλανοδίκας εἶναι ἑ, ἐφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς ἓνα. Finally *Anecd. Bekk.* 1.249.4 says first nine, then ten, then fifty.⁷⁵ Behind all of this lay Hippias' account of the Olympic Victors, who might have linked changes in the numbers of officials to dates which provided the epochs he used to construct his whole edifice.⁷⁶ It is very difficult if not impossible to reconcile these data, and therefore to determine what Hellanikos might or might not have said (which is rendered problematic already by his being bundled together with Aristodemos in the citation, and by corruption in the Pindaric scholia).

The custom of dedicating an altar to two or more deities was not uncommon in Greece.⁷⁷ Herodotos' six altars (fr. 34) for twelve gods at Olympia are mentioned by Pindar (*Ol.* 5.5, cf. 10.48–9)⁷⁸ and are attested also by Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.141, emended). The pairings will relate to local exigencies of cult and mythic associations which are at this distance difficult to recover. Unusually, male and female Olympians are separately paired (Long, *The Twelve Gods* 155). Pausanias gives an exceptionally detailed account of the altars at Olympia, some 70 in number (5.14.4–15.9).⁷⁹ Some of these would have existed in Herodotos' day, but (as one would expect) there had clearly been a proliferation; moreover, the pairs had changed. Of Herodotos' pairs, Zeus and Poseidon are plausibly restored in a lacuna at 5.14.4; Alpheios and Artemis are mentioned at 14.6, Apollo and Hermes at 14.8, the Charites and Dionysos at 14.10. Athena and Hera receive various honours, but separately; Kronos and Rhea are not mentioned at all.

In two cases, Pausanias helpfully provides an aition for the shared sacrifice. In the case of Apollo and Hermes, they share an altar because one invented the lyre, and the other the kithara. This is not, I believe, the first reason a modern scholar would think of for pairing these gods at the venue of an athletic competition; one would think rather of their association with youth and masculinity. Furthermore, there were no competitions for the lyre and kithara at Olympia.⁸⁰ Yet assistance may come from the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, in which the Hermes plays his lyre for Apollo by the Alpheios, where he had hidden the cattle (418–33). These are the ancient amusements of the herdsmen who met in the Alpheios valley long before the Games. In a similar way, the Charites and Dionysos (who go very well together: e.g. *PMG* 871 (the Eleian women's song), *Pind. Ol.* 13.18–19, *Paus.* 9.38.1) relate to the atmosphere and activities around the edges of the

⁷⁰ S. Hornblower, *Thucydides and Pindar* 113–14 after Huxley, *Pindar's Vision of the Past* 38–40; cf. Ulf, 'Die Mythen um Olympia'. It is perfectly possible that the Eleians used the Augeias myth to claim Herakles for themselves, while the Spartans saw the Herakles myth as countering the Eleian myths discussed in §4.2.

⁷¹ Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 130, putting 'Miss Harrison' in her place (*Themis* 372); Hubbard, 'Pindar, Heracles the Idaean Daktyl, and the Foundation of the Olympic Games'; and Luebbert already in 1881 (*Dissertatio de Pindari carm. Ol. decimo*). Cf. §14.1 on Pelops as the Pisatan hero vs. the Eleian Herakles.

⁷² That the scholia to the *Iliad* (11.700, 2.629) which give the basic *historia* call Augeias here 'king of Elis' has no weight. In Kallimachos, the story appears to be the aition of a nuptial festival: also symbolizing the good order of society.

⁷³ Moscatti Castelnovo, 'Dyme achea ed epea'.

⁷⁴ The MSS give '25th'; Boeckh suggested '95th' = 400 BC which Jacoby favoured on the grounds that it gave better sense to Pausanias' statement that the previous regime had lasted ἐπὶ πλείστον. Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists* 494 n. 9.

⁷⁵ The parallel passage *Etym. Magn.* 331.24, evidently corrupt, says nine, then two, then eight.

⁷⁶ See Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists* ch. 2 and Appendix 12 (493–8 on the Hellanodikai, with further references).

⁷⁷ Maurer, *De aris*; Reisch, *RE* 1.2.1657–9; Gebhard, *RE* 4A.1.1093–5.

⁷⁸ 'μετὰ "among"', Gildersleeve rightly; Alpheios and Kronos are not additional to the twelve. See Long, *The Twelve Gods* 155.

⁷⁹ See Maddoli and Saladino's full commentary; also Ziehen, *RE* 18.1. 48–71 and Mallwitz, 'Cult and Competition Locations at Olympia' 91–3.

⁸⁰ Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists* 16.

Games rather than to the athletics. For Artemis and Alpheios, Pausanias gives the aition at 6.22.9: Alpheios fell in love with Artemis, and having failed to persuade her to accede to his request, resolved to attempt force. He went along to a *παννυχίς* that Artemis and her maids were celebrating, but she suspected he might try something and told them all to plaster their faces with mud, so that he could not tell her and them apart. Alpheios went away frustrated of his desire. The story presumably relates to a ritual of some kind at Letrinoi, where the story is situated, involving youths of both sexes; plastering the face and wearing masks are paralleled in other such cults.⁸¹ It seems unlikely that this was the reason for the pairing in Herodotos' time (Pausanias has also to explain why this ritual was significant for the Eleians). Alpheios, certainly, received special honours at Olympia (*Il.* 11.728; Pind. *Ol.* 10.48–9, where the scholia explain, or perhaps guess, that the water for sacrifice could be drawn from no other source); anyone who has visited the lush site can appreciate the reason. The altar for Kronos and Rhea (who are worshipped together also in Athens, Paus. 1.18.7) will relate somehow to Mt Kronion (Pind. *Ol.* 10.50).

Pausanias lists the altars according to the order in which they were visited on the one day of the month when they all received offerings; from this it appears that the six altars for pairs of gods were not contiguous. They might have been in Herodotos' day for all we know, and indeed the story indicates that they were founded as a collective, perhaps at some key juncture in the sanctuary's history, such as the consolidation of Eleian control in the sixth century, or in the flush of pan-Hellenic feeling at the Games of 476.⁸² However, one can think also that a strategic distribution of the altars round the Altis, joined together in a ritual itinerary, might make an effective point about the collective protection of the gods just as well as putting them all in the same place. Single altars for a corporation of twelve gods are widely attested;⁸³ also attested are the functionally similar altars for all the gods (e.g. at mythical Argos, Aisch. *Supp.* 222; at Olympia, Paus. 5.14.8). The idea of twelve gods representing the pantheon is probably an import from Hittite myth; as representing that pantheon, the establishment of an altar or altars for the twelve is a foundational act, appropriate for the Olympic Games or for the new start after the flood (Hellan. fr. 6; → §3.2).⁸⁴

⁸¹ Burkert, *HN* 170 = *HN* 190–1.

⁸² L. Weniger, *ARW* 20 (1920–1) 72–3, favours the 6th-c. reorganization, noting that some of the gods (Athena, Poseidon, Dionysos, the Charites) were at home in Elis, while Alpheios, Kronos, and Rhea are at home in Olympia; the altars bring the two cities' gods together.

⁸³ For the evidence see Weinreich's exhaustive article in Roscher, *Lex. s.v. Zwölfgötter*; for general discussion, Long, *The Twelve Gods*; Georgoudi, 'Les Douze Dieux'; Rutherford, 'Canonizing the Pantheon'.

⁸⁴ I. Rutherford, 'Canonizing the Pantheon' 53. Bremmer in his introduction to the volume (p. 6) notes Alk. fr. 349e 'one of the twelve' as the earliest evidence for the corporation. Hermes in the Homeric *Hymn* (128) allots twelve portions of meat.

§8.4.6 THE STYMPHALIAN BIRDS (Hellan. fr. 104; Pher. fr. 72)

Stymphalos is in north-east Arkadia (*IACP* no. 296), and in the canonical order is the last of the 'Peloponnesian' Labours before Herakles ventures further afield. This is the most puzzling Labour, because the least impressive. No early source tells us either in words or pictures that these birds were monstrous, so one assumes, as did Diodoros (4.13.2: *ὡς ἔουκεν*), that they were simply enormous in number, and did a lot of harm; Pausanias, on the other hand, says they were man-eaters (8.22.4), and that there are similar ones in Arabia. The story never had much purchase in popular imagination; it is absent in vase-painting after the end of the sixth century. Of the rattle given to Herakles, probably by Athena, according to some people (not Hellanikos) made by Hephaistos (Hellan. fr. 104b; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.93), there is no trace in early art, in which he usually shoots the birds with his bow, sometimes using other weapons such as a sling or his club, or his bare hands (*LIMC* Herakles nos. 2241–71). The earliest literary reference, Peisandros fr. 4, has the rattle, and the birds are not killed. Pher. fr. 72 says that he both flushed them out with his rattle and killed them, thus combining versions. The scholiast reporting Hellan. fr. 104a says that Hellanikos had a 'similar' story, but in fr. 104b we are told that according to him Herakles made the rattle for himself, which is one example among many of how loose a term 'similar' can be in these sources; but probably Herakles killed the birds. Also in Pherekydes we have an example of the 'says not' idiom: Mnaseas is quoted for a rationalizing version, which Pherekydes 'denied'. The situation is of course not that Pherekydes went out of his way to deny that the Stymphalides were women; he simply told the usual myth, in which they were birds.

In later sources, Diodoros (loc. cit.) and Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.92–3) have the rattle; Apollodoros says Herakles banged it against a mountain beside the lake, a curious detail. In Diodoros Herakles does not shoot the birds, in Apollodoros he does. Apollonios of Rhodes, in the passage upon which our scholiasts are commenting (2.1036), implicitly compares the birds to those of Ares confronting the Argonauts; these are indeed monstrous, using their feathers like arrows. (This has been transported back the other way in Hyg. *Fab.* 30.6: Stymphalian birds are arrow-shooting birds of Ares.) Amfidamas points out that they simply have not enough arrows to kill them all—not even Herakles could defeat the Stymphalian birds that way. It is a pragmatic question that did not occur to Pherekydes, and typical of Apollonios' sly mischief in such matters.

Pausanias (8.22.7) reports a temple of Artemis Stymphalia, with acroteria in the shape of these birds, and statues of maidens with birds' legs in the precinct, suggesting a myth of metamorphosis; scholars have therefore surmised that a link exists between this myth of Herakles and girls' rites of maturation, with Herakles performing the role of the bogey, and/or giving the aition for the role of boys in a festival. Herakles appears on

the reverse of some Arkadian coins alongside Artemis on the obverse.⁸⁵ If we have an example here of the migration from local to pan-Hellenic myth it is one of the least successful instances.

§8.4.7 THE CRETAN BULL (Akous. fr. 29)

The story of Zeus' transformation into a bull to carry Europe to Crete, attested for the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 140-1) and Bacchylides (fr. 10), is canonical. Akous. fr. 29 is the earliest authority to claim that Zeus sent a real bull to do the work; so also Diod. Sic. 4.60.2, 5.78.1, and cf. schol. Arat. *Phain.* 167. Euripides, fr. 820, seems to have both versions: fr. 820(a) (Eratosth. *Katast.* 14 and parallel sources; see Kannicht ad loc.) is unambiguous that it was a substitute bull (Zeus could not have catasterized himself), whereas fr. 820(b) (John Malalas *Chronicles* 2.7 Thurn = 2.8 Jeffreys-Scott) says just as clearly that the bull was Zeus in disguise. It is hard to see how these two statements could be reconciled, and one suspects the citations are from two different plays, unless Malalas was careless, or Euripides did not in fact mention the catasterism. Yet Ovid says simply that Zeus changed back into his divine form, and *taurus init caelum* (*Fasti* 5.617); he is not alone among later writers in playing on the ambiguity (Gundel, *RE* 5A.1.56-7), and one wonders whether already Aischylos' less than clear wording, as it survives in fr. 99, deliberately leaves the question open—is it Zeus, or is it a bull?—which is a common question in cases of metamorphosis, and need not always be seen as a problem (Buxton, *Forms of Astonishment*). Curiously, the same issue arises in one version of Taygete's story: having been changed back from hind to human, she dedicated 'the' hind (not 'a' hind) to Artemis (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3.53c).

When, however, Akousilaos equates this bull with the one captured by Herakles, there is no ambiguity. There were many stories of gods being transformed into animals, and if Akousilaos rejected one on principle, the way was open to rejecting them all. Nonetheless, as Jacoby remarks, Akousilaos allowed this bull to retain something of its supernatural character, if it could live so long—if, that is, he even noticed the chronological problem.

Apollodoros, having quoted Akousilaos, reports an alternative view that it was the bull that Pasiphae loved (cf. Diod. 4.13.4, Paus. 1.27.10, schol. Arat. *Phain.* 167), and that after its release in the Peloponnese it wandered to Marathon, where it caused much harm; this is then the Marathonian Bull which Theseus dispatched (Ov. *Met.* 7.434, Paus. 1.27.10, Myth. Vat. I 1.47 draw the connection). In the Cretan case, the mythographer who has decided the bull was not Zeus must then ask the logical question, where did it come from; the question arises with the Marathonian Bull from the start, and

⁸⁵ See Moggi and Osanna on Paus. loc. cit. with full references (add Dowden, *Death and the Maiden* 179-81). If we knew the context of the rattle-shakers on some Late Geometric vases from Attica, some of which depict birds, there might be something relevant (for the vases, R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 282-3).

equating the two is a typically tidy move. It has usually been thought, in fact, that 'Theseus' adventure is copied from Herakles', though Gantz (395) sounds a note of caution.

§8.4.8 THE MARES OF DIOMEDES (Hellan. fr. 105)

The Labour figured on the throne of Amyklai (Paus. 3.18.12), but Pausanias' description is unspecific (Herakles is 'taking revenge upon' Diomedes). In plastic art it next appears on one of the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, but from the end of the sixth century two Attic vases revel in the grisly depiction of the man-eating mares.⁸⁶ Literary evidence begins with two passages of Pindar: the second Paean (D2 Rutherford) for the Abderites opens with an apostrophe of the eponymous hero, said to be son of Poseidon and the Naiad Thronia; and fr. 169a (expanded by P.Oxy. 2450) briefly tells the story of Herakles' Labour: he enters the stables by night, distracts the mares by feeding them the groom, and Diomedes (son of Ares) dies defending his possessions. Thereafter, Euripides at *Alk.* 481-506 introduces Herakles en route to the Thracian kingdom of the Bistones to fetch the mares; this is in the territory of Abdera (*IACP* no. 640). The qualities of the (four) mares and their king are described in frightening terms to Herakles, who responds that for him undertaking potentially lethal tasks and fighting sons of Ares is business as usual. Euripides briefly describes the Labour again at *HF* 380-8.

Hellan. fr. 105, reported by Stephanos of Byzantium α6, says only that Abderos was the son of Hermes, beloved of Herakles, and torn apart by the mares of Diomedes. After Hellanikos we must go all the way to Diodoros (4.15.3-4) to find the next literary reference. Diodoros gives the perhaps best-known version, which is that Herakles fed Diomedes to his own horses, who were thereby cured of their unnatural appetite; he does not mention Abderos. Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.96-7) has the kind of version we would expect normally to find in Diodoros: Herakles stormed the place at the head of an army (cf. Strabo 7 fr. 18); the Bistones launch a counter-attack; he leaves the horses with his beloved Abderos, a son of Hermes, from Opountian Lokroi, with unfortunate results. He then founds the city of Abdera beside his tomb. Abderos as Herakles' *ἐρώμενος* figures also in Philostr. *Imag.* 2.25, schol. Clem. Alex. p. 315.9 Stählin, and Ptolemaios Chennos ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 190 p. 147b (but with a quite different story: Abderos lives to tell 'Theseus of Herakles' death—and is killed for his troubles). Strabo loc. cit. mentions no more than his being devoured, but this probably implies Hellanikos' version (we may discount Ptolemaios' typically free invention); cf. also ps.-Skymnos 667-70 (slightly confused). The story about this *ἐρώμενος* as eponymous of the city is, then, reasonably consistent in the sources, except for Pomponius Mela, who says the city was named for Diomedes' sister Abdere (2.29).

⁸⁶ For the art, see D. Kurtz, *JHS* 95 (1975) 171-2; *LIMC* Herakles nos 2414-15; *LIMC* 1.1 s.v. Abderos.

Hellānikos has been suspected of inventing the Abderos story,⁸⁷ but it seems quite possible that the hero of Pindar's second *Paeon* is the same person, even if the mythographer gives him a different divine parent (Hermes instead of Poseidon). Hellānikos' Abderos, according to Apollodoros, was an Opountian Lokrian; in Ptolemaios ap. Phot. p. 150b, he is a brother of Patroklos, who is also Lokrian (*Il.* 18.326). In Pindar, Abderos' mother is Thronia, which finds an echo in the father's name according to the Tabula Albana, *IG XIV* 1293 = *FGrHist* 40 F 1a, Thronikos; and these both link to the Lokrian city of Thronion (*Il.* 2.533; E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 403; *IACP* no. 388). Other indications, however, point to nearby Euboia and Boiotia. Thronie was mother of Arabos by Hermes in Hesiod (fr. 137), who is part of the Agenorid/Kadmeian stemma (Pher. fr. 86; →§10.1). Arabos may then be Abderos' full brother in Hellānikos. The faintest of traces survive of a tribe called Arabes on Euboia (Strabo 10.1.8, Plut. *Thes.* 5.2); more interesting, however, is the story of Glaukos of Potniai in Boiotia, who fed his horses human flesh but was in the end devoured by them.⁸⁸ Glaukos is even dubbed Thracian (schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 1124), and there was a tradition of Thracians invading Boiotia and requiring eviction (→§5.4.1; Anthedon too was Thracian according to Lykoph. *Alex.* 754). Gruppe also notes a story set in Euboia of one Pyraichmes, tied to his horses by Herakles and torn apart ([Plut.] *Parall. min.* 7A p. 307c). One could think, therefore, that the stories about Herakles (Boiotian hero *par excellence*) defeating barbarous Thracians were originally at home in these parts, and were transferred northward. We know that the Chalkidians were among the first to colonize the north Aegean, but we do not know whether they or the Lokrians made an early attempt on this particular region; but it does look as if a tradition about the Lokrians was current at Abdera. The co-existence of an early founder and a later one—in this case, Timesios of Klazomenai (Hdt. 1.168, where see Asheri)—is unproblematic; cf. e.g. Herakleia Pontika (→§6.3.4).⁸⁹

§8.4.9 THE AMAZON'S BELT (Hek. fr. 7; Hellan. fr. 106–7, 186; Pher. fr. 15)⁹⁰

Hellān. fr. 186 is quoted by Strabo in his discussion of the Chaldaioi of Pontos, whom he identifies with the Chalybes, and these in turn with the Alybes (12.3.19–21); these are the people, he says, whom Homer calls Halizones (or Halizonoi; the form is ambiguous) in the Catalogue of Trojan Allies:

⁸⁷ Cf. I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans* 265, who has, however, got Abderos' identity wrong; we do not know who was devoured in Pindar fr. 169, but there is no reason to think it was Abderos.

⁸⁸ Asklepiades *FGrHist* 12 F 1; Gantz 175; first noted by Wilamowitz, *Euripides Herakles* 2.65; cf. Gruppe, *RE Suppl.* 3.1054. The source is probably Aischylos' play *Glaukos Potnieus*.

⁸⁹ For detailed discussion of the historical foundation see Tiverios, 'Greek Colonisation of the Northern Aegean' 91–9.

⁹⁰ Hellān. fr. 197A might be relevant to this Labour; see §18.2.4 n. 34.

αὐτὰρ Ἀλιζώνων Ὀδῖος καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἦρχον
τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη (*Il.* 2.856–7)

Strabo derides misguided attempts to place Alybe anywhere other than the south Euxine coast. He scorns those who emend 'Halizones' to 'Amazones' or 'Alazones'; this talk of Amazones/Alazones and Kallipidai and other such peoples living beyond the Borysthenes, he says, is the sort of nonsense you would expect from Eudoxos, Herodotos, or Hellānikos. The form of citation leaves us uncertain as to what exactly Hellānikos said, but the Kallipidai and the Alazones beyond the Borysthenes come directly from Hdt. 4.17. *Prima facie* the implication is that Hellānikos put his Amazons in this part of the world too. This accords with his statement that to reach Attika the Amazons crossed the Kimmerian Bosphoros when it was frozen in winter (fr. 167; →§16.3.3).⁹¹ Like Herodotos, he wrote a book on Scythia in which he discussed, among others, the Sauromatai (fr. 185; →§20), who were descended from the Amazons in Herodotos' famous story (4.110–17). Note, however, that Hellānikos spoke of Alybe, a Pontic harbour (fr. 146; →§18.3.4); so, although he put Amazons in the north, he was not among those who emended Homer's l. 857 to 'Alope' or 'Alobe'. This comes in fact from Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 F 114), also criticized in this passage by Strabo; 'Alope' was the former name of Ephesos or its hinterland,⁹² where Ephoros placed the Amazons.

The original home of the Amazons was around the river Thermodon, and Herodotos' story explains how the move happened: after 'the battle at the Thermodon' the Greeks (these must be companions of Herakles) were sailing away with their Amazon captives, who murdered them; but being unable to sail the ships, they drifted aimlessly until coming ashore around Lake Maiotis, where they encountered Scythians, and one thing led to another. This will be Herodotos' own hypothesis to account for perceived oddities in the behaviour of Sauromatai women, and to reconcile the two traditions of the Amazons' homeland; a good instance of his procedures, which are in fact quite scientific. One tradition about the Amazons may derive from the epic of Aristeas (→§20). Nascent ethnographic interests informed this poem, and the association of the historical Sauromatai and Amazons could spring from here. The same tradition is seen in sixth-century art when Amazons are shown wearing Scythian dress (*LIMC* 1.1.637). The other tradition derives from the early colonists of the south Euxine shore, and is reflected not only in Homer (*Il.* 3.188, 6.186) but in **Hek. fr. 7** (Themiskyra a plain

⁹¹ Dowden, 'The Amazons' 106. Dowden's article is a thorough and valuable recension of the mythographic tradition on the Amazons. I do not see why Jacoby on *FGrHist* 323a FF 16–17 says that Hellānikos put the Amazons on the Thermodon, and that in crossing the Bosphoros they were entering Europe. It is true that, since they could not sail, going west from Themiskyra would leave them puzzled at the Thracian Bosphoros, but crossing the Kimmerian Bosphoros does not require them to depart from the Thermodon. Cf. Lykoph. *Alex.* 1330–8, Diod. Sic. 4.28.2.

⁹² Plin. *NH* 5.115, Hyg. *Fab.* 14.3, Steph. Byz. a224, *Anecd. Oxon.* 1.80.11, *Etym. Magn.* 70.5.

stretching from Chadesia to the Thermodon; 'Chadesia' another name for Amazons),⁹³ Hek. fr. 34 ('Sanape' from the Amazon 'Sinope'; → §6.4.5) and Pher. fr. 15 (the Akmonian grove and the Doiantian Plain);⁹⁴ these (and Strabo's Chalybes) are all resumed in Ap. Rhod. 2.370–6, 984–1000 (the Chalybes too were in Hekataios, *FGrHist* 1 FF 202–3, where see Jacoby).

Also repeated by Apollonios is Pherekydes' genealogy for the Amazons, descending from Ares and Harmonia. Surprising though this may seem (Harmonia is elsewhere the daughter of Ares and wife of Kadmos), it is guaranteed by Apollonios and his scholia.⁹⁵ Perhaps the simple point is that to get Amazons to mate, some kind of harmony is required; or that the Amazons are an odd mix of ordered society (after their fashion) and horrific militarism.

References to Amazons in surviving early literature are not plentiful,⁹⁶ but they played a starring role in the *Aithiopsis* and riveted the Greek imagination from the beginning.⁹⁷ The Amazonomachy was a favourite theme for artists. The belt which was the object of the quest was a piece of military equipment, and art and literature alike make it clear that Herakles raised an army for the quest; the belt is then the trophy, and proof that he had defeated the Amazons. The earliest sources disagree about the queen's name; Apollodoros is actually the first to call her Hippolyte, which is indeed an Amazon name on vases, but not that of the queen. Hippolytos in Euripides' play is of course son of an Amazon; Euripides does not mention his mother's name, and it need not have

⁹³ There is a slight problem with the text (see the app. crit.); a male eponym Chadesios for the Amazons is not credible and would not normally have the definite article. Jacoby speculated that the river attested by Pliny, *NH* 6.9, might be in question. Fortunately nothing turns on it. Chadesia again in the *Periodos*, *FGrHist* 1 F 200, where see Jacoby. I do not see why Dowden, 'The Amazons' 105 says that Hekataios denies that Themiskyra was a city; it could be both plain and city, as Strabo 12.3.15, Pliny *NH* 6.9–10, *IACP* no. 732.

⁹⁴ The eponyms are brothers; when the scholiast says that according to Pher. their parentage is not recorded, this is his inference from Pherekydes' silence; Fowler, 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 77. Nothing else is known about these geographical features, but they appear to be traditional parts of the Amazon map.

⁹⁵ The Towneleian MS of schol. (D) *Il.* 3.189, which tells another story about Amazons, offers *Ἀρμενίας* (defended by Crusius in Roscher, *Lex.* 2.856), but the other witnesses have *Ἀφροδίτης*, and van Thiel reports T's reading as *Ἀρμυρίας*. Mygdon together with Otreus fought the Amazons (*Il.* 3.184–9); according to this scholion they are sons of Akmon and Dymas respectively (Dymas is father of Hekabe: Pher. fr. 186). A different Mygdon, brother of Amykos, king of the Bebrykes of Argonautic saga, is killed while Herakles is being entertained by Daskylos, in Phrygia, during his Amazon Labour (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.100, cf. Ap. Rhod. 2.774–91); another example of cross-fertilization between Heraklid and Argonautic traditions (see below).

⁹⁶ Gantz 398–9; Dowden, 'The Amazons' 99–109. In archaic literature: *Il.* 3.189, 6.186; *Aithiopsis*; *Nostoi* fr. dub. 2 Davies = fr. fals. 15 Bernabé = *FGrHist* 606 F 1 (→ §16.3.3); *EGF* fr. adesp. vel dub. 7 Davies = *SH* 1168; Ibyk. *PMGF* 299; an archaic epic attributed to Magnes in Nikolaos of Damaskos *FGrHist* 90 F 62. In classical literature e.g. Aisch. *Supp.* 287, *Eum.* 628, 685, *PV* 415–19, 723–8; Pind. *Ol.* 8.47, 13.87, *Nem.* 3.38, fr. 172; Bacchyl. 9.43; Epicharmos fr. 65 (in the play *Ἡρακλῆς ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν ζῶσσηρα*); Hdt. 4.110–17, 9.27.4; Eur. *Hipp.* 10, al., *HF* 408–18; *Ion* 1145; *Hkld.* 215–17; *Ar. Lys.* 678. On the Sauromatai see also Hippok. *Aer.* 17. Diodoros' account is at 4.16, Apollodoros' at *Bibl.* 2.98–102. For the art, Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art and LIMC*.

⁹⁷ For rich explorations of the myth and its resonances see Blok, *The Early Amazons*; Tyrrell, *Amazons*; duBois, *Centaurs and Amazons*; cf. also Dowden, 'The Amazons' 116–28 and Bremmer, 'Transvestite Dionysos' 192–3.

been Hippolyte, or a queen. Even among these powerful women, only Penthesileia in the *Aithiopsis* possesses a stable name and identity.

Herakles' expedition being to the same part of the world as the Argonauts, one predictably finds cross-overs between the two stories. Hellan. fr. 106 declines to adjudicate between competing claims and says roundly that every Argonaut went along with Herakles.⁹⁸ Before Hellanikos, we have specific references to Peleus (Pind. fr. 172) and Telamon (Pind. *Nem.* 3.38, *EGF* fr. adesp. vel dub. 7 Davies, if archaic; quoted with Hellan. fr. 106) as members of both crews; also Theseus in several passages, which are reserved (along with Pher. fr. 151–2 and Hellan. fr. 166–7) for discussion in §16.

Hellan. fr. 107 records the familiar etymology for the Amazons' name, that they lacked a right breast, which they cauterized before it grew so as not to impede their use of bow and spear.⁹⁹ The most favoured alternative in the long list of guesses is that they ate no bread (*μᾶζα*); this is not attested until quite late,¹⁰⁰ but is perhaps implied by Aischylos when he calls them 'meat-eaters' (*Supp.* 287). In art Amazons are almost always depicted with two breasts, but occasionally with one. Huld, 'Some Thoughts on Amazons', has argued that the real etymology is 'husbandless', which matches the main import of the legend; the popular etymology displaced it, but that the latter was neither inevitable nor original is supported by the artistic record.¹⁰¹

§8.4.10 THE APPLES OF THE HESPERIDES (Dam. fr. 2; Herod. fr. 13, 30; Pher. fr. 16–18, 73–4)

The most detailed account of this Labour is preserved in Pherekydes (fr. 16–17), but in order to understand what Pherekydes is doing we need to consider also his account of the Cattle of Geryoneus (fr. 18). Apollodoros' version of both these Labours (*Bibl.* 2.106–21) matches Pherekydes in important ways (though diverging in some, particularly in the order of these two Labours), and it is generally assumed that Pherekydes is here his principal source. There are also correspondences with the scholia to Apollonios, allowing us to reconstruct the original with some confidence.

⁹⁸ Some scholars have read this statement to mean that Hellanikos made the two expeditions into one. The aorist participle *πλευσάντας* in the syntax does not necessarily indicate that the Argonautic expedition was first (Apollonios 2.956, our earliest source to be clear on the point, puts it second), but it does indicate a class ('the Argonauts'). A present participle would have made it clear that they were helping Herakles while on their quest for the Fleece, if that were Hellanikos' meaning.

⁹⁹ Also Hippok. *Aer.* 17; Diod. 2.45.3; Strabo 11.5.1; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.98 (euphemistically); Arr. *Anab.* 7.13.2 (ditto); Justin 2.4.5. Amputation after growth: Schol. D *Il.* 3.189, Eust. *Il.* 402.35, *Etym. Gen.* s.v. *Ἀμαζόνες*, Tzetzes *Antehom.* 23. For other guesses see Roscher, *Lex.* 1.271 and M. Tichit, *RPh.* 65 (1991) 229–41; discussion in Blok, *The Early Amazons* 21–37.

¹⁰⁰ Schol. Aisch. *PV* 723e, *Etym. Magn.* 75.49; cf. Hdn. *II*, *δξρ*, 2.14.25 Lentz.

¹⁰¹ Huld's etymology was argued previously by Jacobsohn; Frisk, *Griech. etym. Wörterbuch* s.v., judges it unlikely. See also Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* 1.433 (δ = '[only] one').

According to Pherekydes, then (in Book 2), the Golden Apples were produced by Earth as a gift for Hera's wedding. Fr. 16b says they were produced near Okeanos' shore; fr. 16c says she brought them, boughs and all,¹⁰² to the wedding, whereupon the amazed Hera had them planted 'in the gods' garden, near Atlas'.¹⁰³ As his daughters were perpetually stealing them, she appointed a monstrous snake, child of Typhon and Echidna, possessing '100 heads and all manner of voices', to guard them.¹⁰⁴ At the beginning of his account, Apollodoros is emphatic that the apples were to be found with Atlas among the Hyperboreans, not in Libya. He then tells how Herakles set out in that direction, and coming to the river Echedoros battled first with 'Kyknos' and then with his father Ares. Lloyd-Jones has shown that 'Kyknos' here should be emended to 'Lykaon', relying among other things on *Etym. Gen.* p. 258 Miller s.v. *Πυρήνη* (text from Alpers ap. Lloyd-Jones);¹⁰⁵

Πυρήνη ἀπὸ Πυρήνης τῆς Ἡμέρου τοῦ Εὐρώπος, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ ἄλσος καλεῖται Πυρήνη. αὕτη δὲ Πυρήνη μινεῖσα Ἄρει ἐγέννησε Λυκάονα τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Κρηστώνων, ὃς ἰδὼν Ἡρακλέα διὰ τῆς Εὐρωπ<αίας> (Εὐρώπης codd.)¹⁰⁶ ἀπιόντα μόνον ἐπὶ τὰ χρυσὰ μῆλα καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τῆς Πυρήνης προκαλεῖται μονομαχῆσαι καὶ ἀναιρεῖται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

The Echedoros is the main river of Krestone in Makedonia, issuing just west of Thessalonica; the region of Europos lies to the west of the Echedoros (the town itself is just west of the Axios), so this entry fits the itinerary as described by Apollodoros and, we may presume, Pherekydes, who could be the ultimate source of both.

Also on this leg of the trip in Pherekydes is the encounter with Emathion (Pher. fr. 73). About this character, and why Herakles should kill him, ancient tradition is all but silent; Diodoros (4.27.3) makes him king of the Aithiopes, and says he attacked Herakles as he sailed up the Nile. This could be his own invention to fill the gap, an

¹⁰² For the text of fr. 16c see now Pàmias' edition; MS Q has in fact σὺν τοῖς κλάδοις.

¹⁰³ Compare how the nymphs' wonderful grove in *Hymn. Hom. Aphr.* 267–8 is called *τεμένη . . . ἀθανάτων*. The trees there are not immortal, but like their coeval nymphs very long-lived; these nymphs are neither gods nor mortals, but on the border, like (geographically) the Hesperides (for whose gardens, and trees, see Hes. *Th.* 215–16, 274–5, Ap. Rhod. 4.1422–30).

¹⁰⁴ The phrase in inverted commas recurs in fr. 16b and Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.113 (κεφαλὰς ἔχων ἑκατόν; ἐχρήτο δὲ φωναῖς παντοίας καὶ ποικίλαις).

¹⁰⁵ Lloyd-Jones, 'Lykaon and Kyknos'. Bothmer also reidentified several vase-paintings; see *LIMC* Suppl. 2009. 1.324–5.

¹⁰⁶ It would be absurd to say he was travelling through Europe as opposed to Libya at this point, and Lloyd-Jones rightly links this to the town named after the king; but this polis is always called Europos (*IACP* no. 536), except in Justin 7.1.6 *ex alio latere in Europa regnum Europus nomine tenuit*, where *Europa* is an easy emendation (alternatively, *Europia* with Voss). Hence my correction above ('through the region of Europos'). Pher. would have written *Εὐρωπαϊς*. It seems possible too that this phrase caused Apollodoros some trouble when he switched the order of the Labours: see below. Höfer in Roscher, *Lex.* s.v. Pyrene (3.3345) suggested *Πιέρου* for *Ἡμέρου*, which could be right. On the region see generally Hammond, *A History of Macedonia* 1.167–8.

example of mythographical *horror vacui*. Pherekydes is alone in putting Emathion in Makedonia, as the scholion implies; everywhere else he is vaguely eastern or Ethiopian (son of Eos).¹⁰⁷ This looks like the genuine tradition, perhaps from the *Aithiopsis*, as Emathion's brother Memnon was one of the epic's major characters. 'Emathia' was, however, an old name for Paionia in Makedonia,¹⁰⁸ etymologically probably denoting the sandy coastal region but inevitably linked to an eponym. For all we know it could be Pherekydes who equated this man with Herakles' opponent, an adventurous piece of scholarship which found no following.

Next in Apollodoros, Herakles heads through the territory of the Illyrians, which is a change of direction; he then finds the nymphs of the Eridanos, who advise him to go to Nereus, who will reveal the location of the apples and the Hesperides. This corresponds with fr. 16a, where the nymphs are identified as daughters of Zeus and Themis, and advise Herakles 'in his perplexity'; the change of direction perhaps already indicates that he was having difficulty finding the apples.¹⁰⁹ The Eridanos, one of the catalogue of rivers who are offspring of Tethys and Okeanos in Hes. *Th.* 337–45, ought to be real enough given the company it keeps there, but the ancients were unsure of its location; like his father he seems to be mythical. Herodotos (3.115; cf. Strabo 5.1.9) denies its very existence, in a tone suggesting that others had made a serious effort to place it on the map. One would guess he has Hekataios in mind, though Pherekydes fr. 74 on one reconstruction makes him the first to identify the Eridanos with the Po; but the parallel with the scholia to Aratos suggests another interpretation (see the app. crit.), in which he was the first to declare the river a constellation.¹¹⁰ It is also an argument that Pherekydes was 'untouched by all natural science' (Jacoby ad loc.) and we would not expect him to make the point that the Eridanos was 'really' the Po. He might have thought, indeed, that the river was the Po, but that that river, like the Phasis or the Nile, was effectively a passage to Okeanos, and conceptually on the edge of the map. We may assume that he thought generally of the north-west for this stage of Herakles' journey, which is where the consistent tendency of ancient identifications (Po, Rhône, connecting

¹⁰⁷ Hes. *Th.* 984–5 (son of Eos and Tithonos); Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.119 (son of Tithonos; killed in Arabia; a terse insertion in context, unlikely to be from Pherekydes); 3.147 (son of Eos and Tithonos; Ethiopian); IG XIV 1293 = *FGrHist* 40 F 1a (son of Tithonos, Ethiopian); Quint. Smyrn. 3.300 (lives by the river Granikos!).

¹⁰⁸ e.g. *Il.* 14.226, Strabo 7 fr. 6, Livy 40.3.3, Melisseus *FGrHist* 402 F 1, Justin 7.1.1; Oberhammer, *RE* s.v. Emathia; Hammond, *A History of Macedonia* 1.153–4.

¹⁰⁹ If Pherekydes had Herakles visit the Hyperboreans while chasing the Kerynitian hind, it implies that what he did not know at this point was that the apples were with the Hyperboreans, not the location of the latter. It seems likelier, however, that he set out in a northerly direction because he knew that the apples were with the Hyperboreans—but had little notion of where these people were, except that they were somewhere in the north.

¹¹⁰ On early catasterism see Pàmias i Massana, *Eratòstenes* 17–28 ~ Pàmias and Geus, *Sternsagen* 24–30. As soon as a constellation is given a human name (e.g. *Il.* 18.486–9), a catasterism is probably implied, and such stories must have figured in the Hesiodic *Astronomy*, but in fact the earliest telling of a catasterism myth is Pher. fr. 90 (the Hyades; → §10.8).

Adriatic and Baltic, somewhere in Germany, associated with the Heliades and amber) places the Eridanos.¹¹¹

So Herakles is now somewhere north of west; here he wrestles Nereus, hanging on while he changes first into water, then fire; defeated, Nereus resumes his normal shape and tells Herakles the route (fr. 16a).¹¹² From fr. 16c and 17, we see that in Pherekydes, as in others,¹¹³ the apples were guarded both by the Hesperides and the serpent. Fr. 16d says that according to Pherekydes the Hesperides were daughters of Zeus and Themis, which is the same parentage as fr. 16a gave for the nymphs of Eridanos; the scholion may be confused (the other explanation, that they were daughters of Atlas, is ruled out for Pherekydes by fr. 16c). In Hesiod they are daughters of Night.

At the beginning of fr. 17, we find Herakles at Tartessos: the scholiast writes ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Ταρτησσὸν πορεύεται εἰς Λιβύην, ἔνθα ἀναιρεῖ Ἀνταῖον κτλ. In Apollodoros' account, immediately after the encounter with Nereus he writes μαθὼν δὲ Λιβύην διεξέρχεται. ταύτης ἐβασίλευσε παῖς Ποσειδῶνος Ἀνταῖος κτλ. (2.115). Tartessos in his account, however, figures rather in the Cattle of Geryoneus (2.107):

πορευόμενος οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς Γηρυόνης βόας διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἄγρια πολλὰ <ζῶα> (suppl. Wagner coll. Diod. Sic. 4.17.3) ἀνελὼν (Wagner: παρελθὼν) Λιβύης ἐπέβαινε, καὶ παρελθὼν Ταρτησσὸν ἔστησε σημεῖα τῆς πορείας ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης ἀντιστοίχους δύο στήλας.

Herakles is then overheated by the sun, and aims his bow at Helios, who in admiration of his courage gives him his cup, with which he reaches Erytheia. This is an awkward narrative. Apollodoros can say little about the journey through Europe, and makes Herakles go to Libya merely in order to hitch a ride in the Cup of the Sun. He passes by Tartessos en route—since Stesichoros (PMGF 184) the nearest spot on the mainland to Erytheia—and erects his Pillars, but carries on to Libya. He then acquires the Cup, but only out of fatigue; unlike his narrator, he appears not to know where Erytheia is. That Herakles used the Cup of the Sun in this Labour is

¹¹¹ On the river see West on Hes. *Th.* 338; Asheri on Hdt. 3.115; Bloch in *BNP* s.v.; Simon, *LMC* 3.1 821; Leigh, *JHS* 118 (1998) 88–9; Bremner, 'The Golden Bough' 201; Sommerstein, *Aeschylus* 3.69. Choirilos (of Samos?) *SH* 332 put it in 'Gerania', Crane-land, where the Pygmaioi live, and Virgil even put it in the Underworld (*Aen.* 6.659).

¹¹² Kassel, *Kl. Schr.* 379, drew attention to a forgotten testimonium that Stesichoros had mentioned the fight with Nereus, reasonably attributed to the *Geryoneis* (PMGF 16(a), p. 160; M. Davies, 'Stesichoros' *Geryoneis*'). As Gantz remarks, the similarity of the two Labours meant that 'some of the travel procedures used and *parerga* performed appear now in one Labor, now the other' (404). Davies amply demonstrates the character of both Labours as *Jensettzfahrt* like the katabasis itself, and of Nereus as one version of the demon who must be defeated.

¹¹³ Hes. *Th.* 215–16, 274–5, 333–5, Panyassis fr. 14(?), 15, Eur. *HF* 394–407; Soph. *Trach.* 1099–1100 (admittedly brief) mentions only the serpent.

universal tradition,¹¹⁴ but it is poorly handled by Apollodoros. Compare now Diodoros: Herakles assembles his army (Diodoros as usual offering a rationalized version) on Crete, which he rids of harmful beasts; he then proceeds to Libya, where he kills Antaios and Bousiris, and dispatches more beasts, before reaching Erytheia. Later, when setting out for the Hesperides, he once again travels to Libya, where he kills Antaios and Bousiris all over again (4.273; as often, Diodoros is in need of copy-editing). Herakles plants the Pillars during the Geryoneus adventure (the Hesperides being in Ethiopia according to Diodoros).

Apollodoros' difficulty arises from his switching the order of the Labours as against his principal source Pherekydes, whence came the awkward διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης (see above; originally *Εὐρωπαίης*). The reason for the switch might have been to secure a progression in the Labours through increasingly remote and unreal places to culminate in the Katabasis (Erytheia being close to Gadeira).¹¹⁵ Or he was unsympathetic to Pherekydes' baroque elaborations. In Pherekydes, however, the narrative works better, despite its complications. Herakles proceeded from his fight with Nereus, somewhere in the far north-west, to Tartessos. We assume that Nereus told him he had to go to the Hyperboreans, but if he was already far in the west, it would have seemed just as easy to go through Gibraltar and on to Libya. This gave Pherekydes the opportunity to work in Antaios and Bousiris,¹¹⁶ together with the beast-slaying, at this point (fr. 17.7–8).

This itinerary involved passing through Tartessos for the first time, and we may assume, on the basis of Apollodoros, that Herakles set up his Pillars¹¹⁷ on this occasion, and that for Pherekydes 'Tartessos' denoted the whole of this area of Spain north of Gibraltar, not just the lower Guadalquivir valley further up the coast. Tartessos (perhaps the Biblical Tarshish) is well suited to the purpose of denoting the semi-mythical edge of the accessible world and the boundary of Libya and Europe, being the area explored by the Phoenicians already in the ninth century before Gadeira was settled (according to the archaeological indications).¹¹⁸ *Dam.* fr. 2 also mentioned the Pillars in an

¹¹⁴ Early references are *Titanomachy* fr. 10 (quoted with Akous. fr. 9–10); Peisandros fr. 5; Mimn. fr. 12, where see Allen's full commentary; Stesichoros PMGF S17; Panyass. fr. 12, 13, 15; Aisch. fr. 69; Antim. fr. 86. The artistic representations, eight in total, are confined to the period c.510–450 BC (*LMC* Herakles nos 2545–52 with Brize's commentary; Allen loc. cit. 97; Gantz 405). The earliest idea was obviously that Erytheia lay far off in Okeanos; it was later identified with the island just offshore from Gadeira.

¹¹⁵ So Scarpi ad loc. Van der Valk, 'On Apollodori *Bibliotheca*' 126, uses this as one of his arguments for emending 'Book 3' to 'Book 2' in Pher., so that in him too the Hesperides are the penultimate Labour. Emendation of book numbers is always risky, and it will be clear from my account that I do not regard his other objections to the narrative as cogent; and, as I have been arguing, one can see the traces of the switch in Apollod.

¹¹⁶ On these adventures see below §8.5.4.

¹¹⁷ The traditional mistranslation of *στήλαι*, by which a Greek audience would have understood inscribed plinths. But Pindar, who uses *στήλαι* twice (*Ol.* 3.44, *Isthm.* 4.12), also uses *κίονες* at *Nem.* 3.21, which suggests the Greeks themselves were uncertain as to their exact shape. (No one else calls them *κίονες*.)

¹¹⁸ Blech in *BNP* s.v.; Asheri on 1.163.2; Corcella on Hdt. 4.152.1–3; Braun, 'Hecataeus' Knowledge of the Western Mediterranean' 306–9; Roller, *Through the Pillars of Herakles* 4–7; Blakely, *BNP* on Herod. 31 F 2a.

unknown context, and estimated the distance between them as hardly seven stades.¹¹⁹ Such estimates figured in the earliest *Periploi* (e.g. Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 332); the Bosphoros at the other end of the Mediterranean attracted similar calculations (Hdt. 4.85, where see Corcella). The Straits of Gibraltar at their narrowest are in fact 13 km wide (Barceló in *BNP* s.v. Pylae [1] Gadeirides). The ancients were puzzled as to the exact location of the Pillars; Strabo 3.3.5–6 has a full doxography (where see Radt). The original idea that they marked the limits beyond which one must not pass indicates the Strait itself, being a gateway; compare the Symplegades in Argonautic myth.¹²⁰ Pindar (*Ol.* 3.43–5, *Nem.* 3.20–3 where see Pfeijffer, *Nem.* 4.69, *Isthm.* 4.11–13) puts them in Gadeira, but that is because for him and others Gadeira is on the Strait, as Tartessos is for Pherekydes, even though Phokaian traders would have known the details since the seventh century (Hdt. 4.8.2 has it 'right', in these terms). 'The Strait (or Gates) of Gadeira' is in fact the ancient name for this body of water (e.g. Pind. fr. 256). The special idea of two pillars, however, surely comes from the pair of pillars in front of the temple of Phoenician Melqart, near the bottom of the long island (Sancti Petri) south of Gadeira.¹²¹ The identification of Herakles with Melqart is uncontroversial already for Herodotos, who records the two *στῆλαι* in front of his temple at Tyre (2.44.2).¹²²

From Libya, Herakles proceeds to the outer sea, where he gets the Cup of the Sun from Helios. He will use it again for the Cattle of Geryoneus, as tradition demanded (fr. 18). The scholion does not say how Herakles got the cup from the Sun on the first occasion; Apollodoros also has the two trips, but has transferred the threat with the bow from the second trip to the first. It is often assumed that Pherekydes would not repeat the threat motif, but that is a dangerous common-sense judgement.¹²³

Herakles then uses the Cup to travel through Okeanos to Prometheus, who is indeed close to the Hyperboreans. This is a perfectly comprehensible, and suitably grand,

¹¹⁹ Cf. Philostr. *VA* 5.1 (60 stades; also Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 649, where however Scheer amends to 7); ps.-Skyl. 1, 111 (a day's sailing). Avienius, who quotes Damastes, may have got his sources confused: he goes on immediately to say that Skylax thought the Bosphoros and the Straits of Gibraltar were the same width, but ps.-Skyl. 67 gives the width of the Bosphoros as seven stades, which is Damastes' figure (according to Avienius) for Gibraltar. Pseudo-Skylax too might have misreported the original Skylax. Cf. Kaplan, *BNJ* comm. on Skylax *FGrHist* 709 F 8; Shipley on ps.-Skyl. loc. cit. Diod. Sic. 4.18.4–6 says that Herakles narrowed the originally much wider Strait so as to keep the monsters of Okeanos out, but reports a contrary view that he had split the continents asunder, as on a previous occasion he had created the Vale of Tempe!

¹²⁰ M. Davies, *Prometheus* 18 (1992) 217–26; Romm, *The Edges of the Earth* 17–19; Lightfoot on Parthen. fr. 34; Nesselrath, 'Halb- oder Falschwissen über die Klassische Antike' 71–82 and 'Le colonne d'Ercole'.

¹²¹ Polyb. 34.9.5 where see Walbank; Strabo 3.5.5 (Poseidon. fr. 246 Edelstein–Kidd), 3.5.7 (Poseidon. fr. 217); Diod. Sic. 5.20; Arr. *Anab.* 2.16.4 (quoting Hek. fr. 26); Philostr. *VA* 5.5; Walter, 'Zum Ursprung und Nachleben der Sage von den Säulen des Herakles'; *BNP* s.v. Gades.

¹²² West, *EFH* 464; Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes* 206–7. In general on this identification, see Malkin, 'Herakles and Melqart'.

¹²³ As was Jacoby's view that the cup should be deleted from fr. 17. He is, however, supported by the wording in fr. 18, which seems to explain the cup as if mentioned for the first time. But against this is the doubling in Apollodoros. We cannot safely judge the sensitivity of an ancient audience on such a matter.

itinerary. Prometheus then gives practical last-minute advice. The progression from Nereus to Prometheus is rather like that from Teiresias to Kirke in the *Odyssey*, where Kirke tells Odysseus he must consult Teiresias about the way home; from Teiresias, however, he learns different things, and it is Kirke herself who gives the practical instructions upon Odysseus' return. This was once seen as a sign of multiple authorship, and the insertion of the *Nekyia* into a pre-existing structure, but is better regarded as an authentic technique of archaic narrative. What Teiresias has to say comes as a surprise, and turns out to be far more important than a mere road map; the practical matters are then handled on the eve of departure. For Herodotos (fr. 30), Prometheus is a Scythian king; the story he creates there out of whole cloth is ingenious but gives no clue as to its context in the life of the hero.¹²⁴ As Scythians are north of the Black Sea, we can at least eliminate adventures in the south (the Amazons, Troy); the Mares of Diomedes, the Kerynitian Hind, the Hesperides, and the return from Erytheia are possibilities.

Once arrived, Herakles deploys the trick advised by Prometheus to acquire the apples.¹²⁵ In an alternative tradition he had to confront and kill the serpent himself (Panyassis fr. 15, Soph. *Trach.* 1099–1100, Eur. *HF* 397, Eratosth. *Katast.* 3). Pherekydes is the earliest literary source for the deception of Atlas, but it is found in art from the early sixth century.¹²⁶ The famous metope on the temple of Zeus at Olympia represents the story, including Herakles' cushion, synoptically. Herod. fr. 13 is the earliest testimony for the 'euhemeristic' interpretation of Atlas as a wise man, and the allegorical interpretation of his columns as knowledge of astronomy.¹²⁷ Herakles himself becomes a prophet and natural philosopher, and as if to defy conventional wisdom Herodotos makes Atlas a Phrygian, i.e. from the East. The *Suda* s.v. *Ἡρόδοτος* (η583 = Hes. test. 1 Most) reports that according to some authorities Atlas was ancestor of both Hesiod and Homer; the genealogy fits well in this allegorical context, and could derive from Herodotos. Interest in the genealogy and lives of Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus, and Mousaios are attested for the mythographers (Dam. fr. 11, Euag. fr. 2, Hellan. fr. 5, Herod. fr. 12, Pher. fr. 167; → §20), who will have drawn in part on Pythagorean sources.

¹²⁴ Diod. Sic. 1.19.1–3 tells the same story, but about Prometheus king of Egypt and the Nile (nicknamed 'Eagle'). Hawes, *The Rationalisation of Myth in Antiquity* 124, notes similar stories of Herakles dealing with floods at Paus. 8.14.1–3 and Diod. Sic. 4.18.6–7.

¹²⁵ For the story-type, see Hansen, *AT* 197–201.

¹²⁶ LIMC Herakles nos. 2676, 2682; Gantz 411. S. R. West (*MH* 51 (1994) 146 f., after W. Kranz), points out that the reference to guarding the apples in the *Titanomachy* (fr. 10) virtually guarantees that Prometheus gave Herakles his valuable tip already in the archaic epic. That in turn implies that Herakles shot the eagle; it is hard to imagine the whole scene consisting only in Prometheus' giving directions. The deception also features in the (probably post-classical) Atlas-drama, *TrGF* adesp. 655 = *Das griech. Satyrspiel* 624–31.

¹²⁷ Cf. e.g. Xenagoras *FGrHist* 240 F 32; Cic. *Tusc.* 5.8; Verg. *Aen.* 1.740–6; Diod. Sic. 3.60.2 = Dionys. Skyt. fr. 7, 4.27.4–5; Vitruv. 6.7.6; Paus. 9.20.3. See further Linforth, 'Diodorus, Herodorus, Orpheus'; Blakely, *BNJ* on this fr.; Wernicke, *RE* 2.2125. Atlas had already been rationalized in a different way, as a mountain, by Hdt. 4.184.3, where see Corcella (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.289?).

In Pher. fr. 18, we find Herakles using the cup for the second time. He threatens Helios with his bow in order to get it; the frightened god obliges him.¹²⁸ In fr. 18b we learn that for Pherekydes (though Strabo's *ἔθηκε* raises a doubt) Erytheia was the same as Gadeira (Cádiz), on the mainland. Therefore the cup was not needed to get from Gadeira to Erytheia, but from some other point; this was very likely in the far East, at dawn: the precise moment is depicted, with Eos present, in archaic vase-painting (Gantz 405), and may indeed be in Pherekydes' mind, given the run of words in ll. 4–6. While en route, Okeanos tries to intimidate Herakles, but the hero and his arrows are equal to the threat.

What this adds up to for Pherekydes' narrative, then, is this: Mykenai to Makedonia; Makedonia to Illyria, then the Eridanos somewhere in the north-west, to the Nymphs; to Nereus, same general compass point (but on Okeanos' edge); Tartessos; erects the Pillars; through Libya to the outer sea; to Prometheus through Okeanos in the Cup of the Sun; thence on foot to the Hyperboreans and the garden of the Hesperides. Back to Mykenai; sent to fetch the Cattle of Geryoneus; back to the place where the Sun disembarked from his Cup (a place he has been before, so now knows the way);¹²⁹ ambushes Helios and gets in the Cup; heads west to Erytheia; deals with a pesky Okeanos en route; fetches Cattle, returns Cup to Helios. We assume at this point that, as in Apollodoros and everybody else, Herakles in Pherekydes returns overland through Italy for his well-known adventures there.

There is no difficulty about this narrative, as scholars have sometimes argued.¹³⁰ Its tendency is clear, to glorify the hero by giving him the most ambitious possible

¹²⁸ Gods, like Okeanos in the following lines, or Aphrodite in the *Iliad*, can be afraid; Helios himself is a gentle soul (cf. Pind. *Ol.* 7). The transfer of *δέσας* is easy and all but necessary; it is not Herakles who is afraid of such encounters. Herakles' shooting Helios is attested in archaic art (e.g. *LIMC* Herakles nos 2545–6, 2458–9, *pace* Brize in *LIMC* in a manner consistent with Pher. fr. 18), so Pher. did not invent this idea; but Peisandros fr. 5 says that, though the cup was the Sun's, he got it from Okeanos, and Panyassis fr. 12 says he got it from Nereus. (There is little merit, and some clumsiness, in thinking that Okeanos is threatened twice in Pher. fr. 18.)

¹²⁹ Athenaios in introducing the fragments says a little mysteriously *προειπὼν περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανού*; presumably Pher. had reminded his readers that this is where Herakles had first to go to find Helios at the right moment.

¹³⁰ 'An odd itinerary that smells of compromise', Bond on Eur. *HF* 394–9; 'a preposterous concatenation of events', M. L. West, 'The Prometheus Trilogy' 145. Certainly Pher. has modified his predecessors, notably by moving the apples of the 'Hesperides' to the far North. Panyassis fr. 15 moved them to the far South, for unknown reasons; Pher. wished to work in Prometheus and the Hyperboreans (the known destination since his encounter with Nereus; West's joke about this falls away). And how did Herakles get to Prometheus, out there in the extreme East, on Okeanos' edge? He must have used the Cup of the Sun on this occasion too. I find this quite shrewd. There is also no reason to think that these two Labours were once one, just because they are both in the far West. Stesichoros, *SLG* 8, in bringing the Hesperides into conjunction with Erytheia (they are not so combined in Hesiod), is thinking creatively about received tradition. In Aisch. fr. 199, the *Prometheus Lyomenos*, which appears to follow Pher. (West *ibid.*), the sources report Herakles as en route either to the Hesperides or Geryoneus; obviously this is their confusion; Radt assumes the Hesperides. For Atlas in the far north see also Kritias *TrGF* 43 F 3.5 and (?) Eur. *HF* 403.

itinerary: not one, but two visits to Okeanos; passage through the whole width and length of Africa; and a visit to the Hyperboreans. The Cup of the Sun, traditional for Geryoneus, is doubled for the same reason (and it is all but certainly Pherekydes who has done the doubling). As often in early tales of faraway places, symbolism and narrative forces trump literal-minded considerations, especially those of people who have long used maps. Even the 'Daughters of the West' may live in the far North if it suits one to think so.¹³¹

§8.4.11 THE CATTLE OF GERYONEUS (Ag./Derk. fr. 1; Hek. fr. 26; Hellan. fr. 110–11; Herod. fr. 2, 35)

We have discussed this Labour to some extent in the preceding section because of its partial overlap with the Hesperides. Like that Labour, and Kerberos, the Cattle of Geryoneus is widely interpreted as a version of the ultimate challenge for the hero, a trip into the Beyond, to the world of the dead, like the quests of Jason and Perseus, and the wanderings of Odysseus; otherworldly motifs are liberally applied, creating an unearthly atmosphere, and heightening both danger and glory.¹³² Geryoneus is familiar from Hesiod (*Th.* 287–94, 982–3) as the monstrous son of Chrysaor, son of Medousa; his three bodies were proverbial (Aisch. *Agam.* 870).¹³³ His herdsman Eurytion, son of Ares and Erytheia according to Hellan. fr. 110, and born in a cave (Stesich. *PMGF* 184 = S7), is a Greek version of the Herdsman of the Dead.¹³⁴ Hekataios (fr. 26), however, drained the mythical colour from the story by making Geryoneus an ordinary king of Ambrakia and the Amphilochoi—not even as far out as Kerkyra, the usual domestication of the Phaiakes (Hellan. fr. 77), but fairly wild nonetheless ('no mean labour', reports Arrian). Pseudo-Skylax, *Periplus* 26, adds that Erytheia was in Kestris, beyond Thesprotia; this is somewhat further north, but it is possible that Hekataios, usually taken to be his source, extended Geryoneus' kingdom thus far.¹³⁵ Epeiroi cattle were highly reputed, and those of Kestris were even said to descend from those of Geryoneus (Arist. *HA* 522b 16; schol. Ar. *Pax* 925b = Lykos *FGrHist* 570 F 1; schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4.82a, 84); cf. Anton. Lib. 4.6, citing Nikandros fr. 38 Schneider, Athanadas *FGrHist* 303 F 1:

¹³¹ On the mental map of early Greek writers see Cole, 'I Know the Number of the Sand'; Nakassis, 'Gemination at the Horizons'; Romm, 'Continents, Climates, and Cultures'.

¹³² See esp. M. Davies, 'Stesichoros' *Geryoneis*; on Phaeacia, e.g. Hölscher, *Die Odyssee* 106–10.

¹³³ Hesiod in fact says three heads; for the various depictions in early art and literature see Gantz 402–3, *LIMC* s.v. Geryoneus with Brize's commentary. The three bodies seem firmly established, and 'three heads' probably implies the same thing; one reason for stressing the heads is that all three had to be lopped off for him to die, as artistic depictions (and Klytaimestra) imply.

¹³⁴ Davies, loc. cit. n. 23; Burkert, *SH* 85–98; Croon, *The Herdsman of the Dead*. Hellanikos is filling a gap left in the genealogy by Hesiod, *Th.* 293, who gives only Orthos' parents (Typhon and Echidna); cf. Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 8.299. His inclusion of Erytheia implies the location of the story in the far West, as usual.

¹³⁵ Cf. Thuc. 1.46.4, which Hammond, *Epirus* 447, argued was taken from Hekataios. Cf. Bouthrotos/n (*IACP* no. 91) in Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 106; Arist. *Mete.* 359a 25.

ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀπεδείκνυνεν Ἀμβρακίαν τε καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν Ἠπειρον οὖσαν ἑαυτοῦ πολεμήσαντας γὰρ αὐτῷ Κελτοὺς καὶ Χάονας καὶ Θεσπρωτοὺς καὶ σύμπαντας Ἠπειρώτας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κρατηθῆναι, ὅτε τὰς Γηρυόνοι βοὺς συνελθόντες ἀφελέσθαι.¹³⁶ Building on two items of tradition—the quality of Epeiroi cattle, and Herakles' sojourn there on the way back—Hekataios constructs a plausible rationalizing alternative (though Voigt, Roscher *Lex.* 1.1634, thought he might be echoing a local tradition). Given his stance, it is quite possible too that the information that Geryoneus was not triple-bodied, but a group of three brothers who did everything together, originates with him.¹³⁷ Following his lead, Palaiphatos (24) put Geryoneus in 'Trikarenia', supposedly on the Black Sea; he was also claimed by the Ainianes (Arist. *Mirab.* 133, p. 843b 15–844a 5)¹³⁸ and the Lydians (Paus. 1.35.7).

Given the number of adventures linked to Herakles' return journey,¹³⁹ it almost seems as if driving the herd back to Greece was a tougher Labour than stealing them in the first place. Of these adventures some are touched on in our corpus. The beginning of the journey seems to be represented in *Herod. fr. 2*, cited from the tenth book of the *Herakleia*. Fr. 3 is from the seventeenth, but as we have little idea of how Herodotos' work was constructed, we can draw no inference from these data about when in the course of his life the hero found himself in Iberia. But it is likely enough to have been while fetching Geryoneus' herd. For fr. 2, Avienius *Or. Mar.* 417–24 is an important parallel:

igitur columnae, ut dixeram, Libystidis
Europae in agro adversa surgit altera.
hic Chrysus amnis intrat altum gurgitem,
ultra citraque quattuor gentes colunt. 420
nam sunt feroces hoc Libyphoenices loco,
sunt Massieni, regna Selbyssina (Cilbicena Schulten) sunt
feracis agri et divites Tartessii,
qui porriguntur in Calacticum sinum.

After the Pillars, Avienius lists as the first European peoples Libyphoenices, Massieni, Selbyssini, and Tartessii. The Massieni and the Tartessii correspond straightforwardly

to two names on Herodotos' list. Schulten thought 'Selbyssini' was a mistake for 'Cilbiceni' (*Or. Mar.* 255, 303), and were the same as Herodotos' *Κελκιανοί*, so he emended Avienius' text in l. 422; but in fact they are the same as Herodotos' *Ἐλβυσίνιοι* (restored from this very passage, and from Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ὀλβύσιοι*).¹⁴⁰ The order in Avienius is thus the same as in Herodotos for the three matching names, except that Herodotos is moving south-east towards the Strait, Avienius north-west from it. There are then Avienius' Libyphoinikes, occupying the same place in the sequence as Herodotos' otherwise unattested *Κελκιανοί*. 'Libyphoinikes', however, is a catch-all name for the mixed African and Punic peoples of Mauretania (Fischer, *RE* 13.1.202); the people on the immediate European side of the Strait might indeed have been of such a character, but Herodotos' names here are quite specific (and denote tribes occupying relatively small territories). His Kelkianoi might be the Cilbiceni of Avienius; or if one is to emend, Berkel's *Καλπιανοί* is worth considering, *Κάλη* being what the Greeks called the Rock of Gibraltar (Strabo 3.1.7, Mela 2.95; Schulten, *RE* 10.2.1759; Barceló, *BNP* 2.994 s.v. Calpe). If based on a native name, variation is to be expected. Meineke's hesitant *Κελτικοί* is fairly desperate, but links in a way to what Stephanos' MSS offer next, which is effectively *ἡδὴ Ποδανός*; the Rhône divided Iberians and Celts in old geography (Strabo 3.4.19). Schulten's *ἡδὴ ὁ πορθμός* gives what is required, however adventurous the emendation; it does seem that the end of the text has suffered interference from a neighbouring note about the extent of Iberia, or else the scribe's eye has wandered to the end of Herodotos' section on Iberia.

Herodotos clearly owes a general debt to Hekataios, who gave details of this coast in his *Periodos* (*FGrHist* 1 FF 38–52, 356), including the Mastienoi (FF 40–1) and, it seems, the Elbysini (F 40: *Ἐλβέστιοι*).¹⁴¹ Herodotos' language, too, is that of a periegete, which is of a piece with his matter-of-fact approach to the whole saga. If Hekataios placed this Labour on the Adriatic coast, Herodotos pretends that in Herakles' day the remotest edge of the earth was open to perfectly ordinary traffic. In early ethnography, the normal stance is to attach a datum of legend to a site as something that once happened there, or whose effects can be seen *ἔτι καὶ νῦν*; the stance presumes that the legendary data are unproblematically historical. Herodotos' stance presupposes and combats the suspicion that they are mythical.

¹³⁶ On the text at this point see Giangrande, 'On the Text of Antoninus Liberalis'. Cf. Hammond, *Epirus* 41.

¹³⁷ Diod. Sic. 4.17.2; Justin 44.4.16; Lucian *Tox.* 62; schol. Aristeid. 3.167 quoting Aisch. fr. 74; Myth. Vat. I 1.67. See Musso, *RhMus* 114 (1971) 83–5.

¹³⁸ Huxley, *GRBS* 8 (1967) 88–92 (who links this to Hekataios, like Voigt arguing that he draws on local tradition). Jacoby, and others have noted that at *FGrHist* 1 F 76 Hekataios appears to contradict himself—he has Herakles coming through Sicily with his cattle—but we have no context for the minimal citation; perhaps he disagreed with the local view, while reporting it. At 1 F 77 he tells us about the Sicilian city Solous named for a xenophobe killed by Herakles (known from nowhere else).

¹³⁹ Outline in Gantz 408–9.

¹⁴⁰ L. Curchin, *Hermes* 124 (1996) 123–8 for the phonetic phenomena in Iberian toponyms (s- for initial *spiritus asper*, and psilosis; the tribe was originally *Ἐλβυσίνιοι* in Greek, which one might consider writing in Herodotos). Schulten, *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae* 2.37–8.

¹⁴¹ Hübner, *RE* 5.2242; modern Huelva. On the Massieni/Mastieni (Polyb. 3.24, 3.33.9), see Barceló, *BNP* s.v. Massieni; Tovar, *Iberische Landeskunde* 2.27. Braun, 'Hecataeus' Knowledge of the Western Mediterranean' 307, suggests that Steph. Byz. *Ταπρησός* may come from Hekataios, on grounds of its use of *ὄσις*; but Leofranc Holford-Strevens points out to me that this would require the absence of *ποταμός*; as it is, *ὄσις* *ποταμός* suggests a Latinism (*a fluvio* . . . *qui fluvius*).

The Kynetes¹⁴² are proverbially the westernmost inhabitants of Europe already in Hdt. (2.33.3, 4.49.3), almost certainly after Hekataios; if the Gletes live a little north of them, this does not prevent them from being Iberians, as Jacoby argued. The Gletes can therefore be equated with the Igletes in Strabo 3.4.19 (where see Radt, on p. 166.15), and with Avienius' Ileates (*Or. Mar.* 302), as had long been thought; one finds the same variation in Iturissa/Turissa, Itucca/Tucci, Ibarca/Barca.¹⁴³ Moreover, Stephanos s.v. Τλητες also cites Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 201 for the information that the 'Tletes' were neighbours of the Tartessoi; 'Tletes' looks like an uncial mistake for Gletes. All these people are Iberian for Herodotos, whereas others distinguished Tartessioi and Iberians (e.g. Hdt. 1.163). Differentiating barbarian tribes living in proximity to each other was never a Greek forte, and we are not in a position to affirm either view.¹⁴⁴

Continuing eastwards we next find Herakles in Italy, in **Hell. fr. 111**. Hellanikos' story is that a steer had broken away from the herd and swum across to Sicily;¹⁴⁵ wherever Herakles went in search of it, the natives of Italy in their language spoke of the *vitulus*; so he named the country accordingly. According to Antiochos of Syracuse (fr. 2-3; → §17.5), the name 'Italy' was originally confined to the Oinotrian kingdom of south Italy; this corresponds to observable usage in Herodotos (e.g. 1.24.1, 1.165, 3.136.1) and Thucydides (e.g. 5.5.1, 7.33.4; cf. Strabo 5.1.1 on the usage of οἱ παλαιοί). The etymology, which Antiochos either did not know or rejected (fr. 5), was easy to come by; Hellanikos, fond as he was of etymologizing, could have got it from Greek residents of the region, where the Umbrian word (*vittu*) was cognate.¹⁴⁶ It was taken up by Timaios of Tauromenion (*FGrHist* 566 F 42)—except that in his version the etymology relates to the abundance of fine cattle in the country, and has nothing to do with Herakles (cf. F 90 for the crossing to Sicily). This was perhaps the native view; the legend VITELIŪ and the image of a calf adorned coins issued by the Italian allies during the Social War of 90-88 BC. Varro, *Rust.* 2.5.3 (cf. 2.1.9, *Ling.* 5.96; Festus p. 106 M (= 94.9 Li); Hesych. 11079), reports both etymologies, but nods in having Herakles come from Sicily to Italy rather than the other way around.

Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.110 appears to have the same story as Hellanikos, from whom he might have got it, but textual irregularity has led many scholars to delete the relevant

words as an interpolation.¹⁴⁷ The purpose of this quite old story of Herakles' visit to Sicily, where he defeated Eryx and claimed his territory, was to justify Heraklid occupation.¹⁴⁸

Herod. fr. 35 mentions the Kassopoi among the Molossoi. The occasion on which Herakles visited this region might have been the campaign against the Thesproti mentioned by Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2.149 (immediately before the incident with Eunomos, for which see on Hellan. fr. 2 below §8.5.9); or it might have been on the return from Erytheia.¹⁴⁹ Herodotos is cited by Stephanos for the form of the ethnic, which he finds questionable. The polis is no. 100 in *IACP* (see also Strauch, *BNP* s.v. Cassope; Blakely, *BNJ* on this fr.). In coins and inscriptions the ethnic is Κασσωπαῖος; Herodotos' form Κασσωπός recurs in ps.-Skylax 31 and Proxenos *FGrHist* 703 F 6. In historical times the city and region were predominantly Thesprotian, though the Kassopaioi occasionally asserted their independence, and the Molossoi enjoyed hegemony in the late fourth century. In legendary terms, however, the Molossoi traced their descent from Molossos son of Neoptolemos; Herodotos would not have made this chronological mistake in recounting the life of Herakles. Some confusion or carelessness lies behind Stephanos' report, therefore.

Somewhere in this part of Herodotos' book should belong **Herod. fr. 67** (if the correction of 'Herodotos' is there accepted).¹⁵⁰ Theognostos reports the name of a river Chon, from which is derived Chonia, a synonym, he says, of Epeiros. The river has not been identified, but the barbaric Chaones are known from Thucydides (2.80).

Agias/Derkylos fr. 1 says that Neleus stole the cattle of Geryoneus from Herakles, whereupon he handed the kingdom of Pylos over to Nestor. This elliptical note is attached to *Il.* 11.690, where Nestor says Herakles killed his eleven brothers, so we assume that this is the same incident; Isokrates (*Arch.* 18) confirms it. Unless we suppose that Isokrates, writing in 366 BC, has been reading Agias/Derkylos, we infer an older tradition, perhaps deriving from archaic epic. The Argive historian's purpose is to glorify Herakles; Isokrates, like Pausanias (2.18.7), compares the incident to Herakles' restoring of Tyndareos to the throne of Sparta, and links both incidents to the legitimacy of the Heraklid rule in the Peloponnese. We cannot of course know whether this was Agias/Derkylos' line, and another local historian of Argos quoted by the same scholion (Telesarchos *FGrHist* 309 F 1) actually contradicts him.

¹⁴² For the testimonia see *RE* s.vv. Cynetes, Kynesioi.

¹⁴³ I owe these examples to Leonard Curchin, whom I thank for his help in this section. Cf. Steph. Byz. 122 'Ἰννῆρες' οἱ καὶ χαρὶς τοῦ τὸ λέγονται, ὡς εἴρηται ἐν τῷ γ' (γ87, albeit with reference to Rhodes).

¹⁴⁴ Tovar, *Iberische Landeskunde* 1.18-23 on the Tartessioi; 24-5 on Herod. fr. 2.

¹⁴⁵ Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.110 uses the verb ἀποπρήγνυσθαι and says this gave Rhegion its name; this might have come from Hellanikos. See Radt on Aisch. fr. 402 for the commoner explanation, that here the island Sicily broke away from Italy.

¹⁴⁶ Untermann, *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen* 859-60; de Vaan, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin* s.v. *vitulus*.

¹⁴⁷ Huys, 'Geographica Apollodorea' 125-7 defends the transmitted text, but it is not easy. There may have been disturbances and lacunae in the text, partly and incorrectly restored by subsequent scribes.

¹⁴⁸ Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 76; Hdt. 5.43; Diod. Sic. 4.23; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.111; Paus. 3.16.4; Malkin, *Myth and Territory* 203-18.

¹⁴⁹ This might also have been the context for fr. 29, where Herodotos mentioned the Peuketeis; → §17.5.

¹⁵⁰ Stein inserted the name in Hdt. 9.93.1, but <Aooos> is preferable if any supplement is to be made (Bürchner, *RE* 3.2 2371; Asheri and Vannicelli ad loc.).

Ancient scholars related *Il.* 11.690 to 5381–400, where Dione tells of occasions when gods have been wounded; one of them was Hades, wounded by Herakles 'at Pylos among the corpses' (or 'among the dead [in Hades]', ἐν νεκύεσσιν) (397). It is worth dwelling on this for a moment inasmuch as Geryoneus has traits that invite comparison with Hades. Unfortunately our evidence for this encounter at Pylos is thin. Herakles in the Hesiodic *Aspis* (355–65) tells how he wounded Ares when the god was defending Pylos. In the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 33(a) 23 ff.) Herakles' defeat of the shape-shifter Periklymenos, son of Neleus, is described at length, but we do not know what started the war; once he was dead, it was an easy matter to sack the city and kill the eleven brothers (fr. 35).¹⁵¹ Panyassis, fr. 26, mentions the wounding of Hades and Hera at Pylos; no context, but Hades was shot at Eleian Pylos,¹⁵² Hera at 'sandy', i.e. Messenian, Pylos. Pindar, *Ol.* 9.29–35, refers to a battle or battles at Pylos between Herakles and Poseidon, Hades and Apollo; that of Poseidon (or all three, if that is the right reading of the passage) is located at Pylos.¹⁵³ In art, Herakles fights Poseidon on one early fifth-century vase (*LIMC* Herakles no. 3370), and in one early sixth-century kotyle, now lost, he threatens Hades over Kerberos (*LIMC* Herakles no. 2553).¹⁵⁴

Thus far the sum of our evidence, and to judge from the bewilderment of the ancient commentators, they had little more to go on. In particular, they could not discover the reason for the fight at Pylos: in addition to the theft of Herakles' cattle, they suggest that he had been denied purification, either after the death of Iphitos (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.130, 142; Diod. Sic. 4.31.4, schol. *Il.* 11.690, schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 39) or of a certain Trachinian (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.43, 44c); or that the Pylians had sided with their relatives the Orchomenians in their fight with Herakles. They suggest that the fight with Hades was over Kerberos. Were it not for the hints in archaic art, one might conclude that the whole mess springs from attempts to explain or improve on Homer, who was himself inventing. A sceptic can point out that there is no necessary reason to bring the fight with Hades 'at Pylos' into connection with Herakles' assault on Neleus; moreover, many scholars ancient and modern have been tempted to read ἐν πύλῳ rather than ἐν Πύλῳ, understanding a reference to the gates of Hell. But a more sympathetic reader would find some fire behind this smoke, and see Pylos itself as an ancient gateway to the Underworld, and in Neleus 'the Pitiless' (πῆλῆς) another Geryoneus, who has a herd of

¹⁵¹ Periklymenos must be one of the eleven, which creates an awkwardness at fr. 35.6; it seems that this tale of the shape-shifter has been added to the Iliadic tradition of Nestor plus eleven.

¹⁵² Cf. Paus. 6.25.2.

¹⁵³ See Gerber ad loc., and J. Molyneux, *TAPA* 103 (1972) 307–8, who assembles all the sources for Herakles' fights with these three (also Dräger on Apollod. 2.142): these are chiefly the scholia to the Homeric and Pindaric passages.

¹⁵⁴ For this and other possible cases of Herakles fighting Hades, see Gantz 413, 456 (but for Poseidon note that Villa Giulia 20842 = *LIMC* Nereus no. 52).

cattle and is distinctly inhospitable to strangers.¹⁵⁵ Neleus even hides his cattle in a cave (Paus. 4.36.2), and Hermes in the Homeric *Hymn* takes his cattle to (Eleian) Pylos (216, 355, 398).¹⁵⁶ Periklymenos the shape-shifter covers the role of Nereus.

§8.4.12 KERBEROS (Hek. fr. 27, Herod. fr. 31)

The katabasis to the Underworld, the last and most difficult Labour, is represented in our corpus by two fragments, the celebrated rationalization of *Hek.* fr. 27 and the apparently (and surprisingly) unrationalized version of *Herod.* fr. 31. However, in Herodorus note the form of the scholiast's citation: 'Euphorion and Herodorus'. Euphorion (fr. 37 Powell = 41 Lightfoot) is his principal source, and he adds Herodorus as reinforcement; what the latter said becomes quite uncertain. Euphorion will have followed the traditional idea of Kerberos; the way is open for us to believe that Herodorus offered a version along his usual rationalizing lines, the details of which are beyond recovery, but referring in some way to the cave and the poison. In §6.4.5, in connection with Herod. fr. 8, we found reason to think that he treated the supposed terrors of Acheron with some disdain. The story that the poisonous plant ἀκόνιτον arose from Kerberos' vomit or slaver, and the link with Herakleia Pontika where the plant was supposed to be abundant and potent, were very well known;¹⁵⁷ as it seems unlikely that Herodorus had such an influence, we suppose that he transmits already generally known facts.

As in fr. 19 Hekataios in fr. 27 takes direct aim at Hesiod when he says that Kerberos was an ὄφιν οὐ μέγαν οὕτως οὐδὲ πελώριον, ἀλλὰ δεινότερον τῶν ἄλλων ὀφίων and for this reason Eurystheus assigned the Labour ὡς ἀμήχανον ἔοντα. Hesiod at *Th.* 311 described Kerberos as ἀμήχανον, giving him fully fifty heads, and just a few lines before he described his mother Echidna as ἡμισυ . . . πέλωρον ὄφιν δεινόν τε μέγαν τε. Hekataios has combined lines he has aurally in his mind, not written on a page before him.¹⁵⁸ His innovative interpretation might have taken its start from the many snakes

¹⁵⁵ → §5.3.2; Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.331–2 [1.337–8]; Burkert, *SH* 86; M. Davies, 'Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* 280 n. 17.

¹⁵⁶ Hermes Pylios is attested in Erythrai, *LSAM* 25.173 = *IErythrai* 201 d.31 (3rd c. BC).

¹⁵⁷ e.g. Nik. *Alex.* 13 with schol., *Ov. Met.* 7.408–19 (where see Bömer), Pliny *NH* 27.4, Serv. on Verg. *Georg.* 2.152, Dionys. *Perieg.* 788–92. For the plant at Herakleia or nearby (named after the village Akone/al) e.g. Theophr. *HP* 9.16.4, Theopomp. *FGH Hist.* 115 F 181, Strabo 12.3.7, Pliny *NH* 6.4; used by Scythians in the hunt, Xen. *Kyneg.* 11.2, Pliny *NH* 8.100; discovered by Medea, Diod. Sic. 4.45.2. It is not certain which species of plant is meant; ἀκόνιτον is often used vaguely of a poisonous plant: Wagler, *RE* 1.1 1178–83; Hünemörder, *BNP* s.v. Aconitum. The cave also figures in Herod. fr. 8: → §6.4.5.

¹⁵⁸ C. W. Müller, 'Zur Frühgeschichte der erzählenden Prosaliteratur' 36, following Hermann Fränkel, argues that the Lernaean Hydra is the object of rationalization in fr. 27b. His main reason is that the fragment presumes an already mythical snake, not one transformed from something else, which rules out Kerberos. He could be right, but on either reading fr. 27b is a second point: 'Kerberos was not a hound, he was a snake' or 'the Hydra was not a snake with many heads, but with one', and then 'and it wasn't such a big snake either' (Hesiod does not mention the number of heads, but she always has more than one.) The Hydra is the third child of Echidna, mentioned right after Kerberos by Hesiod, so the point above about Hekataios'

adorning Kerberos in art; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.122. Discussion of Hekataios' rationalism is reserved for Part B, but here we may note Pausanias' comment that Hekataios 'came up with a reasonable/probable explanation' (λόγος εὐκός) for the so-called Hound of Hell. Scholars have debated whether this explicit appeal to probability, which is a prominent feature of Herodotos' voiceprint, was already found in Hekataios, or whether it is an addition of Pausanias, who imitates Herodotos on every page. Comparing fr. 19, where Hekataios simply states his view but not the reasoning, we may judge it improbable that he dwelled on method in any way. Probability as an element of analysis and argument comes into its own in the time of the Sophists. However, it clearly cannot be ruled out entirely that Hekataios used an expression such as οὐκ εὐκός in pronouncing Hesiod wrong. In choosing Tainaron as the site of his revision, he is choosing the most famous of all the many entrances to the Underworld in Greek territories.¹⁵⁹ Herodotos naturally chooses the site at his home town Herakleia; his Hellenistic successor Nymphis of Herakleia agreed (*FGrHist* 432 F 3).

Scholars are also divided as to whether Pausanias' preamble comes from Hekataios.¹⁶⁰ He says that the cave at Tainaron does not have a passage leading underground, and is not prepared to believe that there is a divine dwelling beneath the earth where souls are gathered. The first does sound very much like Hekataios' practical reasoning. The second argument is something else. It seems unlikely that Hekataios, at the end of the sixth century, would have denied the existence of the Underworld altogether; he only denies that someone went there. The only alternatives to a belief in the Underworld are a nihilistic view that death is simply a disintegration, or that the soul went upwards to heaven. The first is clearly anachronistic, being associated with the atomists. The second idea does not appear before 432 BC (*IG* P 1179 = *CEG* 1.10), but as scholars have traced it to Pythagoreanism¹⁶¹ there is the theoretical possibility that it was already familiar to Hekataios. Yet the possibility must be judged remote; there is no other hint of philosophical or theological thinking of this kind in Hekataios.

echoing Hesiod would apply to either. Kerberos elsewhere in early literature; *Il.* 8.367–8, *Od.* 11.623–6 (not named in Homer), Hes. *Th.* 769–73, Stesich. *PMGF* 206, Pindar. fr. 249b (100 heads, also Hor. *Od.* 2.13.34), Bacchyl. 5.56–70. Eduard Norden's shrewd suspicion that an archaic epic describing Herakles' katabasis lay behind both Virgil, *Aen.* 6 and Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.122–6 was brilliantly confirmed by Lloyd-Jones, *Academic Papers* 1.167–87; cf. Boardman, 'Herakles, Peisistratos and Eleusis'; N. Robertson, *Hermes* 108 (1980), 274–300; Bremmer, 'The Golden Bough' 194. There are numerous artistic representations (usually two heads, sometimes one, sometimes three); Gantz 413–15; Woodford and Spier, *LIMC* 6.1.31; Brommer, *Herakles* 1.44–6; Boardman, loc. cit. 7–10.

¹⁵⁹ The complete, lengthy list is compiled by Ganschietz, *RE* 10.2 2383–6 s.v. Katabasis. In literature, cf. Pher. fr. 39 (eponym Tainaros; → §13.2); Pind. *Pyth.* 4.44; Soph. *Satyras at Tainaron* (possibly identical with *Herakles* and/or *Kerberos*; *Das griech. Satyrspiel* 261); Eur. *HF* 23–5; Ar. *Ran.* 187; Palaiphs. 39. For the town and area, Musti and Torelli on Paus. 3.25.5; Lienau *BNP* s.v. Taenarum; *IACP* p. 576.

¹⁶⁰ See Bertelli, 'C'era una volta un mito...' 64.

¹⁶¹ Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* 7; Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* 357–68.

§8.5 Other Deeds

For Herakles' involvement in the Argonautic saga, see §6.3.2; for the story of Erginos, §5.5; for his adventures with Theseus, §16.

§8.5.1 THESTIOS AND HIS DAUGHTERS (Hellan. frt. 3, 46; Herod. fr. 20)

Harpokration in his entry on 'Stephanephoros' comments *à propos* a fragment of Antiphon that there was 'apparently' a shrine of this hero in Athens. He offers two tentative accounts of the eponym: either one of the sons of Herakles by a daughter of 'Thestios', or an 'Attic' Stephanephoros. For the first he cites Hellanikos in book 2 of the *Phoronis* (Hellan. fr. 3), for the second book 2 of the *Atthis* (Hellan. fr. 46). If Hellanikos in the *Atthis* referred simply to the shrine of Stephanephoros without indicating a different derivation, these two explanations could in fact be one. Thestios himself came from Attica according to some later sources;¹⁶² he is clearly the eponym of Thespiiai in Boiotia, in spite of the different letter. (The variation is frequent in the MSS;¹⁶³ the temptation to normalize everywhere should be resisted, as the variant, arising from confusion with the Kalydonian Thestios, appears to go back a long way, including Hellanikos and therefore probably his Attic informants. A change of *t* to *p* would not bother ancient etymologists.) This story of appropriation, if in circulation during the war years when Hellanikos was writing, might have reinforced attempts to lure Thespiiai away from its perpetual rival Thebes to Athens' advantage; Thucydides (4.133.1, 6.95.2) describes two occasions on which such an allegiance was suspected or outright declared.

Herakles' deflowering the fifty virgin daughters was mentioned also by Herodotos (fr. 20), who says the feat took seven nights. The number varies; Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 F 13) says all in one night, as do Pausanias (9.27.6–7) and Statius (*Silv.* 3.1.42); the single-night version was propagated by indignant Christian fathers, who sarcastically called it Herakles' thirteenth Labour.¹⁶⁴ (Ephoros didn't believe it either.) Apollodoros says fifty successive nights, with Herakles thinking it was always the same girl (*Bibl.* 2.66). The number of resulting sons (inevitably it is sons) is normally 50, but Pausanias heard a story implying 52 (the oldest and youngest had twins); Hyginus, *Fab.* 162 says 12, which could be corrupt for 52 (XII for LII). Another story Pausanias heard implies 49, as one daughter refused to lie with him (hence the virgin priestess of Herakles' cult at Thespiiai; Apollodoros gives a total of 50 at 2.149; in the list of offspring at 2.161–4 below, §8.5.2). Apollodoros gives a total of 50 at 2.149; in the list of offspring at 2.161–4 textual problems prevent certainty (note that he mentions the oldest girl's twins).

¹⁶² A son of Erechtheus (Diod. Sic. 4.29.2); descended from Erechtheus (Paus. 9.26.6); son of Teuthras son of Pandion (Steph. Byz. 633).

¹⁶³ See Frazer, *Apollod.* 1.176 n. 4; Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 2.33. 'Thyest(i)os' is also found, with interference from Thyestes.

¹⁶⁴ See the references in Höfer, *Roscher Lex.* s.v. Thespios col. 771, to which add Tzetzes *Chil.* 2.506.

The feat, though notorious, is merely an extreme example of the sexual athleticism, violent and otherwise, of Greek heroes (Brellich, *Gli eroi greci* 249–52 = 200–2). Not that this was problematic for the intended audience; both Apollodoros and Diodoros (4.29.3) say that Thestios wished to form an alliance with so powerful a hero. Diodoros says he was still a *παῖς*, and Apollodoros says he had just turned eighteen (2.65), and was still amongst the herdsman (→§8.2 and Herod. fr. 17, where Thestios is named as one of his teachers). The feat that impressed Thestios was his slaying of the lion of Kithairon, whose hide he donned; an obvious doublet of the Nemean lion, set at the very beginning of his career. And there must be some connection between all of this and practices and beliefs at Thespias, however dim the outlines are at this distance. At a minimum the stories reflect a claim to Herakles at Thebes's expense. A cult of Herakles at Thespias is attested by Pausanias, as just mentioned, and in classical inscriptions, one of which (SEG 15.324) implies an athletic agon. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 2.32, infers the worship by ephebic warriors of Herakles at Thespias, Thebes, and elsewhere; the cult was served by a virgin priestess. The combination of sexual abstinence followed by sexual indulgence before and after hunt or warfare in the rituals of *Männerbünde* is an anthropological commonplace; we hear of similar prescriptions for Greek athletes before an agon, and in myth one may compare for instance the Argonauts and the Lemnian women, whose mass wedding followed an athletic competition.¹⁶⁵

Note also the subsequent history of the sons at Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.149: seven to stay in Thespias; three to go to Thebes; the remainder, oddly, to colonize Sardinia. At Diod. Sic. 4.29.4–5, two stay in Thebes, seven in Thespias, 'where they are called *δημοῦχοι*, and their descendants they say were leaders of the city right down to relatively recent times' (whatever that means); the remainder went to Sardinia. These *δημοῦχοι* do not correspond to anything we know of the constitution of Thespias, though that is precious little (IACP pp. 457–8); but there does seem to be some significance to the number seven in the ordering of this community's life both religious and political. The two or three sons who go to Thebes will reflect the city's membership of the Boiotian league (while emphasizing Thespias's priority); the emigration of the remainder to Sardinia could be a story from the early days of Greek exploration of the western sea, produced by the usual arbitrary associations with local features or names. There is, however, little material evidence of significant Greek contact with Sardinia before the fifth century.¹⁶⁶ Once it

¹⁶⁵ Simon, *PMG* 547; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.253; Burkert, *HN* 61, 102 = *HN* 73, 117. Child priests can fit a prenuptial context (next section).

¹⁶⁶ Arist. *Mir.* 838b 12–29; Diod. Sic. loc. cit., 5.15.1–2; Strabo 5.2.7; Paus. 7.2.2, 10.17.5; Philipp, *RE* 9.1. s.v. *Ilienses*; Gruppe, *RE* Suppl. 3.990; Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 2.56–8; Curchin, 'Boiotians in the Balears'; Kühr, 'Going West'. That the Muses were known as 'Thespiades' in Latin sources, presumably following Greek, is probably not relevant here. See Schachter 2.159 n.2; Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 5.310; P. Müller, *LIMC* s.v. *Thespiades*.

was decided that these seven *δημοῦχοι* were sons of Herakles, something had to be done with the other forty-three.¹⁶⁷

About this shrine for Stephanephoros in Athens we know nothing. Scholars have in the past been tempted to connect it with the coins known as *δραχμαὶ στεφανηφόρου*, but this is now rejected (Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 198; Jacoby on *FGH* 323a F 9). For the epithet see Gebhard, *RE* 3A.2.2349–50; on present evidence apart from this fragment it is confined to east Greece, especially associated with Apollo in Miletos and Zeus in Priene, in connection with civic officials.¹⁶⁸ The word is paralleled by any number of other officiants or participants in cults and festivals (*kanephoros*, *arrhephoros*, *thallophoros*, *daphnephoros*, etc.) and garlands could be worn on many occasions.

§8.5.2 AUGE (Hek. fr. 29)

Hek. fr. 29a is the oldest testimony for the union of Herakles and Auge in Tegea; in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 165), a unique version, she was brought to Teuthras in Mysia as a girl, and the seduction took place in his house. In Hekataios, Auge's father Aleos himself set mother and child adrift in a *λάρναξ*. Diodoros (4.33.11) and Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.147) say that the baby was exposed, either by Auge (Diod.) or Aleos (Apollod.), but suckled by a doe; this is probably the version of Sophokles in his *Aleadaí* and *Mysians*, and Euripides in his *Auge* and *Telephos*.¹⁶⁹ By one means or another mother and child subsequently reach Mysia. In the *Odysseus* attributed to Alkidamas there is an additional variant, that Nauplios, to whom the exposure was entrusted, sold mother and son to Teuthras. Hekataios' version may be unique. It is true that according to Strabo (13.1.69), Euripides had the same story, but he does not name the play; we know from the prologue (fr. 696) that it was not the *Telephos*, and it takes some ingenuity to make Strabo's information square with what other sources tell us about the plot of the *Auge*. Strabo may have been mistaken or confused, and one should not on his account impugn Pausanias' testimony about Hekataios; he has more to say about him in fr. 29b. The *λάρναξ* occurs in art, if quite late (the Pergamon frieze is the first instance), but this does not necessarily imply Hekataios' version, as the chest could have been used by Nauplios in the other versions.

Pausanias attests cult connections for the myth, as always of uncertain antiquity, but of considerable interest: at 8.47.3 he informs us that the priest of the temple of Athena was a boy; at 8.47.4 he says that there was a fountain not far from the temple, where, in disagreement with Hekataios (fr. 29b), the Tegeans say Auge was raped; at 8.48.7 he

¹⁶⁷ Wilamowitz, *Euripides Herakles* 2.29 n. 56.

¹⁶⁸ Blech, *Studien zum Kranz* 309; Herda, *Der Apollon-Delphinios-Kult in Milet* index s.v. Stephanephoros; Graf, 'Gods in Greek Inscriptions' 62, 78. The office is also attested on Syros in the Cyclades in the 2nd/3rd cc. AD.

¹⁶⁹ Gantz 429; Collard and Cropp 1.259–63, 2.185–91. We do not know what version Aischylos followed in his *Mysians*.

says that Eileithyia in her temple in the agora at Tegea was known as 'Auge on her knees', i.e. parturient, as this is where she gave birth. The Tegeans also, he notes, tell the different story about her giving birth on Mt Parthenion (they have been reading their Euripides, perhaps). This leaves us in the dark about what exactly Hekataios said; the disagreement could be about the rape, or about the location—or both. Hekataios strikingly says that Herakles had relations with Auge 'whenever he went to Tegea', and this was unlikely to have occurred in a temple.

Test. iii to Euripides' *Auge* (Tzetzes on Ar. *Ran.* 1080, q.v.) and Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.146 say Auge gave birth in the sanctuary itself. The principal, and strong, stress of the story on the violation of Auge and the pollution of childbirth suggests that purity in this cult of Athena was a prime concern, which children symbolize. However, comparison with other myth-cult complexes suggests further associations. Pausanias also records a child priest in the cult of Athena Krania at 10.34.8, and *παρθέναι* as priestesses in the cults of Poseidon at Kalauria near Troizen (2.33.2), Artemis at Aigeira (7.26.5), Artemis Triklaria at Patrai (7.19.1), and Herakles at Thespiiai (9.27.6). In connection with Artemis Triklaria he provides an extensive mythological and ritual excursus (7.19–20), which reveals an integral link with the worship of Dionysos, entitled Aisymnetes. According to the myth, Melanippos and Komaitho consummated their passion in the sanctuary of Artemis, resulting in plague and famine; Delphi advised that an annual human sacrifice of a boy and a girl were required. This ended eventually with the arrival of Eurypylos son of Euaimon from Thessaly with a chest containing an image of Dionysos. The ritual commemorating these events involved nine selected men and women accompanying the chest from the sanctuary of Artemis to the river Melichos (called Ameilichos, 'Merciless', in the days of the human sacrifice), together with the youths and maidens of the city, all wearing crowns made of ears of grain; these were given up to the goddess upon reaching their destination, where they bathed in the river, donned crowns of ivy, and returned to the temple of Dionysos Aisymnetes ('who restores order'). This annual festival, involving both sexes and all ages, and a procession from centre to boundary and back, affirms and celebrates the civic order, soliciting the protection of two of its chief gods; it links to vital concerns of agriculture and viticulture; and given the myths, it is most probably a betrothal festival, or certainly created opportunities for such arrangements. The virgin priestess remained in post 'until she was to be sent away to her husband', says Pausanias. The myth dramatizes marriage as a mortal offence against Artemis, demanding a death, like that of Iphigeneia. In the sanctuary, a boy and/or a girl do service to the goddess on behalf of their peers in the city, like the Arrephoroi in Athens; the unusual feature at Tegea and Patrai is that they are actually priests, not just servitors. It is probable that some or all of these child priests link to cults of the kind Pausanias describes at Patrai, albeit with local variations. Auge herself had been a priestess (schol. Kallim. *Hymn.* 4.71a, Alkid. fr. 16.14). In the end, after the travails, came recognition and honour for Auge, effectively identified with Eileithyia, goddess of

childbirth; Pausanias also says (10.28.8) that of all the children Herakles sired, Telephos was most like him.¹⁷⁰

§8.5.3 SACK OF TROY AND THE KOAN ADVENTURE (Andron fr. 10; Dam. fr. 12; Hek. fr. 137A; Hellan. fr. 26, 108–9; Herod. fr. 28; Metrod. fr. 2; Pher. fr. 78)

Homer alludes several times to the servitude of the gods and Herakles' sack of Troy: at *Il.* 21.441–57, we learn that Poseidon and Apollo were sent by Zeus to work as paid labourers for Laomedon—Poseidon built the walls, Apollo herded cattle—but were sent away empty-handed; there is a brief reference to the walls again at 7.452–3, this time built by both Poseidon and Apollo; at 20.144–9, we hear about the wall built by Poseidon and Athena to protect Herakles against the sea-beast; Herakles' son Tlepolemos brags of his father's exploit at 5.638–42, and gives the horses of Laomedon as the reason; and Herakles' usual companion on this campaign, Telamon, has an illegitimate son named Teukros (8.283–4; cf. Soph. *Ai.* 434–6, 1299–1303).¹⁷¹ (Homer is too tactful to mention that the mother was Priam's sister Hesione, Telamon's prize: e.g. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.162.) Except for Apollo's extra task as a herdsman, which can be seen as an *ad hoc* invention, nothing here differs from the familiar story. Hesiod in the *Catalogue* also mentions the horses (fr. 165.10), and Peisandros (fr. 10) says that Herakles gave Telamon a cup as a prize for valour on this expedition. Pindar also celebrates Telamon's achievement (*Nem.* 4.25, *Isthm.* 6.27–30); at *Ol.* 8.31–46, he says, probably innovating, that Aiakos helped the gods build the wall, else no mortal hand could have brought it down.

Against this background Hellan. fr. 26 provides the first continuous account of the story.¹⁷² Fr. 26b is a *historia* attached to *Il.* 20.145, and is typical of its genre as far as reliability is concerned; at the very outset there is a disagreement with Hellanikos' own words in fr. 26a about the reason for the servitude. In *Il.* 21, Poseidon and Apollo are sent to serve for a year at Zeus's command; no detail is given of their offence. Some ancient scholars (schol. *Il.* 21.444, Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 34) assumed it was linked to the story in *Il.* 1.396–406, the rebellion of the gods against Zeus, and even amended 1.400 accordingly; Hellanikos plainly found this idea unpalatable, and says that they went to test Laomedon, since he was a *ὑβριστής*. Both stories have traditional analogues,

¹⁷⁰ On Tegea see Moggi and Osanna on Paus. 8.47–8. On children in cults cf. Pestalozza, *Religione mediterranea* 239–55, who, however, does not discriminate between priestesses and assistants such as the Arrephoroi. See also Burkert, *Greek Religion* 98; Bremmer, 'Priestly Personnel of the Ephesian Artemision' 44. A study of the phenomenon is required. For Artemis Triklaria and Dionysos Aisymnetes see Baudy, 'Ackerbau und Initiation'.

¹⁷¹ 'Usual companion': Peleus (as well as, or instead of?) at Pind. fr. 172, Eur. *Andr.* 797; Telamon and Peleus schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 38, Dares Phrygius 3; Telamon, Peleus and Oikles on the Tabula Albana, *FGHst* 40 F 1a. But already in Homer there are shiploads of others too.

¹⁷² For the dragon-slayer type (including Perseus) see Hansen, *AT* 119–30.

the former in tales such as those of Otos and Ephialtes who imprisoned Ares (*Il.* 5.385–91), the latter in stories such as the testing of the Keians (Xenom. fr. 15→§1.7.4) or Baukis and Philemon; at *Od.* 17.485–7 it is stated as a general principle that the gods disguise themselves as visiting foreigners in order to test the ὕβρις τε καὶ εὐνομίην of mortals.¹⁷³ This anonymity is stressed by Metrodoros, of whose version we have the beginning (*Metrod.* fr. 2). That gods should be bound over as servants is functionally equivalent to a literal imprisonment; to the story here, that of Apollo and Admetos is closely parallel. Such stories may be distant reflections of rituals in which the statue of a god was chained and/or abused (as Pan at Theok. *Id.* 7.106), and the term of a year's service may reflect the time from one festival to the next.¹⁷⁴

Herod. fr. 28 goes further than Hellanikos in his revision, not even accepting that the gods would condescend to be thus treated; he asserts that Laomedon diverted money meant for the worship of Poseidon and Apollo in order to build the wall. Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 2.610 says the occasion was when the Mysians were threatening (cf. Myth. Vat. II 220 (193), schol. *Il.* 21.444).¹⁷⁵ The use of the gods' money in wartime was common practice in Greek cities (cf. in our corpus Hek. test. 5), but there were proper times and ways to take out the loan; Laomedon obviously did it the wrong way. 'Disrespect for sacred money was a mark of extreme social decay, the behaviour of a tyrant or barbarian' (R. Parker, *Miasma* 171, q.v. for a general discussion).

The *historia* (fr. 26b) and fr. 26a also disagree about which wall is meant; the former, like the *Iliad*, thinks of the outer perimeter, whereas the latter specifies the inner citadel and links it to the historic name Pergamos (cf. Pind. *Ol.* 8.42). This will be Hellanikos trumping Homer. Metrodoros also specified the acropolis, perhaps after Hellanikos. In the sequel, fr. 26a leaves off, but Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.103–4) may help, as parallels between his wording and fr. 26a suggest that Hellanikos is in the background to his account, if not followed directly. Apollodoros differs in some details from the *historia*; he adds that Apollo also sent a plague; he says that Herakles stipulated the price, rather than Laomedon offering it; he says only that Herakles killed the monster, omitting the protective wall and the manner of killing; he says that Laomedon refused to pay, whereas the *historia* has him substitute mortal for immortal horses, which Herakles later

¹⁷³ E. Kearns, *CQ* 32 (1982) 6 with references on the type of story (theoxenia).

¹⁷⁴ R. Merkelbach, *HSCP* 82 (1978) 1–15, cf. *Antaios* 12 (1976) 549–65 = *Hestia und Erigone* 17–30; Meuli, *Ges. Schr.* 2.1035–81; Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 81–96, 248–9; Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses* 78–81.

¹⁷⁵ Servius Dan. has got this rationalization directly or indirectly from Palaiphatos' *Troika*, whom he quotes in his comments on *Aen.* 3.8, 3.80 = *FGHst* 44 FF 5–6 (Addenda to vol. 1, pp. *17–18); see Eust. *Od.* 1382.49 and Anon. *Incred.* 4 p. 89 Festa. Palaiphatos drew on another like-minded predecessor in ch. 12 of his *II. ἀπορω*, Menekrates, to whom Servius Dan. attributes the story told there (Menek. fr. 5;→§11.2.3; Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* 204–5). The fragments and testimonia for Palaiphatos are by no means yet all collected; see Hawes, *The Rationalisation of Myth in Antiquity*, Appendix One.

discovered. The very curious idea of Herakles' climbing into the monster's belly could well come from Hellanikos, perhaps inspired by the similar story about Jason (→§6.5).¹⁷⁶ The story of this monster is not well represented in early art, unlike the similar story of Perseus and Andromeda, though in one case at least an illustration of the latter can be re-identified as one of the former.¹⁷⁷

A further detail from this part of the story is transmitted in *Hellan.* fr. 108, another piece of local knowledge: Hesione was exposed at the promontory called 'Agammeia' after her unmarried status (for its possible location, see *Barrington Atlas* map 56). Hesychios α302 is similar, except that it mentions 'maidens' in the plural as victims; this could refer to later versions in which other daughters as well as Hesione were exposed, or nearly exposed (schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 472, 952, Myth. Vat. II 220 (193)). The fragment is cited from 'book 2' of an unstated work; it cannot be the *Troika*, as the war was well underway already in book 2 (fr. 28–9), and already in book 1 if Jacoby's thought is correct that fr. 27 is to be related to Thuc. 1.11.1, where the Greeks at Troy must farm the Chersonese to feed themselves. The *Phoronis* is the obvious guess (fr. 2–3).

Denied of his prize, Herakles returns later to sack the city.¹⁷⁸ From this part of the tale comes *Hellan.* fr. 109, in which Telamon's haste nearly costs him his life. The story is found elsewhere only in Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.135, with some differences, particularly that the altar was for Herakles Kallinikos. The building of walls was a sacred business (Aristoph. fr. 1A), their breaching symbolic of conquest; small wonder that Herakles, jealous of his honour, was angry. By the logic of opposites, the Herakles who breaches a wall can protect it; hence he is Alexikakos.¹⁷⁹ (Telamon, of course, was averting evil from himself.) The reason for 'Kallinikos' is obvious. The two epithets are very commonly applied to Herakles, perhaps more than any others, and perhaps Apollodoros in his memory has substituted one for the other; or the altar was for both Alexikakos and Kallinikos.¹⁸⁰ But it is probably best to think that Hellanikos has not invented this story, and that it came from someone else such as Peisandros.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Lykoph. *Alex.* 35 with Tzetzes, M. Davies, *SIFC* 96 (2003) 136–41, uses this detail to argue that the Hesione story is another *Jenseitsfahrt* in disguise, like Geryon and the Hesperides. (In 'Sins of the Fathers' Davies explores the place of this story in a folk-tale pattern in which daughters of fathers who offend gods are punished and rescued at the last minute.) I do not see why one could not have both the wall and the belly in the same story (so Jacoby). Diod. Sic. 4.42.1–6 = Dionys. Skyt. fr. 16 also recounts the tale with some personal embellishments but no serious divergence.

¹⁷⁷ R. Merkelbach, *MDAI(R)* 101 (1994) 85 after Carl Robert, with reference to LIMC Andromeda no. 31.

¹⁷⁸ Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.134–6; Diod. Sic. 4.32.1–5 and 4.49.3–6 (two different versions, the first quite like Apollod.); Ov. *Met.* 11.213–17; Paus. 8.36.6; Hyg. *Fab.* 89; Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 34; Myth. Vat. I 2.34.

¹⁷⁹ Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 174, on Herakles and gates.

¹⁸⁰ Alexikakos: CRESAM cites ten examples including in Attika SEG 28.232, 4th c. BC, and IG II² 1582, also 4th c.; see further Gruppe RE Suppl. 3.1001–2, Wentzel RB 1.2 1464–5. Alexikakos was also used of Apollo, Zeus, Athena, Demeter, Hermes (Ar. Pax 422). On cults of Herakles in Attika, Kearns, *The Heroes of Attika* 34–5, 166; Woodford, 'Cults of Heracles in Attica'.

Andron fr. 10 is an aetiological tale of the origin of cremation, which as is well known is the proper mode of burial for heroes in Homer, even if archaeology is against him.¹⁸¹ That burial customs were an object of scholarly research is shown by the controversy over the authenticity of *Il.* 7.334–5, which Aristarchos athetized; the search for origins and first inventors of all manner of things featured in the programme of Sophists and their heirs (cf. §7.1.4), and such matters were particularly dear to Andron (fr. 1, 4–10, 13, 16). The idea of bringing the remains of fallen warriors home originates in Athens, at any rate, in the 460s BC (Hornblower on Thuc. 2.34.1), so the story is no earlier than that, and looks likely to have been invented by Andron, as may be inferred also from its details. His candidate for the beneficiary of this invention is Argeios the son of Likymnios, who was very reluctant to let his son go to Troy, having already lost another with Herakles in Lakedaimon. This son, Oionos, figured in the lost beginning of Alkman's first *Partheneion* (schol. Clem. Al. *Protr.* 1.108 Stählin), so was deeply rooted in Spartan myth if not cult.¹⁸² Argeios, on the other hand, is named elsewhere only by Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.156, in a quite different context: with his brother Melas he is killed during the sack of Oichalia. So Argeios is little more than a cipher, even if Andron has read his name somewhere in previous tradition.

Pher. fr. 78, a *historia* attached to *Il.* 14.255, tells the story of Eurypylos. Homer alludes to it at *Il.* 2.676–80 (the *Catalogue of Ships*: Antiphos and Pheidippos, the two sons of Thessalos son of Herakles, lead the Koan contingent, 'city of Eurypylos'); 14.249–61 (Hypnos aided Hera in her designs); 15.18–30 (Zeus punished Hera and helped Herakles to get back to Argos). Pherekydes explains that when Herakles, blown by the storm, tried to land on 'Meropid' Kos, Eurypylos prevented him; so he forced his way ashore, killed Eurypylos and his sons, and fathered Thessalos on Chalkiope. Apollodoros' account, *Bibl.* 2.137–8, is similar in wording and may draw ultimately on Pherekydes; in particular, he says that Herakles and his crew were mistaken for pirates (*ληστρον σόλον*), so the Koans tried to prevent them from landing by pelting them with rocks. Herakles then forced (*βιασάμενος*) his way ashore. In the *historia* we have *βιασάμενος δὲ καὶ ὡς ληστής ἐπιβάς* which looks like a poorly abbreviated version of this. Apollodoros adds the name of Eurypylos' mother (Astypalaia), and says that Herakles was wounded in the battle by one Chalkodon and saved by Zeus. He reserves Chalkiope and Thessalos for his list of Herakles' children at 2.166. Perhaps then these additional details were in Pherekydes as well. There are further references to the story at Hes. fr. 43a 61–4 (while returning from Troy Herakles sacked the city *ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀλίγης*, which may be something like Pherekydes/Apollodoros' story, though Hesiod omits the wounding, and names 'Chalkon' as one of Eurypylos' sons, which should perhaps be

¹⁸¹ I. Morris and Powell, *A New Companion to Homer*, index s.v. 'cremation'.

¹⁸² On Oionos e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 10.78 and schol.; Diod. Sic. 4.33.5; Paus. 3.15.4; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.143 (unnamed).

read in Apollod.), Pind. *Nem.* 4.26 and *Isthm.* 6.31. The *Meropis* of SH 903A, or the archaic poem it drew on, would have contained some of this material.

Dam. fr. 12 mentions Antiphos. After the war Antiphos went to Thessaly, conquered the Pelasgoi and named the country Thessaly after his father, while Pheidippos went to Andros or Cyprus (Apollod. *Epit.* 6.15, cf. Paus. 8.5.2; Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 911 = Apollod. *Epit.* 6.15b). Possibly some form of the word *Κύπρος* is to be supplied in l. 2 of this fragment.

Another tradition about the brothers held that they went to Thesprotia, where they died and were buried. Their descendants then emigrated to Thessaly and named the new country after their ancestor (Arist. fr. 640.39; Strab. 9.5.23; Vell. Pat. 1.3.1). The burial at Ephyra seems to have been mentioned in fr. 1 col. i of the papyrus. Polyainos (8.44) has a story about Aiatos (*sic*) son of Pheidippos who campaigned against the Boiotoi, ancient inhabitants of Thessaly, and who had another Thessalos as son, after whom he named the conquered territory. Herodotos also knows of the Thessaloi emigrating from Thesprotia to Thessaly (7.176.4), or Aiolis as he says it then was; i.e. the Boiotians were the people evicted. This then forced their migration southwards, inaugurating the age of migration. Some version of these events was related in **Hek. fr. 137A**, where Aiatios, Pheidippos and Antiphos are all mentioned.

§8.5.4 ANTAIOS, BOUSIRIS; ALIMOS BROSIS (Pher. fr. 17, 75–6; Herod. fr. 1)

In **Pher. fr. 17** we learn that Herakles dispatched Antaios and Bousiris in Libya. **Pher. fr. 75** states that Antaios hailed from Irasa by Lake Triton.¹⁸³ Irasa is mentioned otherwise only by Herodotos (4.158–9; a region; east of Kyrene) and Pindar (*Pyth.* 9.106; a polis), whose scholiast conveys our fragment. According to Pindar one of the victor's ancestors was a suitor among many for Antaios' daughter; this is meant to redound to his glory, as the scholiast rightly remarks. Another scholion on the same passage wonders how that could be, if Antaios was a monster, and concludes that a different Antaios must be meant; he also notices a chronological problem, since the Greeks arrived at Kyrene long after Herakles' day, a point on which Pindar and his audience would have been very clear. These same considerations have misled some modern scholars into punctuating Pindar's text *Ἰρασα πρὸς πόλιν Ἀνταίου, μετὰ καλλίκομον . . . ἀγακλέα κόουραν*, construing 'Antaios' with 'Irasa', rather than *Ἰρασα πρὸς πόλιν, Ἀνταίου κτλ.*, construing 'Antaios' with 'daughter'. The first construction leaves the bride without a named father, and there is little glory in that. And why mention the irrelevant monster? Although a second Antaios is not known elsewhere, the scholiast's reading is entirely reasonable. We have to do here with a local reinterpretation of the

¹⁸³ This shows where he put Lake Triton, *pace* Jacoby (who thinks Pher. has combined versions). That lake's position was quite variable (Huß, *BNP* s.v. Triton [2]).

Antaios myth, reflecting a period of amicable relations with the Libyans of Irasa.¹⁸⁴ The myth of Kyrene's wonderful son Aristaios in the same ode has the same tendency. In contrast to other versions, Aristaios stays in Africa, mediating between nature and civilization. That Pindar elsewhere follows the usual story of Antaios (*Isthm.* 3/4.70–3), for a different audience, is unsurprising.

Antaios ('Opponent')¹⁸⁵ wrestled with his victims and attached their skulls as trophies to his father Poseidon's temple (*ἐπέφοντα*, says Pindar, as if the whole roof were made of them; or maybe just the akrothinia; Kyknos, another evildoer slain by Herakles, was building a whole temple out of skulls: schol. Pind. *Ol.* 10.19). Pindar's scholiast (on *Isthm.* 4.92) says Pindar is alone in attributing this ghastly habit to Antaios; elsewhere it is Diomedes of Thrace, Marpessa's father Euenos (Bacchyl. 20), or Oinomaos (Soph. fr. 473a, where see Radt's parallels). Euenos and Oinomaos are fathers who challenge their daughters' suitors in athletic performance until they meet their better; the idea of marriage takes us back to the favourable version in *Pyth.* 9, and suggests the one-time existence of yet another version, in which Antaios' daughter was a prize worth fighting for, but Antaios was murderous like Oinomaos; his sport was wrestling. This version could be Peisandros', who certainly related the tale in some form, as we are told he named the daughter Alkeis (fr. 6). In Apollodoros (2.115), Antaios simply compels all passers-by to wrestle, behaving like Kyknos or the brigands Theseus encounters on his journey from Troizen to Athens. Apollodoros also states that Herakles had to raise Antaios off the ground in order to crush him, as he was a son of Ge and grew stronger so long as his feet were on the ground. This is the story most familiar in later tradition, but no classical or archaic source mentions it; indeed, early Greek art has many examples of Herakles defeating Antaios in the normal manner (Gantz 416–17; *LIMC* 1.1.810–11).

Pher. fr. 76 says that after defeating Antaios Herakles married his wife, not his daughter; this runs counter to the parallels (Herakles always claims the daughter), and one wonders if it is not meant as a correction of the tradition(s) represented in Peisandros and Pindar (*Pyth.* 9). Their son is Palaimon, the Wrestler, which might seem a good epithet of Herakles as a hero of palaistrai and athletic competitions, but is in fact rare;¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Corcella on Hdt. 4.158.1–2, citing A. Jähne, *Klio* 70 (1988) 152–3. 'Barke' as the name of the daughter according to 'others' in Pher. fr. 75 belongs in this context (cf. Hdt. 4.160.1). Malkin, *Myth and Territory* 181–7, 197–203 contests this interpretation (but cf. 185–6 on Barke).

¹⁸⁵ A generic name, good for bogeys and monsters; this is no reason to conclude that Antaios was some kind of ghost, as some scholars have done (e.g. Blinkenberg, *Hermes* 50 (1915) 284).

¹⁸⁶ Apart from our fr. of Pher. in *Etym. Gen./Magn.* and Lykoph. Alex. 663 whose scholia quote Pher., there is only *Etym. Magn.* (*Etym. Gen.*) 511.28 and *IG VII* 2874; cf. Gruppe, *RE* Suppl. 3.1003; R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 421 n. 15. Herakles' widespread, all but universal association with gymnasia and palaistrai is a feature rather of Hellenistic and later periods, though with obvious roots in his classical character (Gruppe, loc. cit. 1007–8).

wrestling here could in fact derive from a popular etymology of a figure whose nature and association with Herakles lay in quite different quarters (see below on Amaltheia). In Apollodoros' list of the wives and sons of Herakles (*Bibl.* 2.166) there figures Autonoe mother of Palaimon, which could derive from Pherekydes; her father's name there, Peireus, is unique and resists emendation. It is likely to be someone who traces their ancestry back to Belos.

Pher. fr. 17 told the story of Bousiris: another son of Poseidon, residing at Memphis on the Nile, whom Herakles kills along with his son Iphidamas and his herald Chalbes and the attendants at the altar on which strangers were sacrificed. The story is poorly represented in early literature, but we know that Panyassis told it (fr. 11), and Herodotos, Panyassis' kinsman, famously goes out of his way to refute it (2.45, without naming Bousiris; see Lloyd ad loc.); it was then the subject of a satyr-play by Euripides (Collard and Cropp 1.318–21, *Das griech. Satyrspiel* 413–19). Its popularity, however, is evident in art; artists obviously relished the typical scene, in which Herakles flings about wicked foreigners with distorted African features (many examples in *LIMC* 3.2 s.v. Bousiris).¹⁸⁷ Egyptian xenophobia is here matched by Greek. When Isokrates in his *Bousiris* set out to rescue the king's good name, he was setting himself a difficult task, appropriate to the genre of display oratory in which he was writing. In fairness, the detail that emerges from later accounts (e.g. Ov. *AA* 1.647–52), that Bousiris was acting in response to a seer's instruction in order to end a drought, exonerates him to some extent. This is Apollodoros' version (*Bibl.* 2.116–17), who may be drawing on Pherekydes; he gives the name of the son as Amphidamas, and says Bousiris was son of Poseidon and Lysianassa daughter of Epaphos (Libya daughter of Epaphos says Isokrates *Bus.* 10). Diodoros (4.18.7, 27.3) gives no details. Kallimachos alluded to the story in his *Aitia* (fr. 44–7 + *SH* 252), saying Bousiris was a model for Phalaris; Pfeiffer on fr. 44 cautions against assuming that Kallimachos told the story of Herakles, or was necessarily drawing on Pherekydes.¹⁸⁸

Porphry in his *Life of Pythagoras* (34–5) says that Demeter first gave Herakles the magical food *ἀλμυρος* (sc. τροφή, βρώσις) as he set out to cross the Libyan waste. The wonder-worker Epimenides, whose life shares many traits with that of Pythagoras, is the other person said to have held the secret of this food;¹⁸⁹ so when Herodotos (fr. 1) says that Herakles also possessed it, it at least marks him out as a special favourite of the gods, if it did not exactly turn him into a philosopher or holy man. Jacoby wonders in passing if he meant to contrast him with the typically gluttonous hero of comedy; at

¹⁸⁷ M. C. Miller, 'The Myth of Bousiris', provides a detailed study.

¹⁸⁸ Further references to the story are listed by Pfeiffer on fr. 44.

¹⁸⁹ *Vors.* 3 A 1, 5–6; *FGrHist* 457 T 1; Bernabé on his Epimen. fr. 27–9 writes out the passages and provides bibliography; see also Bollansée on *FGrHist* 1026 F 12 and Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* 37. Epimenides got the *ἀλμυρος* from the Nymphs.

all events, abstemiousness was a virtue since Hesiod, to whose *Works and Days* (l. 41) this fragment of Herodotos is attached as a comment (cf. Plut. *Sept. sap.* 157d–f, *De facie in orbe lunae* 940b). There, Hesiod remarks that the kings do not know the benefits of ‘mallow and asphodel’, which are the two ingredients of the *alimos* (sometimes with further additions). Hesiod’s line seems somewhat illogical in context (see West ad loc.), given that kings will never need to learn the discipline of parsimony; but if Hesiod is already thinking of the *alimos*, he means that these foods satisfy the appetite and remove greed, which is what he is denouncing. Herodotos reports this gift to Herakles in book 5 of his work; if the number is sound, this would seem too early for Libya, as there were at least seventeen books in the *Story of Herakles*. The *ἄλμιος* is different from the *ἄλμιον*, even if the latter is a miserable food consumed by Pythagoreans (Antiphanes fr. 158, where see Kassel and Austin); Pliny, *HN* 22.74, confuses them.

§8.5.5 OMPHALE (Hellan. fr. 112, Herod. fr. 33, Pher. fr. 82b)

After the murder of Iphitos Herakles was purified by serving as a slave of the Lydian queen Omphale. In **Pher. fr. 82b**, Zeus instructs Hermes to sell Herakles; one assumes the price of three talents was handed over to Iphitos’ father (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.132, where it is refused; Diod. Sic. 4.31.6). Aischylos (*Agam.* 1041) and Sophokles (*Trach.* 252, 276) also mention the sale. As usual, we cannot be sure in these *historiai* what Pherekydes might have said. In other versions, complications are introduced before the sale, including other purifications and Herakles’ attempt to steal the Delphic tripod when refused help by the Pythia,¹⁹⁰ a scene whose under-representation in archaic literature is compensated for in art (Gantz 438–9, *LIMC* Herakles nos. 2947–3071), though strictly speaking we do not know if the artists who depicted the struggle connected it to the story of Iphitos. The length of the service is given as one year by Sophokles, three by **Herodotos** (fr. 33) and Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.131).

Hellan. fr. 112 reports that Herakles had a son Akelos by Malis, a slave of Omphale, who was eponym of the (unlocated) Lydian city Akele or Akeles.¹⁹¹ Panyassis (fr. 23) also mentions this son (sp. Acheles), and the quoting source says that he ruled over Lydia. By Omphale herself Herakles is supposed to have fathered Lamos, eponym of the Thessalian city Lamia.¹⁹² Furthermore, Herodotos says that the Heraklid dynasty of Lydia which ended with Kandaules descended from Alkaios son of Herakles by a slave of Iardanos (eponym of the Jordan), who is elsewhere father of Omphale; Herodotos thus silently

¹⁹⁰ Diod. 4.31.4–5; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.130; Paus. 10.13.8; possibly Pind. *Ol.* 9.32–3. Kühr, *Als Kadmos nach Boiotien kam* 183–4.

¹⁹¹ As Jacoby notes, the form of fr. 112b (‘to the city of Akele’, a verbatim quotation) suggests that the fr. might have come from Hellanikos’ *Lydiaka* (*FGrHist* 4 F 58). Of course, he might have told this story in more than one place.

¹⁹² Steph. Byz. β38 (Bargasa) and s.v. *Λαμία*; Diod. Sic. 4.31.8; Ov. *Her.* 9.54; *Etym. Magn.* s.v. *Λαμία*.

rejects the servitude of Herakles to a foreign queen. A fourth son of Omphale is recorded in schol. *Il.* 18.219, one Melas (*Μήλας*), which looks like it should be the Lydian king mentioned by Herodotos at 1.84.3 and others (*Μήλας*);¹⁹³ but whatever place he held in the Lydian king-list, it is not at the top, so it is a puzzle how he can be a son of Omphale. The scholiast says he invented the salpinx; Stoll in Roscher, *Lex.* s.v. suggested that ‘Hegelaos’ or ‘Hegeleos’ might be read for Melas, comparing Paus. 2.21.3, who says that ‘Tyrseos’ (= Lydian), son of Herakles and ‘the Lydian lady’, invented the salpinx, and his son Hegeleos in turn taught the use of it to the invading Herakleidae. Note finally Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.165, where Agelaos is a son of Omphale and Herakles (*ὄθεν τὸ Κροίσου γένος*, says Apollodoros, which is true in a political sense, once the legitimacy of Gyges’ accession was recognized).¹⁹⁴ We shall come back to this person in a moment.

Wilamowitz first noticed that several features of the Omphale story show that it was originally located in south Thessaly and the Spercheios valley rather than Lydia.¹⁹⁵ There are the proper names Malis and Lamos already mentioned. While in Omphale’s service, Herakles tackles various villains who are also located in Thessaly/Malis: the Kerkopes (below); the Itones (Diod. Sic. 4.31.7); Syleus, who forced bypassers to work his vineyard *ἐν Αὐλίδι* (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.132; Konon, *FGrHist* 26 F 17, puts him at Mt Pelion).¹⁹⁶ The story was transferred for some reason to Lydia, rather as the story of Abdera was transferred from Lokris to Thrace (above, §8.4.8).

The Heraklid dynasty is one likely place to look for the reason. As Burkert noted, the odd thing about the Lydian genealogy is its attachment to Ninos and Belos, i.e. the eponym of Nineveh and the chief god of the Assyrians.¹⁹⁷ The list is not a Herodotean invention, but came from a definite source, which Burkert suggests goes back to Gyges’ attempts to win recognition from the Assyrian superpower on his doorstep (and which cannot postdate the destruction of Nineveh in 612). Now on top of this Lydian/Assyrian construction, as father of Ninos and grandfather of Belos, sits Alkaios son of Herakles—a brazen Greek appropriation, like Perseus as ancestor of the Persians, or Bellerophon of the Lycians. Speculation as to what encouraged this particular identification has focused on Herakles as Sandon, or Omphale as the *interpretatio Graeca* of a goddess like Kybaba, but Hellanikos’ and Panyassis’ Acheles/Akeles ‘who ruled in Lydia’ seems closer to hand. He is probably the same person as Agelaos/Hegelaos, and equated by the Greeks

¹⁹³ Nik. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 FF 16, 45; Euseb. *Chron.* (Hier.) p. 90.7 Helm.

¹⁹⁴ In addition there is Strabo’s report (5.2.2), at odds with Herodotos 1.94.3, that Atys father of Lydos and Tyrrhenos was descended from Herakles and Omphale; see Radt ad loc.

¹⁹⁵ Euripides *Herakles* 2.73–7.

¹⁹⁶ Wilamowitz also noted the Epeiroi tribe Omphaleis, and the Thessalian city Omphalion (Steph. Byz. s.v.), but the former are a long way off and the latter is attested nowhere else, unless we count Rhianos’ Omphaleis *FGrHist* 265 F 19 (Jacoby argues they are the same as the Epeiroi Omphaleis). The connection is probably coincidental.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Lydia between East and West’, *Kl. Schr.* 1.229.

with Alkaios.¹⁹⁸ Perseus, it will be remembered, fathered Alkaios, grandfather of Herakles, in the Levant, and Herakles' own association with Alkaios is closer than is usual for grandsons and grandfathers (above, §8.3). What we might infer from these data is that there was an Assyrian, Babylonian, or Phoenician figure with a name like Acheles and perhaps some similarity to Herakles, and a figure in the Lydian king-list whose name could be made to match. It is just possible that Herodotos' Agron represents this person, given the identical sequence of alpha, velar, and liquid in his name; Alkaios was made into father of Ninus, but this Agron was, he says, 'first of the Heraklids' to rule in Lydia.

The spectacle of the most manly of Greek heroes doing time as a slave to a woman, and a foreign one at that, is one of the most striking in Greek mythology. Latin sources, beginning with Ovid, *Her.* 9.53–118, compound the degradation by making Herakles wear women's clothes and do women's work (cf. e.g. *Fast.* 2.319–26, *Prop.* 4.9.47–50), but this is implied already in Greek art of the fourth century (*LIMC* Omphale no. 4; Gantz 439), and one would not be surprised to see it turn up in a comedy or satyr-play (which both Achaïos and Ion wrote on the subject).¹⁹⁹ Transvestism in Greek cult may have provided some inspiration for this development in the myth (Ovid in the *Fasti* links it to the Roman Luperalia, as a reason for *not* cross-dressing), but in its earliest form, where it is linked to an especially vile crime, the punishment is one of necessary severity and humiliation, and only on the most general grounds might one surmise that the myth was aetiological; there is no direct evidence in this case.²⁰⁰ Nothing Herakles does is on an ordinary scale; not even Delphi can purify him. As such, the story is of a piece with others in Herakles' life, which typically go to the extreme of any possible spectrum. Nonetheless the role reversal, like the myth of the Amazons, resonated deeply in Greek social psychology, as can be seen in the story's political application, when Perikles is said to play Herakles to Aspasia's Omphale (Kratinos fr. 259; Eupolis fr. 294; Plut. *Per.* 24.9 = adesp. com. fr. 704); Klearchos (fr. 43 Wehrli) draws a causal connection between effeminacy, tyranny, violence, and moral dissolution. The story reveals both the harshness of Greek gender stereotypes and anxiety about them; it also

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Matthews on Panyassis fr. 23 (his fr. 17). Homer, *Il.* 24.616, has a river Acheloos near Mt Sipylus; M. L. West emends to *Ἀκελῆσιος* on the basis of the scholia ad loc. and the data here; see his *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* 280. Even if the emendation is not accepted the coincidence of roots could be significant.

¹⁹⁹ *Das griech. Satyrspiel* 480–90, 539–41; Ion fr. 22, 24–5 may indeed refer precisely to cross-dressing (see Easterling, 'Looking for Omphale' 287). Among comedians, there are Antiphanes fr. 174–6, Kratinos II fr. 4–5 (fr. 5 refers to women's clothing). The Omphale story could be the subject of Nikokhares fr. 7, and note the mime text of *P.Oxy.* 53.3700, with V. Jarcho, *ZPE* 70 (1987) 32–4.

²⁰⁰ On transvestism see e.g. Leita, 'The Perils of Leukippos'; Cyrino, 'Heroes in D(u)ress'; Bremmer, 'Transvestite Dionysos'; Waldner, *Geburt und Hochzeit des Kriegers*, index s.v. Verkleidung. An erotic tinge to the story is not explicit until Roman writers, but to the possible example in 4th-c. Greek art adduced by Gantz 439, add the one tentatively identified by Karl, 'Omphale?' (also 4th-c. Apulian). Another story about Herakles is the ation for transvestism in Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 58 304c–e.

illustrates the astounding capacity of this figure, no less than Dionysos, to combine (but not to reconcile) opposites.²⁰¹

§8.5.6 KERKOPES (Pher. fr. 77)

One of the tasks that Herakles undertook while vassal to Omphale was to deal with the Kerkopes. They were Oichalian by birth, and caused much harm to the neighbouring Boiotians. Their story is first told in any detail in surviving sources by Zenobios in the second century (Zenob. *Ath.* 2.85),²⁰² but it is clear from archaic art that versions of it were widely known already in the early sixth century (Gantz 441; *LIMC* 6.132–4). These two brothers, wreaking havoc on their landsmen, were told by their mother to watch out for Blackrump. One day they came upon Herakles asleep and tried to steal his weapons, but he caught them, and tied them by their ankles to a yoke. As he carried them along, upside down, they had a good view of his hirsute posterior, and realized their mother's warning had come true. In some later versions (Zenobios, ps-Nonnos, *Suda* and probably Plutarch), Herakles was so amused by their jokes that he released them.

The evidence for the use of this story in the archaic period is worth reviewing, as it bears on Pherekydes' sources (Pher. fr. 77). It is hard to resist the conclusion that fr. 178 of Archilochos refers to the tale, even if uttered by the fox to the eagle in the fable: *μή τευ μελαμπύρου τύχης*. Porphyry, who quotes the fragment, says it refers to a black-tailed eagle, and Tzetzes agrees, but this by no means rules out an allusion to Herakles and the Kerkopes; indeed, it is an exquisite piece of wit if the proverb was given an unexpected new application in the fable. Archilochos' enemy Lykambes is equated with the beastly and ludicrous Kerkopes as well as the cowardly white-tailed eagle.²⁰³ There are several reasons for thinking that the story of the Kerkopes was congenial to iambos: the comic potential of Herakles; the lewd and ribald jokes of the Kerkopes; their reputation as scoundrels (variously described as robbers, liars, cheats, malefactors, flatterers,

²⁰¹ For rich readings see Cyrino, 'Heroes in D(u)ress' and Loraux, 'Herakles: The Super-Male and the Feminine'. Further references in Waldner, *BNP* s.v. Omphale.

²⁰² See Bühler's full commentary. Cf. Lykoph. *Alex.* 691; Diotimos *SH* 394; Ov. *Met.* 14.90–100; Plut. *Mor.* 60c; Luc. *Pseudolog.* 32; Harp. κ42; Porph. *Quaest. Hom.* p. 275.1 Schrader; ps-Nonn. on Greg. *Naz. Or.* 4.39; *Suda* κ1405; Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 91 (whose etymology of *πύραγρος* suggests some iambic scene: 'a lewd person, much given to sex: *e contrario*, from one whose rump is *not* lazy, but active during intercourse'), *Chil.* 5.81–99. Harpokration, schol. *Luc. Alex.* 4 and others quote Xenagoras *FGrHist* 240 fr. 28 in the *Nesiotika* (time of Kallimachos); see Ceccarelli, 'I Nesiotika' 909–14 for text and comment. Although Pher. fr. 77 is cited along with comic poets, the emendation 'Pherekrates' is unnecessary; the citation of Xenagoras shows that other types of sources were consulted. In mythography the Kerkopes are briefly mentioned by Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.132; cf. Diod. 4.31.7.

²⁰³ *πύραγρος* was a term for 'coward', as *μελαμπύρος* denoted also 'manly' (*Ar. Lys.* 802, Euboulos fr. 61). Note *μελαμπύρος* of Herakles also at Simonides 519A fr. 46 Campbell. On the fable and Archilochos see Fraenkel on Aisch. *Agam.* 115; M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* 133; Irwin, *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry* 139–44; Bossi, *Studi su Archiloco* 192–5.

and wanderers); and their name, *κέρκος*, 'tail', was colloquial for 'penis' in Greek as in other languages (Ar. *Thesm.* 239 with Austin and Olson). Sappho's husband 'Kerkylas of Andros' was surely a comic invention (test. 2 Campbell). Ptolemy the Quail's answer to the question, what name did Achilles have when amongst the maidens of Skyros, was 'Kerkouras'.²⁰⁴ Hesychios κ2335 defines *κέρκωψ* as *παιγνιώδης ἢ εἶδος θηρίου μεγάλης οὐρᾶν ἔχοντος*. The Kerkopes make one appearance in the iambic tradition itself, in 'Aischines' (*IEG* 2.28), if that is the right name; 'Aischrion' is an old and probable emendation by Maussac, a companion of Alexander who wrote iambs among other things (*SH* 1–12).²⁰⁵ Kerkidas the Dog/Cynic, third-century poet of meliambics, like Stesichoros was aptly named. A Kerkidas appears in adesp. iamb. 49 West. In the light of the story (Xenagoras, perhaps Lykophron, Ovid) that the Kerkopes were turned into monkeys, one reads Hipponax fr. 155a with renewed interest: *ἢ κερκύδιλον ἢ πίθηκον*; the first word is reported by solemn grammarians as a dialect form of *κροκόδειλος*, which it was, but like 'tail' the word could have been put to bawdy use (=a man with a large member, a 'cockodile').²⁰⁶ The hexameter poem attributed to Homer on the subject of the Kerkopes was a *παίγνιον* like the *Margites*.²⁰⁷ Unsurprisingly the Kerkopes are well represented in comedy (Kratinos—aptly—in the *Archilochoi* fr. 13; plays called *Kerkopes* by Euboulos, Hermippos and Plato). There is ample reason to think that comedy inherited a rich tradition about the Kerkopes from archaic iambic, and that Archilochos could have used it in the manner suggested.

In Pherekydes, however, the Kerkopes are turned to stone. The petrification is mentioned also by the *Suda* κ1405,²⁰⁸ and closer to Pherekydes' day it is perhaps implied by Herodotos 7.216, who mentions the 'so-called stone of Melampygos' and 'the Kerkopes' seats' (*Κερκώπων ἔδραι*) at Thermopylai. The latter could be the transformed Kerkopes, the former perhaps a rock by which Herakles was taking his repose when they ambushed him. Petrification is not a happy ending: it is associated with offences against gods or men in the stories of the Phaiacians, Perseus, Niobe, and others.²⁰⁹ Iambos had its vicious side and traditional characters could be turned to a

²⁰⁴ Em. van der Valk; Aristonikos *FGH* 57 F 1 ap. Ptolem. Chennos p. 17.28 Chatzis, *Cypria* fr. 19 Bernabé. Ptolemy has made this citation of Aristonikos up, but his idea might come from comedy.

²⁰⁵ *Contra* Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 2.158.

²⁰⁶ One could very well ask Hipponax's question, 'ape or cockodile', of the simian creatures with grotesque members on the Lucanian pelike in the Getty Museum (*LIMC* Kerkopes no. 9; Brommer, *Herakles* 2 Taf. 8). Cf. also the illustration mentioned below n. 209.

²⁰⁷ Fragments of both most conveniently available in M. L. West, *Homeric Hymns*.

²⁰⁸ From a fuller version of Zenob. vulg. 1.5 = Zenob. Ath. V_A 2a p. 63 Spyridonidou-Skarsoyli, q.v.

²⁰⁹ Forbes Irving, *Metamorphosis* 143–8, who points out (145) that their being turned into monkeys can be read as equivalent to petrification in point of speech (silence in one case, meaningless babble in the other). But the monkey ending is in a different (comic) key. Marconi, *Temple Decoration and Cultural Identity* 150–9, 205–7, however, interprets the Selinous metope as a serious statement of a Greek superiority over barbarian neighbours. As Emma Stafford notes (*Herakles* 62), comic intention is undeniable in the early-4th-c. Sicilian vase Catania MB 4232 (*LIMC* Kerkopes no. 23; Brommer, *Herakles* 2. 30).

variety of purposes both comic and serious, as targets of abuse or as personae assumed by the iambographer (such as Hipponax the scapegoat); there may be a hint here of a different, wholly serious tradition. Zenobios (1.5) refers to an attempt by the Kerkopes to deceive Zeus, and the *Suda* says this is why they were petrified; Lykophron (*Alex.* 693) alludes to actual combat between Zeus and the Kerkopes. One of their named mothers is Theia daughter of Okeanos; this is not the parent of a jolly folktale, and her offspring might have had the character of the villains Herakles usually defeats. Or we might suppose that in the mock-epic *Kerkopes*, after being released by Herakles, the still unrepentant boys went on to challenge even Zeus, with predictable results.

Although much is uncertain in this tradition it appears that Pherekydes had a variety of sources on which he might have drawn. That high epic cannot be one of them in this case is a matter of interest. He might have taken his information from the 'Homeric' *Kerkopes*, or from iambic (or comic) poetry, or from oral tradition (the art indicates that versions of the story were told all over Greece); moreover, as the passage in Herodotos suggests (however interpreted), Pherekydes' version might have come from a quite specific locality, providing another example of local knowledge in this writer, even of places far away from Athens.

§8.5.7 THE HORN OF AMALTHEIA (Pher. fr. 42, 76)

While in Hades Herakles met Meleagros in a scene memorably dramatized by Bacchylides (5.160–9), and formed the desire to wed his sister Deianeira (cf. Pind. fr. 249a).²¹⁰ He returned to Kalydon, where the river Acheloos was already attempting the same objective. According to Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.148), he wrestled Acheloos in the form of a bull, and broke off one of his horns; Acheloos then gave him the horn of Amaltheia in its place. Here Apollodoros cites Pher. fr. 42, which says that the horn provided any quantity of food or drink one might wish for. Amaltheia herself, says Apollodoros, was a daughter of Haimonios (also Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 50). The name just means 'Thessalian'²¹¹ and is sufficient to show that this is not the nymph who cared for the infant Zeus (and note the horn is a bull's, not a goat's). In Pind. fr. 249a and Hyg. *Fab.* 182.1, the nurse is a daughter of Okeanos, which is much more apt.²¹² We are dealing here with different traditions, one a folktale about a magical cornucopia, the

²¹⁰ The original Mythographus Homericus is now represented by P.Oxy. 4096 fr. 4 (van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* 287).

²¹¹ If this is from Pherekydes it is the first occurrence of a usage that is very common in Hellenistic and Latin literature.

²¹² A father Olenos is inferred from the adjective Olenios at Arat. *Phain.* 164 (schol. ad loc.), Ov. *Fasti* 5.113. If this relates to the city of Olenos (→ §4.2), we are near Kalydon. Olenos is son of Hephaistos and father of Aix and Helike (Hyg. *Astr.* 2.13.3). Hyginus goes on to say that according to some Aix was eponym of Aigai in 'Haimonia'. Finally Melisseus, king of Crete, is named as father by Hyg. locc. cit., Lact. *Inst.* 1.22.19 = Didymos p. 220 Schmidt (a late invention; Zeus also ate honey; Kallim. *Hymn.* 1.49).

other a story about the goat that nursed the infant Zeus. By the time of Pherekydes these have become entangled with each other. Amaltheia herself is not the goat before the Hellenistic period—she tends the goat—and it is not a horn but milk that feeds the baby;²¹³ however, if Amaltheia is a beneficent mother who provides all things like the Earth, she could appropriately possess a horn of plenty. The 'horn of Amaltheia' was proverbial already in the archaic period (Anakreon PMG 361, Phokyl. fr. 7; cf. Paus. 6.19.6), and its fantasy appeal was not lost on comedy (Kratin. fr. 261, Ar. fr. 707, Philemon fr. 68, Antiphanes fr. 108, Menander fr. 838.6). Acheloos as a river of the Underworld makes him part of Ploutos' realm, so it is fitting that he too should be associated with the horn.²¹⁴

At this point we recall the figure of Palaimon, the son/epithet of Herakles we met above in connection with Antaios; the scholion quoting Pher. fr. 76 suggests that the epithet could also derive from his wrestling match with Acheloos. In Attica, Palaimon was an Underworld god like Plouton; he and other figures like him are associated with Herakles in reliefs and vase-paintings from the early fourth century on in which he or Herakles holds a cornucopia. Why Herakles should be part of this group of wealth-giving gods is a puzzle, but one guesses that the mythology of the Eleusinian mysteries, into which he was initiated, had something to do with it; 'der Herr der unterirdischen Schätze belohnt den Helden, der es vermocht hat, bis in sein Reich vorzudringen'.²¹⁵ The existence of wrestling stories such as those of Acheloos, Antaios, Nereus, and perhaps Thanatos himself would have helped too. No surviving story has him wrestling with Palaimon; but if he is a benevolent figure, this would not be expected.

§8.5.8 TLEPOLEPOS (Akous. fr. 44, Pher. fr. 80-1)

According to Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.149), after Herakles married Deianeira he assisted her father Oineus in a campaign against the Thesprotians. As we shall see when discussing Hellan. fr. 2 (next section), Apollodoros' narrative appears to be broken here in order to fit in what was perhaps originally a free-standing expedition; the chronology of Herakles'

²¹³ Amaltheia = goat: Nik. fr. 124; schol. Kallim. *Hymn.* 1.49 (Kallim. himself is ambiguous as between 'the goat Amaltheia' and 'Amaltheia's goat'); schol. (D) *Il.* 15.229 (~P.Oxy. 3003 li 36 ff.). Otherwise cf. Bratosth. *Katast.* 13 quoting Mousalos *Vors.* 2 B 8, Hyg. *Astr.* 2.13.3, Ov. *Fasti* 5.111-28, Zenob. *vulg.* 1.26, 2.48, Zenob. *Ath. V.* 27 (p. 229 Spyridonidou-Skarsouli).

²¹⁴ Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.131-2 [1.127-8]. Herakles' bout with Acheloos occurs in early literature also in Archil. fr. 287, Pind. fr. 249a, Soph. *Trach.* 9-26; see also Diod. Sic. 4.35.3-4, Strabo 10.2.19, Ov. *Met.* 9.1-88, Hyg. *Fab.* 31.7, in all of whom the horn is Acheloos' own. For representations in art from the 6th c. on see Gantz 433; LIMC Acheloos nos 213-59; Bemmman, *Füllhörner in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit*.

²¹⁵ Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.130 n. 3 [1.127 n. 4], though without mention of Eleusis. On the whole problem see R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 418-26; see also Gantz 456. For Herakles and Palaimon in art, Boardman *LIMC* Herakles nos. 3488-97. How the Isthmian hero Palaimon, formerly Melikertes, relates to all this is impossible to say, but confusion would have been easy (Plaut. *Rud.* 160-1). On his cult see Gebhard and Dickie, 'Melikertes-Palaimon'; on the possible equation of Melkart and Melikertes, West, *EPH* 58, and Griffith, *Phoenix* 55 (2001) 228 noting Phoenician *Ba'al-hāmōn*, 'Lord of the Multitude'.

many exploits was a perpetual and insoluble problem for the mythographers. While on this expedition Herakles captures the city of Ephyra, whose king is Phylas, 'Tribesman'; by his daughter Astyoche he fathers Tlepoemos (cf. *Bibl.* 2.166, *Epit.* 3.13), founder of Rhodes with its three Doric tribes. This accords with Homer in the *Catalogue of the Ships* (*Il.* 2.653-60); there Tlepoemos is son of Astyocheia from Ephyra by the river Selleeis; her father is not named.²¹⁶ Pindar, *Ol.* 7.23, calls her Astydameia, but says she was a daughter of Amyntor; his scholiast lists some variants: Pher. fr. 80 calls her Astygeneia (no father given);²¹⁷ 'others' said Antigone; Hesiod (fr. 232) called her Astydameia like Pindar, but like Simonides (PMG 554) says her father was Ormenos. Another scholion on the same verse thinks her father was Aktor, whose sons led the soldiers of Aspledon and Minyan Orchomenos at Troy (equating 'Astyocheia' of 2.658 with 'Astyoche' of 2.513). The scholiast also quotes a genealogy from 'the Achaian historiographer', an expression variously emended. On one emendation it becomes Akous. fr. 44 (on another it is a fragment of Hekataios). The true name is beyond recovery, but on the other hand the possibilities are not many, and the genealogy has a form familiar from old mythography: 'Eurypylos was son of Hyperoches;²¹⁸ his son was Ormenos; his son was Pheres; his son was Amyntor; his daughter was Astydameia mother of Tlepoemos.'

Disregarding the Minyan Aktor, which is the scholiast's confusion, we have therefore a choice between Thesprotian Phylas/Phyleus and Thessalian Amyntor as the maternal affiliation for the Rhodian Herakleidae. When Pindar wrote his seventh *Olympian* for them in 464 BC, this point was obviously important: τὸ δ' Ἀμυντορίδαι ματρίθεν Ἀστυδαμείας (*Ol.* 7.23-4). In the *Iliad*, Amyntor is son of Ormenos, who is the eponym of Ormenion; though the location of this mythical city is uncertain, it is at all events Thessalian.²¹⁹

²¹⁶ Sim. Steph. Byz. ε180; Hyg. *Fab.* 97.7, 162. Diodoros (4.36.1), who here appears to be following the same source as Apollodoros, leaves the daughter unnamed and calls her father Phyleus of Ephyra in Thesprotia. At *Il.* 15.519, 531, however, Phyleus and the Selleeis are in Elis; see Janko on 531 and cf. Demetrios of Skepsis fr. 55 ap. Strabo 7.7.10. This is another example among many of crossovers between northern and southern toponyms. (The Selleeis of Book 2 does not need to be the same as the Selleeis of Book 15.)

²¹⁷ If one accepts my transposition (on the ground that it improves the run of sense in the scholion); otherwise, Phylas is named.

²¹⁸ Note, however, that the use of the relative pronoun οὗ does not conform to old mythographic style; see Part B on this fr. 'Hyperochos' was the reading of the vulgate before Drachmann but 'Hyperoches' has much better manuscript support. She will be a nymph, so this is the beginning of a clan in somebody's history. The only other mother recorded for this Eurypylos is Ops (Hyg. *Fab.* 97.6). Homer, *Il.* 2.736, does not name her. Eust. *Il.* 338.23 gives a genealogy Magnes (an Aiolid, he says) → Alektor → Haimon → Hyperochos → Tenthredon → Prothoos (*Il.* 2.756). Another Eurypylos son of Euaimon leads the contingent from Ormenios at *Il.* 2.734-7 (cf. §6.13; above §8.5.2).

²¹⁹ E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 698-700. In Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.155, Herakles first encounters Kyknos at Itonos (the Hesiodic *Shield*, 148, puts this event at Pagasai; cf. Eur. *HF* 389-92), then Amyntor at Ormenion, whom he kills; this Amyntor is not Phoenix's father, but the collocation of names is what matters here. In Diod. Sic. 4.37.4, he leaves Itonos, traverses Pelasgiotis and arrives at Ormenion, where King Ormenios has a daughter Astydameia(!); Ormenios refuses to give her to Herakles, and is killed; Astydameia's son is one Ktesippos—who is also son of Astydameia daughter of Amyntor in Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.166, and a son of Meda daughter of Phylas king of the *Dryopes* in the Tabula Albana, *FGrHist* 40 F 1a.

The other names in Akous. fr. 44 are also Thessalian, and when Phoinix fled his father Amyntor's house, he left *Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα* (*Il.* 9.447, cf. 478–9), i.e. (south) Thessaly. When at *Il.* 10.266, however, Homer makes Amyntor son of Ormenos resident in Eleon, we are in Boiotia (*Il.* 2.500). The scholiast who quotes **Pher. fr. 81** says hopefully that we are dealing with homonyms; such there are in Homer, to be sure, but not ones who also have homonymous fathers. It looks as if we are dealing with a tradition whereby Amyntor moved south from Thessaly to Boiotia;²²⁰ there are many other such connections in myth between the two regions. When Pherekydes makes Amyntor Boiotian, he is following *Iliad* 10; given that the scholiast adduces him in this general context, the likelihood is that he too is speaking of Phoinix's father. But whether he also made him father of Tlepolemos we cannot say. Nothing else we know about the Rhodians would lead us to think that they fashioned links with Boiotia; they looked rather to Thessaly (cf. §5.2.3).²²¹

Setting aside the Boiotian origin for Tlepolemos, the other two traditions—Thesprotian vs. Thessalian—are theoretically reconcilable, since the Thessaloi themselves came from Thesprotia at the time of the Trojan War or just after, invading Thessaly and displacing the Boiotoi (*Hdt.* 7.176.4, *Thuc.* 1.12.3; above, §8.5.3 *ad fin.*). Homer avoids mention of Thessaly or Thessaloi (though significantly he does know of the Heraklid Thessalos whose two sons commanded the contingent from Kos, *Il.* 2.679). In the historical Dorian hexapolis, however, the link to Thessaly clearly mattered more, Thessaly having much more mythological clout than Thesprotia (whose connections rather with Corinth or Argos may lie behind some of this: Gruppe, *RE* Suppl. 3.951).

§8.5.9 ACCIDENTAL DEATH IN KALYDON (Hellan. fr. 2, Herod. fr. 3)

Hellanikos (fr. 2) and **Herodoros** (fr. 3) related the unfortunate death of a boy which occurred while Herakles was staying at the home of Oineus. 'Heroes kill,' writes Brelich; 'one is tempted to say this is their principal occupation.' Even excluding pitched battles and single combat, it is a rare hero who does not commit at least one murder. 'The motivation . . . is so varied, often so contradictory and especially so disproportionately insignificant as to give the impression that in the majority of cases it is purely secondary; what matters is the killing, not its reason.'²²² Brelich gives the catalogue: heroes kill by accident, when they are challenged, as a consequence of a minor

²²⁰ E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 261–4.

²²¹ Albert Schachter, 'Tlepolemos in Boiotia', draws attention to a shard found at Aulis in 1832 by Christopher Wordsworth (the poet's nephew) inscribed *ΤΑΕΠΙΟΛΕΜΟ*, i.e. *Τληπολέμου*. He argues that the inscription dates to the first half of the 4th c., and suggests that the Thebans adopted the cult of Tlepolemos at this time because of an alliance with Rhodes. Tlepolemos figures in one (late) version of the founding of Tanagra in Aristoph. fr. 1A (→§17.2).

²²² 'Gli eroi uccidono: si sarebbe tentati di dire che questa è la loro occupazione principale . . . La motivazione dei loro omicidi è così varia, spesso così contraddittoria, e soprattutto così sproporzionatamente insignificante, da suscitare l'impressione che nella maggior parte dei casi sia puramente secondaria: ciò che è importante è l'uccisione, non il suo motivo.' *Gli eroi greci* 254 = 202.

irritation, out of envy, jealousy, pleasure, madness, or revenge. Herakles typifies all this; Pausanias' account of the incident under discussion, which he attributes to the Phliasians, is as good an illustration as any: when Herakles was bringing the Apples back he came for some personal reason to Phleious; Oineus was there too; during the convivialities, Herakles was displeased with the cupbearer ('Kyathos', Pausanias calls him) and tapped him on the head with his finger. The boy fell down dead, and the Phliasians built a memorial.

The story was obviously appropriated by the Phliasians; Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.150) and Diodoros (4.36.2) say he was feasting *παρ' Οἴνεϊ* after helping him in his campaign against the Thesprotians, so doubtless back in Kalydon, where also Hellanikos seems to have put the incident, if we can trust Athenaios' wording; there is some slight reason, however, to think he put it in Pylene (see §4.2). The name of the boy varies, but he was no slave;²²³ Apollodoros even says he was a kinsman of Oineus. Herakles must therefore leave and seek purification; he goes to Keyx in Trachis. During the journey takes place the incident between Nessos and Deianeira (not represented in our corpus) which leads ultimately to the hero's death. The death must count as a very bad omen, presaging the tragic outcome of this marriage literally made in hell, as Frazer puts it, where Herakles met Meleagros. One wonders if the accident happened originally at the wedding feast (so Tzetzes on *Lykoph. Alex.* 50, *Chil.* 2.459) and the timing was subsequently rearranged to fit in the Thesprotian expedition. Nikandros and the Phliasians said that the boy was pouring wine, which would have taken place after the meal, during the symposium; but Hellanikos said the boy was pouring water for washing the hands, *διδόντα κατὰ χεῖρὸς ὕδωρ*. This happened before the meal, and on this occasion would have brought it to an abrupt and catastrophic end. Athenaios has preserved the correct singular of the expression.²²⁴

While travelling to Trachis Herakles has his encounter with Theiodamas king of the Dryopes, who is subsequently dethroned (*Apollod. Bibl.* 2.153). This episode in Herakles' life has been discussed in §2.3.

§8.5.10 MISCELLANEA (Hellan. fr. 114; Herod. fr. 14)

Hellan. fr. 114. Hellanikos spoke of a second Deukalion besides the son of Prometheus, and Pherekydes spoke of a third, the son of Minos (fr. 85; →§16.3.1); Aristippos of

²²³ The variation 'Chairias' and 'Archias' in Hellanikos could be due to corruption in the books used by Athenaios (strictly, 'Cherias' in Ath. MSS; the correction is from Eustathios). Herodoros gives Eunomos; Apollodoros gives Eunomos son of Architeles; Diodoros gives Eurynomos son of Architeles; Nikandros, Pausanias, and schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1212–19a give Kyathos; Tzetzes gives Ennomos son of Architeles. Schol. Ap. Rhod. and Tzetzes place the story in Kalydon; the former says that the offence was that the boy washed Herakles' feet instead of his hands. On boys at symposia, see Bremmer, 'Adolescents, *Symposion*, and Pederasty'.

²²⁴ Slater, 'Grammarians and Handwashing'; Ar. Byz. fr. 368 Slater.

Arkadia (*FGrHist* 317 F 2) spoke of a fourth, a son of Abas, about whom nothing else is known. A possibility for Hellanikos' Deukalion is one of the sons Herakles had by a daughter of Thespios according to Hyg. *Fab.* 162, although Schmidt (after Scheffer, ed. 1674) there read 'Deikoon' from Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.165 (where, however, he is a son of Megara); another is the Argonaut, son of Hypso (Val. Flacc. 1.366), brother of Amphion, but this man is not a Heraklid at Ap. Rhod. 1.176.

Herod. fr. 14. The greater part of this fragment is an allegorization of Herakles' attributes (the lionskin, the club, and the apples of the Hesperides), at the end of which pseudo-John says that Herakles was a philosopher all his life, 'as the most wise Herodotos (leg. Herodoros) has written, who records that there were also seven other Herakleis'. It is doubtful how much of the first part of the fragment should be attributed to Herodoros. Ps.-John says that after his death Herakles' family declared him to be a god, and named a star after him. This is different from the idea that souls become stars after death, which Aristophanes parodies in the *Peace* (827–37 = Ion test. 2a), and the notion that humans who accomplished great things were promoted to divinity after their death is especially associated with Euhemerios (cf. Diod. Sic. 4.38.5); but he was anticipated by Prodikos and Hekataios of Abdera.

If the apotheosis is not Herodoran, the allegory may not be his either, though fr. 13 shows it would be well within his range (above, §8.4.10). Perhaps something in the nature of Herodoros' portrayal made him a logical authority to cite here. His eight Herakleis (if we can trust that part of the fragment) might offer a clue. In general, artificial multiplicities like this are of two kinds. First, when the received stories throw up contradictions, for instance chronological, two or more characters with the same name may be hypothesized as a way out of the difficulty; this we find already for Herakles in Herodotos (2.43), and in Herodoros himself we find it for Orpheus (fr. 42; → §6.3.3). The second kind works in the opposite direction, when two figures displaying the same essential qualities are identified, for instance when Belos is declared to be Zeus. The first kind attaches the same name to different characters, the second attaches different names to the same character. Some of these are innocent enough; Belos *was* like Zeus, and any strong man was proverbially a Herakles.²²⁵ But for there to be as many as eight Herakleis there is a more deliberate kind of theorizing at work, of the sort already found in Pherekydes of Syros, where Kronos is Chronos, and becoming quite elaborate by the time of the Derveni papyrus. Later writers offer wonderful rococo confections; for instance, Ioannes Lydus *De mens.* 4.67: Herakles son of Zeus son of Aither and Lysithoe daughter of Okeanos; son of the Nile; son of Hellen son of Zeus and Anchiale; son of Zeus and Egyptian Thebe; son of Libanos and Nysse, from India; son of Zeus and

²²⁵ Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 8.203; Varro ap. Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 8.564 (who found 43 examples).

Alkmene; son of Zeus and Maia. Cicero, *ND* 3.42 has a comparable list.²²⁶ Given that Herodoros' life of Herakles, so far as we can tell from the fragments, follows the traditional outline fairly closely, albeit with a rationalized slant and a novelistic patina, a list like Lydus' is hardly to be expected; but given that he made room for allegory, he might have summarized in his peroration the different qualities his hero represented in a variety of contexts.

§8.6 Death (Hek. fr. 28, Menek. fr. 5B, Herod. frr. 37, 66, Pher. fr. 82, Scythian. fr. 1)

The usual story (e.g. Soph. *Trach.*, **Herod. fr. 37**, **Pher. fr. 82b**, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.127–8, 156) is that Herakles sacked Eurytos' city of Oichalia in order to claim his daughter Iole, whom he had been denied in spite of winning the archery contest for which she was the prize.²²⁷ Upon returning to Trachis with Iole, he died at the agency of his wife Deianeira, who sent him a poisoned robe, either unwittingly (thinking it was a love charm, as in Sophokles' *Trachiniai*) or with intent to kill (as probably in earlier traditions).²²⁸ The archaic vulgate will have been represented by the lost *Sack of Oichalia* attributed to Kreophylos²²⁹ and the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (frr. 25.17–33, 26.31–3, 229),²³⁰ in which the basic role of Iole and Deianeira is clear. When, therefore, Homer in the *Odyssey* (8.224–8) tells a unique story about Eurytos being killed by Apollo for challenging him to an

²²⁶ See Pease's exhaustive note, and Gruppe, *RE* Suppl. 3.1103, 1109–10. Note that 'ageless Chronos' is equated with Herakles in the Orphic theogony of 'Hieronymos and Hellanikos' ([Hellan.] fr. 202A: → §1.2.1).

²²⁷ The contest is not in Sophokles, but might influence Lichas' lie at 266; it is otherwise mentioned at schol. Soph. *Trach.* 266, schol. (D) *Il.* 5.392, Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 8.291. These are late sources, but the contest figures in 5th-c. art (see below) and the folktale motif of the bride-prize is doubtless original to the tale (e.g. Davies, *CQ* 34 (1984) 482; West, *IETM* 432–6). Like Oinomaos, who did not expect anyone to beat him in a chariot race, we may guess that Eurytos did not expect to be beaten at archery and be obliged to give up his daughter; this is in fact the case in schol. *Il.* 5.392, which interestingly says that Eurytos got his bow from Apollo. This bow finds its way into Odysseus' hands via Iphitos in the *Odyssey* (21.31), but it is not there identified as given to Eurytos by Apollo, perhaps because of the story at 8.224–8.

²²⁸ The case is made by March, *The Creative Poet* 49–66 that Sophokles invented the motif of Nessos' blood as a philtre (followed by Bacchyl. 16.23–35), in the interests of his novel depiction of Deianeira. Her name denotes her nature; cf. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1212–19a (110.22 Wendel), Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.64, Nonn. *Dion.* 35.89–91. The best discussion of the pre-Sophoklean state of the myth as a whole is M. Davies, *Sophocles: Trachiniai*, pp. xxii–xxxvii; see also Gantz 434–7, 457–63 and Wachter, *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions* 291–2. The conjunction of pyre and apotheosis is found in Aischylos fr. 73b (Hahnemann, *ZPE* 126 (1999) 67–73).

²²⁹ Burkert, 'Die Leistung eines Kreophylos'. Note that *P.Oxy.* 35.2736, possibly by Pindar, contains a narrative about the Sack of Oichalia which has been overlooked in these discussions: S. Lavecchia and M. C. Martinelli, *ZPE* 125 (1999) 1–24. The exiguous remains unfortunately reveal little, but a banquet is possibly implied at fr. 1 ii 10 if *δμῶν* is to be restored; the poem also accords with the artistic tradition in having Herakles slay his victims with his bow and arrows.

²³⁰ On fr. *14 Hirschberger see M. L. West, *Gnomon* 79 (2007) 294, who rejects March's reading. March does not say how she explains the omikron that follows *τόλῃ*.

archery competition, it looks like a quite different tradition of uncertain origin.²³¹ When **Pher. fr. 82a** alone of all sources says that Herakles asked for Iole not for himself but for Hyllos, we should infer invention on Pherekydes' part, presumably in order to paint his hero in a more favourable light.²³² This implies that Hyllos was already of an age to marry, and that Herakles' marriage to Deianeira had taken place long before; this chronology suited Sophokles, who uses it to enhance his portrait of the long-suffering wife, and to heighten the suspense upon the hero's return. (In Apollodoros, as in Diodoros 4.31, Herakles had yet to marry Deianeira when he sued for Iole.) Tradition gave Hyllos' children by Iole a central role in the birth of the Dorians (→§9), but one nevertheless agrees with Burkert that Iole's prime and original place in myth was to cause the death of Herakles.²³³ That being so, Pherekydes must also have had a unique account of Herakles' death; he might have retained Deianeira, but Iole was no longer available as the motive for her actions.

In the verbatim quotation that is **Pher. fr. 82a**, however, there is no mention of any contest, or indeed any room for one; it cannot be the ἀγών of the first line, as this must refer to something immediately preceding in the narrative: if one imagines that the archery contest was held (oddly enough) at some place other than Oichalia, one must then explain why Eurytos is first given his full introduction in the following words.²³⁴ This ἀγών might have been one of the Labours, or one of any number of conflicts in Herakles' career (cf. e.g. μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα of Bellerophon and the Chimaira, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.32). A contest is mentioned in the *historia* of **fr. 82b**, which also contradicts **fr. 82a** in the essential point about Iole as prize not for Herakles but Hyllos. We cannot be certain therefore which, if any, of the details in **fr. 82b** come from Pherekydes; this is one of the clearer examples of a careless or fraudulent subscription, which must unfortunately be considered the norm.

Pherekydes' version of the story in **fr. 82a** may exonerate Herakles from the charge of lust, but its brevity makes him look somewhat peremptory in his demand for Eurytos' daughter, and brutal in his revenge. In **Menek. fr. 5B**, quoted by the same scholiast, we have the novelty that Eurytos wanted Iole for himself, and would have had his way 'had

²³¹ See further below, p. 332 on *Od.* 21.13–41 (Eurytos' bow descends through Iphitos to Odysseus; Herakles kills Iphitos; Eurytos must therefore be already dead, and as Gantz 435 puts it, Herakles 'can hardly take vengeance upon him for the consequent exile in Lydia, or sack his city').

²³² So van der Valk, 'On Apollodori *Bibliotheca*' 151.

²³³ Even if, as Frazer remarks in his commentary on Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.159, Herakles' injunction to Hyllos on his deathbed to marry his concubine is unique in Greek myth—a circumstance which otherwise might look like an echo of a pre-existing, different version. Note how Apollodoros and Diodoros, having put Herakles' marriage to Deianeira after the insult at Oichalia, postpone the city's sack until after the wedding, implicitly acknowledging the usual version.

²³⁴ His father Melas is named as Melaneus in Hes. *fr.* 26.25, which I should also have cited in the app. crit., but there is no need to emend Pherekydes. His obscure grandfather Arkesilaos is unique to Pherekydes; this looks like a deliberate demotion, as in Hesiod his grandfather is Apollo (cf. Paus. 4.2.2 = *Hek. fr.* 28).

not the Argives marched against Euboia'.²³⁵ The report is abbreviated; presumably the sequence of events was that Herakles was rebuffed, and went off to assemble an army (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.156, a passage which Burkert, loc. cit., pointed out has the ring of epic to it).

Euboia is one of the locations often given for Oichalia, which was no more to be found on the map than Camelot. It is interesting that Pherekydes felt a scholarly need to explain its location (in Arkadia, according to him) to his audience.²³⁶ That Eurytos then flees to Euboia in the sequel is a nod to a competing tradition. (**Herod. fr. 37** has the same arrangement.) The matter continued to be debated throughout antiquity; Pausanias 4.2.2–3 reports a few opinions, among them **Hek. fr. 28**, who agrees with the *Sack of Oichalia* (and Sophokles) that it was in Euboia, specifically in 'Skion', part of Eretria's territory (cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Σκιάς: χώρα Ἀρκαδίας . . . ἔστι καὶ Σκιά πολίχνην Εὐβοίας; s.v. Ἐρέτρια: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Μελανηὶς ἀπὸ Μελανέως τοῦ Εὐρύτου πατρός). This Oichalia is found in *IACP* p. 645, attested in the late fourth and early third centuries (*IG* XII.9.241.78, 241.53), a deme belonging to the first *phyle* and fifth district of Eretria and tentatively identified with the modern Kimi on the east coast. Knoepfler would therefore emend Pausanias/Hekataios to read to ἐν <τῇ πρὸς> Σκύρῳ (or Σκύρον) μοίρα τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς, as 'Skion' is otherwise unknown; this could well be right.²³⁷

Homer's Oichalia in the *Catalogue of Ships* is clearly in Thessaly (Hestiaiotes) at *Il.* 2.730, and this is probably also the case at 2.596; but the latter passage is unclear, and has been taken in ancient as well as modern times to refer to a Messenian or Arkadian Oichalia (see Kirk ad loc., and E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 516–18). Oichalia in Homer is the home of Thamyras, whose challenge to the Muses parallels Eurytos' challenge to Apollo. Strabo adverts to the problem on several occasions (mainly 8.3.6, 8.4.5, 9.5.17, 10.1.10); at 9.5.17, belying Pausanias' certainty, he says that people argued about which Oichalia was meant in Kreophylos' epic. In all, Strabo identifies five Oichaliai: Thessalian (at the place now called Trikkia); Arkadian (Andania); Euboian; Trachinian;

²³⁵ Apollod. *Epit.* 2.4 knows a similar story about Oinomaos; cf. Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 157, schol. Eur. *Or.* 990. For doubts as to whether this Menekrates is the Xanthian see Part B.

²³⁶ The passage is corrupt, but Arkadia is clear. My suggestion ἐνθα νῦν Λύλη incorporates a common device in mythography (see my 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 73) of relating past to present names, and is closer to the *ductus litterarum* than some other ideas. Admittedly Λύλη in this conjecture, based on another lemma in Stephanos, is less likely; it is an unusual name which Bölte (*RE* 13.2467), following Maass, would amend to ἄλλη, making this part of the previous entry on Lykoreia (both together = Alexander Polyhistor *FGrHist* 273 F 84). As he admits, the corruption took in Stephanos, who constructed an ethnic Λυλαῖος. Bursian (see the app. crit.) suggested bringing the text into line with Strabo's Andania; Stiehle looked elsewhere in Arkadia, Clavier to Messenia.

²³⁷ 'Le territoire d'Érétrie' 386–7. He regards Steph. Byz.'s Skia as reflecting an already corrupt copy of Pausanias.

Aitolian, near the Eurytanes. Pausanias (4.2.3) adds that Eurytion in Thessaly (deserted by his time) also claimed the ancient name.²³⁸

In most accounts the immediate sequel to the archery contest is the treacherous murder of Iphitos, for which Herakles' servitude to Omphale was the punishment. **Pher. 82a** and **Herod. 37** agree that in the course of the sack of Oichalia Eurytos' sons (unnamed) were killed, but Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.128–9 has a different account, which links to a story in the *Odyssey* (21.13–41) about Iphitos' search for lost mares (cattle in Apollodoros): when he encountered Herakles, the latter killed him and kept the beasts, which he had in fact stolen. This story has no necessary connection with the sack of Oichalia (it has none in the *Odyssey*), and Apollodoros shows the strains of trying to reconcile different traditions: he says Iphitos alone of the family thought that Iole should marry Herakles, and further shows his good opinion of Herakles when he refuses to believe that he stole his father's cattle; but in that case, it is even more startling that Herakles should kill him, so Apollodoros says he did so in a fit of madness. Perhaps Pherekydes, prior to fr. 82a, had already told the story of Iphitos along the lines of the *Odyssey*, whose scholiast quotes **fr. 82b**. In that version, the sense of coming disaster in Apollodoros takes the form of an explicit warning from the prophet Polyidos. This might suggest that Iphitos had no particular reason to fear Herakles, neither knowing that he was the thief nor having any other grounds for suspicion; the prophet too has only a general sense of foreboding. If that is so, we might surmise that the parenthesis about having a bone to pick with Eurytos over Iole, which is inconsistent with fr. 82a and indeed superfluous if we are following the thief story, was inserted by the scholiast out of his general knowledge; without it, we have a consistent account, which if Pherekydes' probably implies that Iphitos was already dead at the time that Herakles killed the other sons in fr. 82a. The death of Iphitos is everywhere the cause of the servitude to Omphale, so if Pherekydes related the one he probably related the other. But this must all be regarded as uncertain.

A series of sixth- and fifth-century vases may be mentioned here, though they unfortunately shed no decisive light on the mythological tradition.²³⁹ In the earliest of these (c.590 BC), depicting a banquet scene in the house of Eurytos, all is peaceful and Iole and Herakles seem to exchange a fond glance. In the fifth-century examples, strife and violence are in evidence, whether during the banquet, or the archery contest, or later on during the sack. When archery contest and the killing of the sons appear together, one

²³⁸ Other references in scholia to Homer and others add nothing further; Bernabé on Kreophylos fr. 2 gives the references (add Plin. *NH* 4.64, who substitutes Chalkis for Eretria). *o-ka-ri-jo* 'Oichalios' occurs as a personal name in Linear B, PY Cn 655.8.

²³⁹ For detailed discussion see Gantz 435; Davies, *Sophocles*: Trachiniae pp. xxxiv–xxxvii; Lavecchia and Martinelli, *ZPE* 125 (1999) 9. The vases in question are LIMC Eurytos I nos. 1–4, 6, plus New York MMA 12.231.2 (LIMC 5.1.119) and Louvre MNC 661 (LIMC Hyllos I no. 5).

might diagnose a telescoping of events, but it is possible that there was a story in which the two happened at the same time. Other scenes involving disturbance at a banquet make one think of Soph. *Trach.* 260–9; though Lichas' attempt to keep Iole out of the picture in his explanation of the enmity is Sophokles' innovation for dramatic purposes (see Davies), the banquet comes from tradition. If in form, Herakles would have been the one to misbehave. In the *Herakleia* of Panyassis (frr. 19–22), we have one character exhorting his companion to drink heartily, and another expounding the virtues of moderation; one way of reading this (so Matthews) is that Eurytos, speaking in all cases (he must be the speaker in fr. 19, which begins *ξείνῃ*), first invites his guest to enjoy himself, but when things get out of hand, attempts to restrain him (frr. 20–2); fr. 20.11 ('get thee to thy wedded wife') would be a pointed reminder of Deianeira and an injunction to stop ogling Iole. Another reading (West) is that Herakles, reversing the stereotype, utters the praise of moderation. If so, it would nonetheless be a deliberate departure from the tradition of a banquet gone wrong, which it confirms—if, that is, this is the right context for these fragments; others can be imagined.

The scholiast who quotes **Herod. fr. 66** (if the emendation is accepted) attaches his comment to these lines of Sophokles, saying that Eurytos either abused Herakles on account of the death of Megara's children—the excellent reason why in Apollodoros Eurytos is against the match—or that he had had many other women previously, which is true enough. We cannot infer from this, of course, that Herodoros also had the banquet. We know nothing else about Herodoros' treatment of the events.

Finally, **Skythinos (fr. 1)** continues the tradition of exonerating Herakles of guilt in any of these events. He says that Eurytos and his son (probably Iphitos) were exacting tribute from the Euboians, for which Herakles killed them. He also conquered and evicted the marauding Kylikranes, and built in their place the Trachinian Herakleia (*IACP* no. 43). As the city was founded in 426, we have a *terminus post quem* for the date of the author, as also for Hermippos the iambographer, who insults the people of Herakleia by implying they were, in fact, still the Kylikranes (fr. 4). Of these savage *Ureinwohner* we know only what Athenaios tells us in the passage where he quotes both Skythinos and Hermippos, as well as Nikandros (*FGrHist* 343 F 12) and Polemon (fr. 56 Preller).²⁴⁰ It is clear that they are savages who cause trouble and need to be replaced by civilized Hellenes, playing the part that Kares, Pelasgians and the like play in other cities; one may doubt that they still existed in historical times. It appears that Skythinos placed Oichalia in Trachis.

²⁴⁰ Hsch. κ4496 and Macrob. 5.21.18 derive from Athenaios. On the Kylikranes see Wilamowitz, *Euripides Herakles* 2.13 n. 25, 76 n. 137, *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.54 [1.55]; Stählin, *RE* 11.2 2452–3.

§9

HERAKLEIDAI

§9.1 Overview: Herakleidai and Dorians (Andr. fr. 16)

THE fragments in our corpus dealing with this period of mythological history, the so-called 'Dorian Invasion', are in fact few; we shall therefore not attempt here a comprehensive examination of the legends and their relationship to the archaeological record.¹ However, a brief overview will be useful as background to the discussion of fragments below (next section).

The familiar narrative is provided by Diodoros (4.57–8) and Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.167–76). After the death of Herakles Eurystheus set about the persecution of his sons, declaring war on any city that harboured them. They fled first from Trachis and sought refuge in various cities until Athens took them in. Eurystheus then invaded, and was repulsed; Euripides' surviving *Herakleidai* tells the story. Eurystheus was killed by Hyllos near the Skeironian Cliffs as he was fleeing.² The Herakleidai then attempted their first return to the Peloponnese. Apollodoros says a plague befell the whole peninsula after a year, and an oracle told them they had come at the wrong time; so they withdrew to Marathon. During that year, however, Kleopemos accidentally killed Likymnios; we shall return to this below. Hyllos, Apollodoros continues, inquired at Delphi about the return, and received the famous 'after the third crop' oracle (Parke-Wormell no. 288 = L61 Fontenrose), which he understood to mean wait three years; but the next assault at that time [was also unsuccessful]. (Apollodoros' text has a lacuna here.) Diodoros knows nothing of the plague and one-year occupation; according to him, on the first attempt the Herakleidai were met by Atreus (now king of Mykenai) at

¹ On the Dorian Invasion there are several excellent recent surveys readers may consult for orientation in the vast bibliography; see particularly J. M. Hall, *Ethnicity* 56–65; *Hellenicity* 73–89; *A History of the Archaic Greek World* 43–51; Osborne, *Greece in the Making* 47–51; Kennell, *Spartans* 20–38. Among earlier seekers of the history behind the myth the most optimistic is Hammond in *CAH* 2.2³.681–712; more cautious are R. J. Buck, *Historia* 18 (1969) 276–98 and Vanschoonwinkel, *L'Égée et la Méditerranée orientale*; still confident is Sakellariou, *Ethne grecs* and *Between Memory and Oblivion*. Tigerstedt has a balanced view in *The Legend of Sparta* 1.28–36.

² So Apollod.; also Diod., without mention of the location; by Iolaos at the Skeironian cliffs according to Paus. 1.44.9; captured by Iolaos in the same place according to Euripides, and brought back to be killed; killed in battle according to Strabo 8.6.19.

the head of an army, and a duel of champions was agreed on the terms that, should the Herakleidai win, they would reign, but should they lose, they must not return for fifty years (100 according to Herodotos 9.26.4). Echemos of Tegea then killed Hyllos, and the Herakleidai duly withdrew to Trikorynthos in the Tetrapolis.³ Diodoros says that during this time Alkmene went to Thebes, where she received divine honours (as in *pher.* fr. 84), and 'the rest' of the Herakleidai joined Aigimios son of Doros, claiming their patrimony. As both he (4.37.4) and Apollodoros (2.154) had explained, Aigimios had offered a third of his kingdom in return for Herakles' assistance in his war against the Lapiths. Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 F 15) and Strabo (9.4.10) add the important detail that Aigimios actually adopted Hyllos as his son.

Here Diodoros digresses, and Apollodoros carries us forward. In the lacuna, he must have explained that Hyllos was killed in the second battle; that they retired for some period of time (perhaps 50 years as in Diodoros); that his grandson Aristomachos, son of Kleodaios, consulted Delphi again, and was told to attack 'by the narrows' (Parke-Wormell no. 289), which he interpreted to mean the Isthmus.⁴ (Lacuna ends.) Aristomachos launched his attack in the time of Teisamenos son of Orestes and was killed in the battle. His son Temenos remonstrated with the oracle, and was told that they had only themselves to blame: the 'third crop' referred to generations, and the 'narrows' meant 'of the Corinthian Gulf'. So they launched their invasion by way of Naupaktos ('Shipyard'), but before embarking Hippotes (son of Phylas, son of Antiochos, son of Herakles) killed a seer, in consequence of which the fleet was destroyed, those who landed were afflicted with famine, and the army was disbanded. The seer, whom Apollodoros does not name, was Karnos, eponym of the great Dorian festival the Karneia (Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 357, Paus. 3.13.4). While still at Naupaktos, Aristodemos son of Aristomachos was killed by a thunderbolt—a sign of special favour⁵—and his twin sons, Eurysthenes and Prokles, took his place; Herodotos, however (6.52.1), says the Spartans deny this, maintaining that Aristodemos led them to Lakedaimon. Back to the oracle for further consultation: instruction to banish the killer for ten years and seek the Three-Eyed One for a guide (Parke-Wormell no. 293). This turned out to be Oxylos, son of Andraimon, king of Aitolia, whom they found sitting on a one-eyed horse.⁶ This

³ Trikorythos, as Diodoros spells it; Marathon is the setting in Euripides (cf. Apollod.), which is functionally the same, both being part of the Tetrapolis. Strabo says that Eurystheus' head was buried at Trikorynthos, his body at Gargettos; the latter is near Pallene (Eur. *Hkld.* 1031). The severing of his head is attested also by Pind. *Pyth.* 9.80, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.168; cf. Wilkins on *Hkld.* 1031, Frazer, *Apollod.* 1.278 n.1, Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 164, Allan on *Hkld.* 1030–1 and p. 30 of his edition. Decapitation is an especially vicious outrage (Eur. *HF* 567–8); but the appropriation of a former enemy's strength is an especially potent form of protection.

⁴ See the commentators on Apollodoros; Hdt. 6.52.1, Diod. Sic. and Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 5.20.2–3 provide the details.

⁵ Burkert, 'Elysion' 211 = 132.

⁶ Andraimon was restored to the throne of Aitolia by Diomedes (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.78); his son Oxylos was in exile for a murder when the Herakleidai encountered him, and in return for his help they gave him Elis (Paus. 5.3.6; →§4.2).

time they got the oracle right, and taking Oxylos as their guide defeated the enemy. Teisamenos died in the battle, as did Pamphylos and Dymas, the sons of Aigimios. The Peloponnese was then carved up between Temenos (the Argolid), the sons of Aristodemos (Lakedaimonia), and Kresphontes (Messenia); in each case, further significant mythologizing comes into play, which for the most part lies outside the frame of this commentary either for chronological reasons or absence of fragments.⁷

Other references in early writers confirm the essentials of this narrative. Most important is Tyrtaios in the mid-seventh century, who confirms that (i) the Spartans as Dorians arrived in the Peloponnesos with the Herakleidai from 'windy Erineos' (fr. 2.12–15); (ii) the Spartans as a whole could be addressed as 'Herakleidai' (fr. 11.1);⁸ (iii) the three tribal names were already in use ('Dymanes' supplemented with certainty at line-end, fr. 19.8). The surviving fragments of the Hesiodic *Aigimios* and *Wedding of Keyx* unfortunately contain nothing pertinent, much as we might suspect these poems touched on these subjects, but Aigimios' sons Dymas and Pamphylos are duly represented in the *Catalogue* (fr. 10a.6–7), and fr. 233, with its *πριχάϊκες* (as in Hom. *Od.* 19.177), refers either to the three Dorian tribes or to the threefold division of the Peloponnese. Pindar has several clear references (*Pyth.* 1.61–6, 5.69–72, *Isthm.* 9.2–3); in the second of these passages the Dorians are literally 'descendants of Herakles and Aigimios', and in the first they are 'descendants of Pamphylos and the Herakleidai'. He knows of the homeland in Doris (*Isthm.* 7.12). The fragments of Aischylos' *Herakleidai* contain nothing relevant. Herodotos' description of the migration has some idiosyncratic details, to which we will return in a moment, but he confirms the essential point that the Dorians became thus known when they finally entered the Peloponnese (1.56, 8.31, 8.43); as we have just seen, he knows about Echemos and Hyllos (9.26) and about Aristodemos (6.52). Thucydides (1.12.3) refers to the expulsion of the Boiotoi from Thessaly by the incoming Thessalians 60 years after the Trojan War, and to the Dorians' occupation of the Peloponnese 'with the Herakleidai' 80 years after; at 1.107.2 and 3.92.3 he states that Doris was the metropolis of the Lakedaimonians. This is also the implication of Hellan. fr. 115, though its brevity is unhelpful.

The great power of this foundation narrative is clear, which from its formation was a fixed part of Greek myth and chronology. There almost certainly was some migration

⁷ On Eurysthenes and Prokles see below, p. 345. The story of the tripartition is well analysed by Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians* ch. 3, who shows that the Spartan belief that Aristodemos, not his sons, came to Lakonia, is related to (i) the origin of the dual kingship in Lakonia, not outside of it, and (ii) their rejection of the received story of the tripartition, which originated in Argos. See also Patterson, *Kinship Myth in Ancient Greece* 27–38, 79–82.

⁸ This expression must have real force. Malkin, *Myth and Territory* 39 argues this away as a 'poetic extension' of the regal patronymic in the context of exhortation, but this does not seem a natural reading of γένος. He starts from the view that 'the Herakleidai . . . with whom we left windy Erineos' in fr. 2 indicates a strong difference between 'us' and 'the Herakleidai', but it is easier to see the 'and' as conjunctive than to disregard the import of fr. 11. Frr. 2 and 11, decoded, mean 'we were Dorian and decided we were Herakleidai too': Wilamowitz, *Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen* 52, 85.

from northern parts southward to the Peloponnese; but centuries of unrecoverable history intervene between the beginning and end of the process, and the archaeological and linguistic record suggests a much more complicated picture.⁹ The artificial nature of the legend itself has been obvious to moderns at least since the time of Müller.¹⁰ The adoption of Hyllos is the clearest sign of this artifice, which permitted the Herakleidai or some of them to call themselves Dorian. The commonest Dorian tribes were the Hylleis, Pamphyloi, and Dymanes; Hyllos died during the first invasion of the Peloponnese, but his brothers during the last, several generations later. A second sign is that the tribal eponyms are not all sons of Doros as they ought to be; Pamphylos and Dymas were sons of Aigimios, who was the son of Doros.¹¹ The natural assumption is that Pamphylos and Dymas were once sons of Doros, and that Aigimios was inserted when the link was forged with the Herakleidai (which implies that the story of Herakles and Aigimios already existed independently).

Aigimios' war with the Lapiths places him in Thessaly, not Doris; so the question arises how Doris came into the story at all. The legend is that Doris was previously called Dryopis and changed its name when the Dorians arrived, as Herodotos claims (8.31). The Dorians strongly believed that this was their homeland, and many of them might well have emigrated from this region; but one should be wary of reading such stories too literally. The analogy of Hellas, and the creation of the Hellenes themselves, is suggestive (→§4.1). The story of the Return required some forward assembly area, in which the future Peloponnesian Dorians gathered before their final, decisive move to their historical homes. As an insignificant country of uncertain prehistory, like Hellas, Doris provided an unproblematic point of origin for nations with such different positions in Greece as the Dorian cities, which were often at open war with each other (a tension clearly visible in the stories about the tripartition of the Peloponnese, replete with rivalry and deception). The gathering in Doris required that the country had a previous name; the Dryopes, whose Hellenic credentials were questionable (→§2.3), were available for the purpose. Doros was made a son of Hellen, so that the Dorians

⁹ See §4.1 n. 8. The etymology of 'Dorians' as 'people of the spear' (Δορφίεις), i.e. 'warlike', has found favour from time to time, as well as contradiction; cf. N. Robertson, *AJAH* n.s. 1.2 (2002) 72–3; Sakellariou, *Ethne grecs* 1.294; Beekes, *Etym. Dict.* s.v. Δωριείς. J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity* 87–9, goes where no one has gone before by connecting it with δῶρον (recipients of the 'given' land, a chosen people; cf. Tyr. 2.13). The possible occurrence of the name in Linear B at Pylos (PY Fn 867, *do-ri-je-we*) is intriguing; Jorro, *DMic.* 1.190, supports the view that it is an ethnic deriving from a district in Messenia; contra Szemerényi, *Scripta Minora* 3.1514–23.

¹⁰ K. O. Müller, *History and Antiquities of the Dorian Race* 152–75, though with a different solution (Müller is always worth reading). J. M. Hall's lucid and judicious presentation is the most convenient starting-point (*Ethnic Identity* 56–65, *Hellenicity* 73–89, with ample reference to earlier works); Prinz minutely analyses all the literary sources. Also valuable is Malkin, *Myth and Territory* ch. 1.

¹¹ Tyr. fr. 19.8; Hes. fr. 10a.6–7; Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 15 etc. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1.121a says Pamphylos, Dymas and Doros were sons of Aigimios, which I take to be a confusion (he also says Pamphylos was a Herakleid).

could be Hellenes too; this entailed a previous emigration from Hellas. The chronological framework of Greek myth required both Dorians and the Dorian invasion to postdate the Trojan War; hence the need to create a gap between Hyllos son of Herakles and the successful arrival of the clan in the Peloponnese, and the story of several failed attempts (Prinz 277–9).

The details of this migration vary in the sources, which further confirms its constructedness. Herodotos, locc. citt., has his own theory, which highlights the problems. In the time of Deukalion the Dorians lived in Achaia Phthiotis; in the time of Doros his grandson they went to live in Hestiaiots (which, by what seems to be simply an odd mistake, Herodotos says was in the region of Mts Ossa and Olympos); evicted by the Kadmeioi, they lived in Pindos and were called 'Makednian'; from there they went to Dryopis, now called Doris, and thence to the Peloponnese and were called Dorian.¹² In 1.56 he seems to indicate that Pindos was not in Dryopis, and in 8.43, where he says the Peloponnesians were a 'Dorian and Makednian race who came from Erineos, Pindos, and lastly Dryopis', 'lastly' suggests he still distinguishes them. Yet Erineos was in Doris, which perhaps suggests (given the word-order) that Pindos too was in Dryopis; and there was in fact a town of that name there (see below). Strabo, however, has another Erineos in Achaia Phthiotis (9.5.10); though he is alone in saying that, it seems just possible that the localization comes from someone following the same line of reasoning as Herodotos, based perhaps on usefully vague statements in poetry (Tyrtaios for instance does not actually say where his Erineos is; compare Oichalia and Ephyra). We should then understand Erineos in Hdt. 8.43 to be in Achaia Phthiotis, which is the starting-point in 1.56; both these passages thus have the same itinerary, with the stop in Hestiaiots omitted in the second one for brevity's sake. The itinerary began in Phthiotis because that is the original Hellas, where Doros was born. Pindos, then, is the mountain in north-west Thessaly, which is where other sources put the start of the journey; Andron fr. 16 and Strabo (9.5.17) even say that Hestiaiots was formerly called Doris (cf. Diod. Sic. 4.37.3, Charax *FGrHist* 103 F 6).¹³

Herodotos' reasoning is in this way clear enough, but remains an attempt to reconcile two traditions, one which said the Dorians came from Doris, and the other which gave them an earlier history in northern Thessaly. His 'Makednians' has no known authority. Linguistically it is problematic to regard it as a synonym of 'Makedonian' (→§5.2.1). The series of ethnic name-changes reminds one of his similar statement about the Athenians

¹² Dikaiarchos fr. 63 Mirhady ap. Steph. Byz. 8149 says the Dorians lived in Pelasgiotis, which is what Ossa and Olympos would indicate; he appears then to have had some of them go directly to Crete before the main migration of the others to Doris and the Peloponnese, where he drew a connection with the Messenian Dorion (*Il.* 2.594). I suppose Stephanos gave the former name of Doris in the lacuna, p. 104 in M. Billerbeck's new edition, whom I thank for a photograph of this page of the MS: e.g. τὴν πρότερον μὲν Δρυοπίδα νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ Δωρῶν Δωρίδα καλεούμενην.

¹³ Pindar, *Pyth.* 1.66, says the Spartans 'set out from Pindos' which is ambiguous, but normally taken to be Thessalian (so his scholiast).

(8.44), which smacks of theorizing. It could, then, be Herodotos' own invention; he does not use 'Makedonios' as if from 'Makedon' to make his point, because that figure had the wrong place in received genealogies, but he still wants to draw a link between Dorians and the Makedonians, because of other data available to him. These could be the Makedonian kings' claim to be descended from Herakles (Hdt. 5.22.2., Thuc. 2.99.3; J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 64), or it could be undeniable similarities between Makedonian and Dorian ways of life implied by some of their month-names and the associated festivals.¹⁴

Herodotos' comment that the Dorians were evicted from Hestiaiots by the Kadmeioi draws a link with yet another line of mythological tradition (→§10.2); one may admire his ingenuity, but it creates chronological difficulties he has either ignored or not noticed, given that the Kadmeioi were pushed out of Thebes by the Epigonoi just before the Trojan War. When Hyllos died, the other Herakleidai went to Aigimios in Doris and were adopted by him. We may allow Aigimios a long life, but much has had to happen in it if Herodotos' theory is to work: between the death of Herakles and Aigimios' giving refuge to the Herakleidai in Doris, the Epigonoi have sacked Thebes, the Kadmeioi have emigrated and evicted the Dorians from Hestiaiots, the Dorians have stayed in Pindos long enough to be called Makednian, and then finally moved south to Dryopis. Without the Makednian stage the chronology would just about work; with it, there is surely too much to fit in.¹⁵

The interplay between the two traditions of Dorian origins, in Doris and Thessaly, is also visible with respect to Pindos, which, as mentioned, was a town in Doris as well as a Thessalian mountain. Or so it seems. It is instructive to note the state of the sources regarding this community. **Andron fr. 16a** omits it, and is chastised by Strabo for calling Doris a tripolis instead of a tetrapolis. He should have scolded Thucydides too, who at 1.107.2 recognises only the three familiar cities of Erineos, Kytinion, and Boion; Diodoros (4.67.1, 11.79.4), Konon (*Dieg.* 27) and ps.-Skylax (62) agreed with him.¹⁶ Only ps.-Skymnos (592–6) agrees with Strabo. Pliny (*NH* 4.28) has the four cities, but adds a fifth, 'Sparthos'; Ptolemy (*Geogr.* 3.14.14) has four cities, but the fourth is Lilaia (Phokidian, *IACP* no. 185) not Pindos; schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1.121c and Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 980 have Homer's three plus Lilaion, Karphaia, and Dryope. Pindos notably occurs only in literary sources. It was supposedly an alternative name for Akyphas according to 'some' authorities (Strabo 9.4.10). Akyphas for its part was sometimes reckoned as part of Oitaia, sometimes as part of Doris (Rousset, *IACP* p. 674; id., *BCH* 113 (1989) 219–20). Taken together, these reports indicate a quite tenuous existence for Pindos in Doris, and one can easily hypothesize that it owed that existence to

¹⁴ Trümper, *Monatsnamen* 288–9.

¹⁵ Cf. Vannicelli, 'La fuga da Tebe dei Cadmei'.

¹⁶ Höfer in his 1890 commentary on Konon (cited by Brown) thought that Andron might be Konon's source in *Dieg.* 27, noting also Strabo 8.7.1.

perceived connections between the Dorians of Doris and their forebears in Thessaly; as in Boiotia, where such duplication of Thessalian names is common (Arne for instance; →§5.4.1), there is usually no way of determining what reality underlies such perceptions.

Turning now to the Peloponnese, there is, as J. M. Hall further observes (*Ethnic Identity* 61, *Hellenicity* 81), an asymmetry between the claim of legitimate possession by descent from Herakles, which applies only to Argos, and the links between Herakles and Messenia and Lakonia; in these cases, Herakles won the territory by force and gave it to Nestor and Tyndareos respectively, whose descendants kept it warm against the Heraklid return.¹⁷ However, a claim by right of conquest would have seemed as legitimate as a claim by right of descent, and the two could exist together without difficulty. An origin outside the Peloponnese was practically dictated as soon as all the Dorians within it thought of themselves as related. The myths of Nestor and Tyndareos could have justified the Heraklid possession of these regions before they became Dorian possessions as well; or they could have been created by the Dorians. But if the latter, it was on the back of a belief that Dorians were Herakleidai.

The point of the Peloponnesian Return myth was to mark a new beginning in history in which Dorians and Herakleidai were joined at the hip. The Dorians' historical existence was unthinkable without the Herakleidai, and the Herakleidai could claim to be Dorian only through the adoption of Hyllos.¹⁸ Yet outside the Peloponnese, Dorian regions such as Rhodes, Kos, or Crete were founded by sons of Herakles without any reference to Hyllos. Such stories hole the Peloponnesian construct below the waterline. Regarding Tlepolemos founder of Rhodes, Homer (*Il.* 2.665–6) says that the 'other sons and grandsons of Herakles' expelled him from Argos after the murder of Likymnios; this implies an easy return after their father's death (if they ever left), and posed a problem for mythographers who needed to create a space in the narrative for this incident (cf. Apollodoros and Diodoros above, and Strabo 14.2.6; Prinz 78–97). The murder was firmly located in the Argolid, as Likymnios was eponym of Likymna, the acropolis of Tiryns (Strabo 8.6.11; cf. Pind. *Ol.* 7.78). Homer's expression διὰ τρίχα κοσμηθέντες (*Il.* 2.655) of the Rhodians is commonly taken to reflect the existence of the Dorian tribes, even if he uses it there of the three Rhodian cities; at l. 668, τριχθὰ δὲ ᾤκηθεν

¹⁷ Euripides' fragmentary *Archelaos*, *Kresphontes*, *Temenos*, *Temenidai*; Isok. *Archid.* 19; Plato *Laws* 683d; Paus. 2.18.7, 4.3.3–6; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.177–8.

¹⁸ Though the Herakleid status of the Spartan kings usefully promoted their prestige, one should not make too much, if anything, of the difference between Herakleidai and Dorians in Sparta after the invasion. Intermarriage between tribes would have helped efface it. See above, n. 8 on Tyrt. fr. 11.1. Note too that Pamphylos and Dymas, already existing as eponyms of Dorian tribes, were made into sons of Aigimios only because of Herakles. Interestingly, according to the *Catalogue* frr. 10(a) + (b), it appears that Doros' wife, mother of Aigimios, was a daughter of Phoroneus: an astonishing manoeuvre, defying all chronology, but indicating Argive willingness to claim Dorian affiliation in the early 6th c.

καταφυλαδόν beyond reasonable doubt indicates the tribes.¹⁹ Sophokles (*Trach.* 1151–4) says that Alkmene had gone back to Tiryns with some of the children, again suggesting no particular anxiety. Herakles himself went to Kos to sire Thessalos; Koan fellow-feeling with Thessaly continued into the third century (cf. §8.5.3).²⁰ Crete was settled by Tektaphos or Tektamos son of Doros, coming straight from Thessaly, who brought others with him but not Peloponnesian Dorians (**Andr. fr. 16b**, Epimen. fr. 4(80)). Then there is indisputably Dorian Corinth. The story was that Hippotes (mentioned above) killed the seer Karnos and was sent into exile. His son Aletes, named after his father's wanderings, conquered Corinth, and was ancestor of the Bacchidai;²¹ his subsequent activity led to Megara's becoming Dorian.²² A story in Aristotle (fr. 554) suggests that he might even have come straight from Malis.²³ His attachment to the story of Aigimios' sons is obviously a secondary elaboration, as is that of Oxylos and others we need not discuss (see Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 18, ps.-Skymnos 527–34).

Yet if Heraklid stories which bypass Hyllos' adoption belie the Argive/Spartan tradition, these other states were nonetheless Dorian. The mythological manoeuvres by which they associated themselves with the Peloponnesian version are a remarkable testimony to the unity of feeling in this ethnos, and the power and prestige of Sparta in the archaic period. The people of Kos, Knidos, and Rhodes all believed that Dorians from the Peloponnese subsequently came out to join the first settlers; so too the Cretans, even though their Tektamos was already a son of Doros. Even the Thebans, in the form of the Aigeidai, were eager to be associated with the mythical conquest, though not Dorian themselves (Pind. *Pyth.* 5.75, *Isthm.* 7.15).

The ethnogenesis of the Dorians occurred at some point in the Geometric period. The myth of Herakleidai as Dorians and vice versa is already in place in Sparta by the time of Tyrtaios. The Argives had the stronger claim to be Heraklid, and it has been noted that cults of Herakles are remarkably scarce at Sparta;²⁴ but if the Spartans have taken over the Heraklid status from Argos, the Argives agreed with them about being Dorian. It seems unlikely that they would have done so later in the archaic period, after

¹⁹ Homer's (deliberate?) vagueness should not blind us to the obvious; cf. *Od.* 19.177, Hes. fr. 233 (above, p. 336). Modern etymology might show that the first element of τριχάκης means 'hair' (Beekes, *Etym. Dict.* s.v.) but it is the ancient popular etymology that counts.

²⁰ Helly, 'Décrets de cités thessaliennes à Cos'.

²¹ Pind. *Ol.* 13.17 and scholia; schol. Pind. *Nem.* 7.155a, *Isthm.* 2.19d; Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 18; Kallim. *Ait.* fr. 59.5; Douris of Samos *FGrHist* 76 F 84; Diod. Sic. 7.9.2 (slightly differently); Konon *Dieg.* 26; Vell. Pat. 1.3.3; Paus. 2.4.3–4, 3.13.4. The decisive engagement in the Dorian conquest of Corinth was located at Solygeia (Thuc. 4.42.2; →§5.3.5); see Morgan, 'The Evolution of a Sacral "Landscape"' 137. The founding of Corinth by Aletes was probably told by Eumelos in the *Korinthiaka* as various scholars have suggested (e.g. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth* ch. 2; cf. M. L. West, 'Eumelos' 125), though whether already linked to Dorians is unclear.

²² Hdt. 5.76, ps.-Skymnos 504, Konon *Dieg.* 26, Paus. 1.39.4, schol. Pind. *Nem.* 7.155b. His son Hippotes settled Knidos according to Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 1388.

²³ Huxley, *Philologus* 119 (1975) 140–2; N. Robertson, 'The Dorian Migration' 5.

²⁴ R. Parker, 'Spartan Religion' 146.

long and bitter war. That the construct held firm shows the strength of the *ethnos*. Subsequently, from the seventh to the fifth centuries, aspects of the myth were modified in the light of events (particularly with respect to Messenia), and other Dorian cities added codicils about Doros to their myths; this ensured even more that the basic foundation myth remained in place. By the time Spartan standing was undermined, the mythological tradition had become literary, and the political importance of these ethnic associations was diminishing; consequently, the tradition was frozen, and survives in this form for us to deconstruct.

§9.2 The Fragments (Hek. fr. 3, 30; Hellan. fr. 115–16; Herod. fr. 63; Pher. fr. 84)

Hek. fr. 30. The wanderings naturally begin in Trachis, Herakles' last residence. *ταῦτα* in the first line of the fragment refers to Eurystheus' threat. The story of the migration was established early in the archaic period, as we have seen, but from the Spartan point of view there was no particular need to acknowledge the Athenian contribution; though Eurystheus had to be killed so the Pelopidai could accede to the throne of Mykenai, Hyllos might have led an army against him without all the preliminary wandering. The Athenian version might have been already invented in the sixth century, responding to Sparta's growing monopoly on the myth.²⁵ Hyllos had to get his army from somewhere, and the only point of stressing Keyx's weakness at this point is to start Hyllos on the road to Athens; no other destination is ever mentioned. That is, the Keyx story does not exist except in conjunction with the Athenian sequel, and we may take Hekataios in the late sixth century as a *terminus ante quem* for the invention of the Athenian version. Some relationship with Keyx may already be implied in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* fr. 251a, if the Boutes whose sons wed the daughters of Hyllos *chez* Keyx is the Athenian ancestor of the Eteoboutadai (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.193–7; West, *HCW* 109; N. Robertson, 'The Dorian Migration' 5 n. 12). The myth was to assume a prominent place in Athenian national consciousness, marking Athens as a place where suppliants were protected and right was done at all costs (so already in Hdt. 9.27, Eur. *Hkld.* and prominently in the epitaphian tradition); the standard catalogue of great Athenian deeds and its use to justify hegemony doubtless postdates the Persian Wars, but the individual myths had an older life.²⁶

Pher. fr. 84. The source is Antoninus Liberalis *Met.* 33, with the usual question hanging over the reliability of the ascription. The chapter falls into two obvious halves, the first of which is a brief *historia* about the asylum of the Herakleidai in Athens; the

²⁵ For a review of the mythic tradition see Wilkins, *Euripides: Heraclidae*, pp. xiv–xx; Allan, *Euripides: The Children of Heracles* 22–35.

²⁶ For the epitaphian tradition see Loraux, *The Invention of Athens*; R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record* 206–13.

second is an aetiological tale about a large stone in the heroon of Alkmene, supposedly found by her pallbearers in the coffin when it suddenly became very heavy. This is the metamorphosis that interested Antoninus; the first part serves to provide background. On general grounds we would expect Antoninus to have got his choice information about a local stone fetish from a source such as Nikandros, and the *historia* from a mythographical handbook or general knowledge. The ascription to Pherekydes, then, is more apt to apply to the first part, and like the ascriptions in the *Mythographus* Homericus guarantees none of the details. (The one noteworthy detail is that Pherekydes agrees with Euripides against Paus. 1.32.6, Diod. Sic. 4.57.6 that Demophon, not Theseus, was king of Athens at the time.) Nonetheless, one cannot rule out the second part for him just because it is local Theban lore; there are some other indications in his fragments of such knowledge (→Part B).

The return of the Herakleidai as a group to Thebes after their deliverance from Eurystheus is reported only here. Iolaos certainly returned to be buried there, and was very important in Theban cult (Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1.30–1, 2.64–5); Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.80, says that he was buried 'after he cut off Eurystheus' head', which suggests he might have put the battle in Thebes, ignoring Athenian claims if he knew them. In Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.169 the Herakleidai return to Marathon after their first failed attempt to reoccupy the Peloponnese; in Diod. Sic. 4.58.4 they come to Trikorynthos, also in the Tetrapolis as noted above. In the next phase of their lives they must as a group go north to Doris for the Return to take off, but there was an opportunity here, given the lapse of time, for different cities to think that some of the Herakleidai had sojourned with them, thus giving a warrant for their worship in cult (in Attica, see Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 166, 182). The grave of Alkmene herself was claimed by Megara (Paus. 1.41.1), Attica (Kearns 145), and Haliartos (Plut. *Lys.* 28.9, *De gen. Socr.* 5), the latter in connection with her marriage to Rhadamanthys (→§8.2, §17). One could invent a story to reconcile such a grave with the Theban stone: after the substitution, her body was laid in a grave elsewhere, while her *ψυχή* went to the Isles of the Blessed to join Rhadamanthys; but the several graves show that we are just dealing with competing local traditions. The Theban story of disappearance finds parallels in similar stories about Oidipous, Romulus, and the historical Kleomedes of Astypalaia;²⁷ it is proof of her heroic stature. The link to Rhadamanthys and the Isles, where the likes of Achilles dwelt, confirms that she is more touched by divinity than most.

About the cult of Alkmene at Thebes Pausanias is less clear than one could wish (9.16.7). When mentioning the shrine of Semele near the theatre at the Proitid gates, he says 'but Alkmene has no *μνημα*; they say she was turned into a stone instead of a human'. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1.15 n. 8, is right to insist that Pausanias makes this

²⁷ Rohde, *Psyche* 1.179 and index s.v. 'Entrückung'; Frontisi-Ducroux, *L'Homme-cerf et la femme-araignée* 181–3; Currie, *Pindar and the Cult of Heroes* 132. Modern millennarians still await the Rapture.

remark just because it occurs to him at this point, not because he is standing in front of her heroon; but his words need not exclude a cult of Alkmene elsewhere (in a shrine lacking precisely a *μνημα*). The location of the home of these Herakleidae, whence they began the aborted funeral procession, was presumably near the Herakleion outside the Elektran gates (Pind. *Isthm.* 3/4.79) along with the children of Megara (Paus. 1.41.1); this is also what Pher. fr. 84 appears to say.²⁸

Hek. fr. 3. 'Amphanai is a Dorian city; Hekataios in Book 1 of the *Genealogies* ... There is also one in Thessaly.'²⁹ 'Dorian' in spite of this wording probably does not mean 'in Doris' but 'of Dorian ethnicity' (so Hirschfeld, *RE* s.v. Amphanai, and Billerbeck on Steph. Byz.). The information could be Stephanos' rather than Hekataios', but even if the former, one context in which such a statement would make sense is the Dorian migration. The city is in fact in Thessaly, by the river Anauros, in south Pelasgiotis and not far from the original Hellas.³⁰ In Hekataios, therefore, or in whatever authority Stephanos has got his expression from, we could have an itinerary similar to that of Herodotos for the Dorians (first Hellas, then north to Thessaly). Amphanai is where Herakles encountered Kyknos (cf. Eur. *HF* 392, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.155; Lloyd-Jones, *Further Academic Papers* 54), but this is before the time of the Dorians so it would be an unusual way for Hekataios to refer to the battle.

Hellan. fr. 115. The statement that the Lakedaemonians had come from Doris is unremarkable, but it is noteworthy that the scholion thought of quoting Hellanikos as an authority on the point. It may be related to Hellanikos' authority as a chronographer. We do not know in which work this information was to be found; being so commonplace it could have been in several.

Herod. fr. 63. It is hardly news that the Argives went by different names, especially in poetry, and given the number of removes this fragment is from Herodotos it is hard to judge what he himself might have said. He might have kept company with any number of other authorities in Habron's original discussion. He would have been known at least as an authority on Herakles, and he might have got on to the history of the Herakleidae in his book, if only by prolepsis when discussing Herakles' encounter with the Dryopes (fr. 36 on Dryope in the Argolid; →§2.3). That the Argives had a real claim to descent from Herakles was noted above, and 'Perseidae' must at one time have indicated a genuine kinship group; 'Danaidai' for all the Argives also has good and old authority (some thirty times in Euripides for instance). But Habron is right to look to poetry for

²⁸ I am no longer sure that *ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ* should be transposed rather than just deleted. With the transposition, the shrine of Alkmene is in the agora; otherwise unattested (but so is the other location). Diod. Sic. 4.58.6 refers briefly to Alkmene's disappearance and cult, without mentioning the stone; in Apollodoros at this point there is a lacuna. Plutarch, *Rom.* 28, knows about the stone.

²⁹ Steph. Byz. α288; Billerbeck adopts Meineke's *ὡς αὐτός* ('... Thessaly, as he [sc. Theopompos] himself says') for *ὡσαύτως* which I retained.

³⁰ Hes. *Scut.* 70, Eur. *HF* 391, ps.-Skylax 64; 'Thessaly' schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2.147e, 10.19b; 'by the Peneios' Paus. 1.27.6. *IACP* no. 393.

such inventions as Argeiadae, Lynkeidae, and Phoroneidae. 'Arge(i)adae' designates the Makedonian clan so applying it to Argives would be an instance of the most frigid style. Lynkeus, who marries Hypermetra to start a new chapter in Argive history, might look like a lineage-founder, but the marriage is uxori-local; the clan continues to be Danaans. 'Lynkeidae' occurs nowhere else and is clearly a poet's fancy. Of 'Phoroneidae' Pausanias 7.177 is the only other instance, and he also blames the poets.³¹

Hellan. fr. 116. Ephoros here criticizes Hellanikos for attributing the Spartan constitution to Eurysthenes and Prokles rather than Lykourgos. One can never rely on such polemics to recover the details of the target text, but Ephoros says emphatically that Hellanikos does not even mention Lykourgos, and gives others the credit for things he did. This is a quite remarkable statement. To have a maverick view on Lykourgos' reforms and their date is one thing, but to cut him out of the story altogether is quite another. The general tendency of the Spartan legend is to accredit as much as possible to Lykourgos, to date him as early as possible, and to suggest that nothing had changed since his day. These three points went together. Within Sparta, the legend promoted solidarity. This patriotic point of view is reflected in Herodotos 1.65.³² Philolakonian Xenophon in his *Constitution of the Lakedaemonians* mentions no one but Lykourgos and even says he was contemporary with the Herakleidae (10.8). King Pausanias, on the other hand, condemned to death after losing at Haliartos 395 BC, wrote a treatise in exile *Against the Laws of Lykourgos* (*FGrHist* 582). Later writers such as Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 FF 117–18) or Aristotle (*Pol.* 1313a25–33, fr. 532–45) tried to differentiate the various stages of Spartan history, and Hellanikos himself discussed the origin of the helots (*FGrHist* 4 F 188 = 323a F 29), as did Theopompos (*FGrHist* 115 F 122; cf. Thuc. 1.101.2, Kritias *Vors.* 88 B 37). Normally such reconstructions ascribed basic institutions to the first kings (Ephoros has them divide the region into districts and arrange its settlement), a little more to their sons Agis and Eurypon, and the bulk of the reforms to Lykourgos. Internally in Sparta one would assume that not much would be ascribed to Eurysthenes and Prokles, as their sons, the eponyms of the two royal lines, will have pre-existed the Invasion myth and would more naturally attract credit. The fathers exist only to explain the origin of the dual kingship and link it to the leader of the conquest.³³ To ascribe everything to them, as Hellanikos is supposed to have done, not

³¹ Meineke wrote *Φορωνεΐδαιον* for *Φορωνήσσειον* in Theok. 25.200, which Gow thought could be right (reference from Rudolf Kassel).

³² See Asheri ad loc. and Hornblower on Thuc. 1.18.1. I agree with the latter that Herodotos is not inconsistent about the date of Lykourgos; Asheri, responding to Hornblower, says that Herodotos puts him 'shortly before the rule of Leon and Hegesicles', but 'shortly' is his addition. For the problems of early Spartan history (on which the bibliography is enormous) Osborne, *Greece in the Making* 167–9 offers an excellent starting-point; see further Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta*; Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia*; O. Murray, *Early Greece* 159–80; Hodkinson, 'The Development of Spartan Society'; Shipley's section 'Lakonia' in *IACP*.

³³ Patterson, *Kinship Myth in Ancient Greece* 34, suggests that Agis and Eurypon might not have been linked directly to Aristodemos because the Spartans did not believe them to be brothers.

only contradicts what we should expect of him from his other works, which do present staged histories, but also flies against everything we know about the traditions available to him. Although his construct dates the constitution to the earliest possible historical moment, which might seem gratifying to Spartans, the elimination of Lykourgos could only be insulting. He could expect to find agreement nowhere, either inside or outside Sparta. It is certainly possible that he gave more credit to Eurysthenes and Prokles than some others did, but it is easier to believe that Ephoros was mistaken or lied than to believe that Hellanikos entertained so strange a view.³⁴

³⁴ For some unsuccessful attempts to explain this fragment see Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta* 1376 n. 546.

§10

AGENORIDAI AND
EARLY THEBES

§10.1 Eastern Origins (Pher. fr. 21, 86–7, 89)

PHER. fr. 21 and 86, when combined, yield the stemma shown in Fig. 10.1 (additional, conjectural links in broken lines).

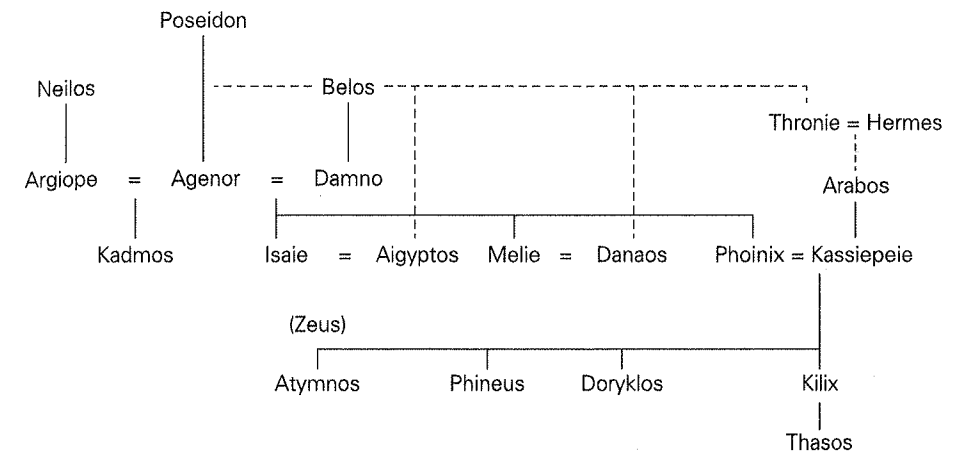


FIG. 10.1

The genealogy is involuted, to say the least. Belos in Pherekydes was in all probability a son of Poseidon and Libye like Agenor (in accordance with almost universal tradition), so that Agenor marries his niece; furthermore, as Aigyptos and Danaos are the twin sons of Belos, their wives are both cousins and nieces to them. Moreover, in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 137) Belos is father of Thronie, who by Hermes is mother of Arabos. This is more tangled than most purely Greek genealogies, but it would be wrong to call the relations incestuous, even if barbarians might be associated with the practice (Xanthos *FGrHist* 765 F 31, Ktesias fr. 44 Lenfant); rather, the cast of characters available to populate the foreign genealogies was limited, which means that such complicated relations were bound to occur (as in the early stretches of any theogony). The fact too that no Greek had the usual kind of stake in the genealogy (personal, familial, religious, political) meant that the poet or mythographer had *carte blanche* to invent the tree;

hence the chaos that reigns in the sources over the position of figures such as Kilix or Phineus (whom Euripides, for instance (fr. 881), made a son of Belos, along with Phoinix, Kepheus, and Agenor).¹ Conceptually, however, that lack of order would confirm Greek prejudice about the the unfathomable ways of foreigners.

One can speculate about the reasons for some of the associations. The geographical eponyms are perhaps easiest. Pherekydes' two wives for Agenor (an arrangement unique to him) produce a link between Kadmos and Egypt on his mother's side, while the relationship to Phoenicia is attenuated to one with a half-brother. (We do not know how the *Catalogue* handled Kadmos.) Pherekydes is not alone in seeing Kadmos as all or mainly Egyptian; the same impression is given by Bacchylides 19.40–8 (cf. Hekataios of Abdera *FGrHist* 264 F 6, Diod. Sic. 1.23.4). This shift in emphasis could have resulted from renewed contact with Egypt in the sixth century,² but it should nevertheless give pause to those who regard 'Kadmos the Phoenician' as a direct reflection of Bronze Age history; of course there were connections and influences, but changing circumstances produced exactly this kind of deformation of myths, generation by generation.

Kilix as father of Thasos (**Pher.** fr. 87) suggests a tradition about immigration from Cilicia to that island, if 'Cilicia' is not merely spuriously specific for 'Phoenicians', who were thought to have exploited the mines (Hdt. 2.44, 6.46–7).³ Geographically, Arabia was the link between Egypt and Palestine (see Asheri on Hdt. 3.8), but the Arabes in Euboia could also be pertinent to this construction (if, that is, they existed:→§8.4.8); where similar-sounding Greek names were available, it made the accommodation of foreign names all the easier. There could be a link between Argiope and the place called Argiopion which figured in the battle of Plataia (Hdt. 9.57.2; Robert, *GH* 100 n. 6; Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1.153).⁴ One day we may find out why the Argive Agenor, with his perfectly Greek name, was made the linchpin in this appropriation of foreign genealogies.

Atymnios (*sic*) is the cause of erotic strife between Sarpedon and Minos in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6 according to 'some'; the alternative story concerns a boy Miletos, and the outcome was the founding of the city in Karia (cf. Herod. fr. 45;→§19.2.2). Atymnos looks then to be the eponym of the Karian cities Tymnos (*Barrington Atlas* 61 G4; *RE* 7A.2.1748) and/or Tymnessos (*RE* *ibid.*). His father Zeus marks him out as

¹ See Gantz 208–11 for the various stemmata.

² Auffarth, 'Constructing the Identity of the Polis' 47.

³ Thasos is son of Agenor in Konon *Dieg.* 37, Paus. 5.25.12, schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 217 and Steph. Byz. ̸8, son of Poseidon at Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.3, and merely 'Phoenician' at Hdt. 6.47.1; Kilix is son of Agenor in Hdt. 7.91, as is Phineus in Hellan. fr. 95; on Phineus, see §6.4.4.

⁴ Agenor's wife and Europe's mother appears to be some form of Anchiroe in *P.Lips.* Inv. 1229, recently published in *APF* 56 (2010) 1–25; the editors transcribe ἀγχόρη, which Luppe, *APF* 56 (2010) 203, thought was better read as ἀγχόνη; Anchoe is attested as the name of a lake in Boiotia. But Anchiroe, daughter of the Nilelike Argiope, is much more likely to be the lady in question (also called Anchinoe in some sources;→§1.7.2 n. 155); Wernicke, *RE* 1.2.2105–6 for the data.

important, but for what reason we do not know. 'Tumnes' is a Karian name, and A/Ermedymnos is Lycian; cf. further the Lycian city Artymnesos in Menek. fr. 1.⁵ In the *Iliad*, Antilochos son of Nestor kills one Atymnios (16.317); this could reflect the legend of Neleids settling Miletos and displacing Karians. According to Athenaios, both Korinna (*PMG* 686) and Bacchylides (fr. 40) used 'Phoinike' to mean 'Karia'; they thus recognized a sphere of Phoenician influence stretching up through Cilicia and across to Lycia and Karia. This means that where any of our stories talk of 'Phoenician' they could in fact mean 'Karian'.⁶

The figures who are not topographical eponyms offer scope for speculation about links with words, motifs, or mythical figures known from Near Eastern cultures. Few are as clear as Belos for Baal, worshipped in Syria-Palestine since the third millennium BC (Niehr, *BNP* s.v.). Subordinating him to Poseidon is perhaps the most outrageous feature of this genealogy. Doryklos is a complete cipher to us. Kassiepeie is also given as the name of Epaphos' wife by Hyginus *Fab.* 149 and schol. Stat. *Theb.* 4.737, and of Kepheus' wife (Andromeda's mother) in Euripides' *Andromeda* (Ov. *Met.* 4.738, Hyg. *Fab.* 64.1, *Astr.* 2.10–11, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.43); the name, fluctuating between Kassiepeie, Kassiopeie, and Kassiope, might not be Greek.⁷ Apart from Europe the other women merely provide links (Isaie and Damno are unique names, doubtless invented; the others recur in disparate contexts).

We are not told where Pherekydes fitted Europe in, and it is hazardous to assume that she was Kadmos' sister.⁸ True, the story might seem to require it; but there is a strong and early tradition that Europe was daughter of Phoinix, and that Kadmos was son of Agenor; we then see the two coming together, almost always by making Europe a daughter of Agenor, but sometimes by making Kadmos a son of Phoinix.⁹ It looks

⁵ Perhaps Τυμοσός in Steph. Byz. s.v. (Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 254) is another example of the same root (perhaps just a corruption of Τυμνησός, but conceivably some other variation). On the root cf. Janko on *Il.* 16.317–29; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 188–96.

⁶ Note that *Kares* is the alternative title of Aischylos' *Europe*, fr. 99–101.

⁷ The first element might be from *kas- 'excellent' (cf. 'Kassandra' and Janko on *Il.* 13.365–7) yielding 'of excellent visage' with -οπ-, but the variation with -επ- gives pause.

⁸ Hyg. *Fab.* 6, 178, 179 has Cadmus and Europe as children of Argiope, which might be from Pherekydes; elsewhere only schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 5 (which however differs in other respects).

⁹ Europe daughter of Phoinix: *Il.* 14.321; Hes. fr. 140, 141.7–8; Asios fr. 7; Bacchyl. 17.31, fr. 10; Hellan. fr. 51; Antim. fr. 3; Palaiph. 15; Mosch. 2.7; Konon *Dieg.* 32, 37; τινός in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.2; schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 5. Europe daughter of Agenor: e.g. Hdt. 4.147.4 (?); Varro *LL* 5.32; Diod. Sic. 5.78.1 (= Epimen. fr. 4); Ov. *Met.* 2.858; Luc. *Dial. mar.* 15.1, *De dea Syria* 4; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.2; Hyg. *Fab.* 178. Kadmos son of Agenor: Bacchyl. 19.46–8 (probably); Hdt. 4.147.4; Soph. *OT* 268; Eur. *Phoin.* 5, 217, 281, 291, *Bacch.* 171, fr. 819; Ap. Rhod. 3.1186; Marm. Par. *FGrHist* 239 A7; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.2; Hyg. *Fab.* 6, 179; and others. Kadmos son of Phoinix: only Konon *Dieg.* 32, 37, schol. *Il.* 2.494 (= Hellan. fr. 51; as usual we cannot be sure of the detail), and 'others' in schol. Ap. Rhod. 3.1186–7. See further Bühler, *Europa*; Tiverios, *LIMC* 5.1.863; Kühr, *Als Kadmos nach Boiotien kam* 93 n. 64. Kühr's exhaustive and informed treatment may be consulted on all aspects of early Theban legend; Vian's *Les Origines de Thèbes*, also thorough, is still worth consulting for its many acute observations.

therefore as if these two figures were originally unconnected, unless we posit a story in which Kadmos was sent off in search of his niece.

Kadmos is likely to be named after the Kadmeia, the Theban citadel (or the Kadmeioi are so named, and he is their eponym). The foundation story, according to a familiar type, involves him coming to this spot by divine guidance. The story requires that he came from somewhere else; it does not really matter where. During his journey he goes to Delphi where he is given new instructions that lead to the foundation. This is the unexpected, serendipitous, and portentous outcome so often associated both with consultations of Delphi, and with foundation stories; this is the crucial point of the narrative, and what went before could be anything (see next section). It need only be something to make him an exile. As Agenor is a descendant of Io, one can imagine a story in which Kadmos was originally Argive and exiled for some reason; the Thebans after all were prepared to accept that their national hero Herakles had come from Tiryns. One can imagine other scenarios, such as that he came from Samothrace, but the point is that one can easily imagine Kadmos without Europe—and Europe without Kadmos. When the Io story took on its international dimension, the Europe myth gave a new answer to the question ‘why was Kadmos wandering’.

Of course, if one thinks the story reflects actual historical immigration from Phoenicia, then one might be less inclined to deconstruct it, but apart from the difficulties with a Phoenician origin of Kadmos (→§1.7.2), one has to wonder why Europe migrated to Crete and not Hellas. Some scholars, it is true, have pointed to the Teumessian cave in Boiotia, where Zeus was supposed to have hidden Europe (Antim. fr. 3); scholars have also argued that when **Pher. fr. 89** has Europe give Kadmos the necklace of Harmonia, it implies that she is in Boiotia (e.g. Crusius in Roscher, *Lex. s.v. Kadmos* col. 826). The inference is hardly secure, and as Jacoby notes ad loc., Pherekydes also gives Europe her traditional Cretan children (fr. 85). The cave story may be a secondary development attendant upon similar-sounding names.¹⁰ There certainly were contacts between Bronze Age Boiotia and the Near East, as cylinder seals and other oriental items excavated on the Kadmeia attest;¹¹ these contacts could indeed have shaped the story, giving Kadmos his finally agreed point of origin, especially if homophonous names were heard in the region by travelling Greeks. But a serious immigration ought to have left a clearer mark in the archaeological record.¹²

¹⁰ Cf. §1.3.2 on native Greek Europe. *Contra* West, *HCW* 146; Robert, *GH* 105; cf. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1.156, Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician* 111 n. 118. That the necklace was made by Hephaistos and given first to Europe comes from Hes. fr. 141.

¹¹ References in Symeonoglou, *Kadmeia* 178 n. 12.

¹² West, *EFH* 450, raises the possibility of a 9th- or 8th-c. immigration from Phoenicia as opposed to Bronze Age; Schachter, ‘Kadmos’, thinks that the story is a reflection of Greek/mixed immigration from Asia Minor during the period, like that of Hesiod’s father. For the archaeological traces of Phoenician activity in the Aegean see the extensive references provided by Blakely, *BNJ* on Konon *Dieg.* 37. Mitchell, *Panhellenism and the Barbarian* 182–4, sketches the process by which Kadmos first became foreign, then domesticated again as Greek; I imagine this happened already by the early archaic period, though the evidence for ‘Kadmos the Phoenician’ strictly speaking begins later.

§10.2 The Two Foundations of Thebes (Hellan. fr. 1, 50–1)

As is well known, there are two competing foundation stories for Thebes: the story of Kadmos, the oracle, and the serpent’s teeth, and the story of Amphion and Zethos, who built the walls. One could rationalistically combine the stories, as Pausanias (2.6.4, 9.5.2, 6) and Diodoros (19.53.5) do, by saying that Kadmos fortified the Kadmeia, and the twins built the walls around the lower town (like Themistokles in Athens), but the famous seven gates are those in the acropolis wall, and early poetry ignores the outer walls, which were built by the early fifth century.¹³ Mythographers had to decide which of the two founders came first, and what happened that required a second foundation. We shall consider their responses in a moment, but as we have good evidence from a contemporary Theban it is useful first to ask whether we can discover any notion of native impressions. Chief among Pindar’s several allusions is *Pyth.* 9.79–83:

ἔγνω ποτὲ καὶ Ἰόλαιον
οὐκ ἀτιμάσαντά νιν [sc. τὸν καιρὸν] ἐπτάπυλοι
Θῆβαι· τόν, Εὐρύσθηος ἐπεὶ κεφαλάν
ἔπραθε φασγάνου ἀκμῇ, κρύψαν ἔνερθ’ ὑπὸ γᾶν
διφρηλάτα Ἀμφιτρύωνος
σάματι, πατροπάτωρ ἔνθα οἱ Σπαρτῶν ξένος
κεῖτο, λευκίπποισι Καδμείων μετοικήσας ἀγνυαῖς.

Here ‘seven-gated Thebes’ may recall Amphion and Zethos; Dirke, who is integral to their story in every version we have, is mentioned shortly afterwards (‘dumb is that man who fails to acclaim Herakles or for ever to remember the Dirkaian waters’). (Admittedly she is also the spring guarded by the dragon, Eur. *Phoin.* 932, so that she could as easily evoke Kadmos.) At *Isthm.* 1.29–30, the waters of Dirke are mentioned in the same breath as the Σπαρτῶν γένος. At *Isthm.* 8.16–20 the seven-gated walls and Dirke are the key points of Theban topography; at *Isthm.* 7.10 and fr. 29 the Spartoi are among the glories of the city; at *Paian* 9.43–4 (A1 Rutherford) we hear of ‘the host (στρατός) of Kadmos in the city of Zeathos (sic)’; at *Nem.* 4.19–21 we hear of the Kadmeians of seven-gated Thebes. So far, one is tempted to suppose that this careful balancing act might actually be a response to the perception of conflict between traditions. But when at *Isthm.* 6.74–5, Pindar writes ‘I shall drink his health with the holy water of Dirke, which the deep-girded daughters of golden-dressed Memory dedicated by the well-walled gates of Kadmos’, one sees that for him there really is no conflict. He refers also the ‘gates of Kadmos’ at *Pyth.* 8.47, and at *Pyth.* 3.88–91, Kadmos intriguingly weds Harmonia ‘in seven-gated Thebes’. Has he already built the walls, or has he inherited ready-made ones from Amphion and Zethos? Although in *Pher.* fr. 22 κατωκίσθη implies that the walls

¹³ Mastronarde, *Euripides: Phoenissae* 647–50 discusses these matters in a useful appendix.

are already built or at least begun before the episode of the dragon's teeth, which preceded the wedding, it is doubtful whether Pindar posed himself such historiographical questions.¹⁴ For him, the two sets of walls were effectively one and the same. Whether rebuilding crumbling walls, building anew on exactly the same place, or taking ownership in good condition, Kadmos effectively subsumed his predecessors without in any way cancelling the honour due them. The hill of the Ampheion was next the Kadmeia in the centre of Thebes (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1155).

That Pindar so persistently refers to Kadmos, however, suggests that in his mind the people of Thebes were first and foremost Kadmeians; the term actually refers to his contemporaries at *Nem.* 4.21. A conflict between Theban and Boiotian perspectives could be in play here: Kadmos was Theban, but Amphion and Zethos, whether descended from Asopos or Nykteus, were Boiotian.¹⁵ The two lines do not intermarry. Perhaps too Pindar would prefer 'Dirke' to recall the divine spring rather than the ugly story of Lykos. In fact, Amphion and Zethos are indeed not much in evidence in his poetry, though they are there.¹⁶ This sense of primary significance translated into chronology, and drove the foundation of Amphion and Zethos into deeper prehistory. They are the 'first builders' (*Od.* 11.263) and honoured for that, but in Pindar's day the walls were Kadmos'.

Theban perceptions, in the cultic landscape of the living city, would not have been driven by a need to get the historical chronology right. For mythographers, however, this was to be a primary concern. Even within a completely genealogical framework, such as the *Catalogue of Women*, some basic temporal considerations will come into play as a function of telling stories; there must be an order of events. Generations of bards had established that the Theban War preceded the Trojan, and gross anachronism was avoided. With its proto-historical agenda, however, mythography begins to think about how the separate stories, and the separate genealogies, go together; this is one sense of *συγγράφειν*, 'together-writing': giving a connected account. Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*Thuc.* 5 = Hek. test. 17a, *EGM* 1.117.5) may attribute this process of joining up first to Herodotos rather than a mythographer, but he diagnoses a similar development. As it happens, in the fragments of Akousilaos and Hekataios there is no explicit

¹⁴ Cf. Berman, 'The Double Foundation of Boiotian Thebes' on the different perspectives of poetry and mythography.

¹⁵ Kühr, *Als Kadmos nach Boiotien kam* 118–32.

¹⁶ Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1.28–9 (also for the Ampheion). Pindar's perception may be shared by others, particularly the Boiotian Hesiod (*Op.* 162). The messenger in Soph. *Antig.* 1155 even-handedly addresses Κάδμου παρούκοι καὶ δόμων Ἀμφίωνος. Eumelos' *Europa* must have contained the story of Kadmos, as its title implies, but also Amphion and Zethos (fr. 30); Kühr, *Als Kadmos nach Boiotien kam* 85. Mastronarde on Eur. *Phoin.* 823–4 after others suggests a functional difference, that Kadmos was 'responsible for the selection of the site and the origin of the chief families (with an emphasis on their military function), and the divine twins (like Romulus and Remus) [were] responsible for the layout and construction of the walls that denote the consolidated polis' (he cites *Paeon* 9.43–4).

evidence of chronological concern, but in Pherekydes, precisely with respect to Thebana, we note in fr. 95 that he specifies a year's passage between Oidipous' first and second marriage, and draws a link to the Erginos story, though he might not have noticed the chronological implications (→§5.5); in fr. 41b, if the extra information in the parallel sources quoted in the apparatus comes from Pherekydes—as it has a good chance of doing—he specified that after the Phlegyai destroyed the Thebes of Amphion and Zethos, it lay desolate until the arrival of Kadmos. For the reason given above, this order of events probably corresponded to Theban notions, and is implied by Homer in the *Odyssey* passage cited.¹⁷ We do not find another narrative bringing the two foundations together until Diodoros (19.53.5), Pausanias (9.5.3–5), and Apollodoros (3.39–40), and in all of them the order has been reversed; this then necessitated some narrative invention to get the line of Kadmos temporarily out of the way so that the events surrounding Amphion and Zethos could happen (see Gantz 484 for details of the various manoeuvres). The difficulty is also apparent in Apollodoros' two genealogies for Nykteus, father of Antiope, mother of Amphion and Zethos: in *Bibl.* 3.40 he is a son of Chthonios, one of the Spartoi, but in 3.111 he is son of Hyrieus, who is the son of the Atlantid Alkyone. The latter will be older; the former was possible only when the order of events had changed.¹⁸ The change in tradition might have arisen from the strong emphasis on Kadmos as founder in various sources, repeatedly in Euripides' *Phoinissai* for instance, and by the Inachid stemma from Argos, which puts Kadmos at a much earlier stage of mythical history.¹⁹ Once effected, the switch allowed all the characters of early Theban legend, not just those in Kadmos' orbit, to be descendants of the Spartoi, which was an advantage.

It is clear in all of this that there are three essential components to home-grown Theban myth, in addition to Herakles (ownership of whom Thebes successfully claimed during the archaic period): the story of Amphion and Zethos; the story of Kadmos and his progeny; the story of the Labdakidai, which issues ultimately in the destruction of the city. The latter two came in some ways to be considered one, so that Labdakos was grandson of Kadmos. In Homer, the Kadmeioi or Kadmeiones are firmly associated with the Thebes of Oidipous and Eteokles: they are its people.²⁰ However, Polydoros, father of Labdakos, has no independent mythology, and seems to have been invented,

¹⁷ Homer does not mention Kadmos except as Ino's father, *Od.* 5.333, but nothing should be made of this; he had no occasion to mention him. For his Kadmeioi see below.

¹⁸ The detail that Nykteus son of Chthonios came from Euboia, though son of a Spartos, and founded Hyrie (*Bibl.* 3.41) confirms the priority, as it is an obvious conflation of versions. The reason he and his brother Lykos fled Euboia is that they had killed Phlegyas, who is the first Phlegyan; this would explain the origin of the enmity between his people and the Thebans. After Amphion and Zethos died, his descendant (son?) Eurymachos destroyed the walls.

¹⁹ It becomes interesting then that such a chronological mismatch between two major stemmata did not bother Pherekydes, if he noticed it. On chronology see further below.

²⁰ *Il.* 4.385, 388, 391, 5.804, 807, 10.288, *Od.* 11.276.

however early (Hes. *Th.* 978), for the sole purpose of joining the family of Kadmos to the family of Labdakos.²¹ Apart from the foundation and his own demise, the remainder of Kadmos' mythology involves his daughters Ino, Semele, Agave, and Autonoe, who are aetiologically important.

After the destruction of Thebes by the Epigonoι, the city was once again effectively vacant, until the Boiotoi invaded. We saw in §5.4 the tension of autochthonous vs. immigrant in the myths of that event. The same tension is evident in the myth of Kadmos. He himself is an immigrant from Phoenicia, but with ancestral links in Greece. The myth exploits the usual dynamic of such foundation stories, in which the arrival matters much more than the departure; if there was any anxiety about the ultimate Argive origin, it could be allayed by the thought that it lay far in the past and on the other side of an exotic foreign sojourn. Kadmos' act of sowing the dragon's teeth then created an autochthonous body of warrior-citizens (*αὐτοὺς Κάδμος ποιεῖται πολίτας*, says Pher. fr. 22a) from whom the leading clans perhaps claimed descent (see below). As Buxton shows (*Imaginary Greece* 184–93), these two signifiers—barbarian origin and autochthony—are equivalent in point of their 'otherness', and their beginning effectively *ex nihilo*; but at the same time they contrast provocatively, in the same way as other pairings in this myth (non-sexual vs. sexual reproduction, monstrous forebears vs. human, 'the pure warfare of Ares and . . . the concord of Harmonia'). The result is a perfect laboratory for structuralist interpretation, as a mediation of such opposites.

Another tension latent in this myth is that between Thebes and Boiotia.²² We have suggested already that this may be part of the reason why Kadmos predominated over Amphion and Zethos in the Theban *imaginaire*. The tension was never resolved, as we see also in the final act. Eteokles, 'true glory', is the great defender of his city against 'Polyneikes', he of 'much strife', whose actions threaten citizen solidarity. The patriot's campaign was victorious. But the sons of the Seven returned, and destroyed the city. This was a firm fact of pan-Hellenic myth, and much as Thebans might like it to go away, it would no more vanish than the taint of their Medism in a later age. The campaign of the Epigonoι is commonly taken to reflect the utter destruction of Thebes at the end of the Mycenaean Period (LH IIIB, i.e. before Troy);²³ no Thebans, only Hypothebans fought at Troy (*Il.* 2.505). This must have been a spectacular destruction, of a kind people do not forget; at any rate it was represented as such in the collective memory. The Kadmeioi were replaced by the incoming Boiotians, an ethnicity the Thebans shared; yet throughout archaic and classical history relations between Thebes and the rest of Boiotia were frequently strained, to put it mildly. The historical Thebans needed to

²¹ This was not Herodotos' view: see the genealogy of Theras at 4.147: fifth generation after Polyneikes and eighth generation after Kadmos (which only works if one omits Polydoros, and makes Labdakos coeval with Kadmos). See §19.3.

²² On the topic generally see Kowalzig, *Singing for the Gods* 328–91.

²³ E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 275 n. 93.

retain their links with their Bronze Age forebears, so thought of themselves as Kadmeian, i.e. not in the first instance Boiotoi. There were indeed stories about Boiotoi already in Boiotia before the Trojan War, which would not only have helped other Boiotoi collectively to claim deep roots in the region, but would also have been helpful to the Thebans, who could if circumstances required it simply equate Kadmeioi and Boiotoi;²⁴ but these stories are problematic from a mythistorical point of view (→ §5.4.1).

In order to claim that they were Kadmeian in more than a metaphorical sense it would be helpful if the leading clans could actually claim descent from the Spartoi, or Kadmos himself. That evidence of this in the historical period is so difficult to find may be another indication of the unusually hard break that followed the collapse of Mycenaean Thebes; or it could be a function of poor evidence.²⁵ It is sometimes stated that the Aigeidai claimed to be Spartoi, but the evidence for this is effectively only schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 5.101 ('some say that Aigeus was one of Kadmos' Spartoi'), repeated by Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 494 = Androtion *FGrHist* 324 F 60c, in flat contradiction to other witnesses to Androtion on the point. There is good evidence, however, that they thought they were descended from Kadmos (Hdt. 4.147–9; Vian, *Les Origines de Thèbes* 216–25; Malkin, *Myth and Territory* 100–4). Epameinondas apparently claimed to be descended from the Spartoi (Paus. 8.11.8).

Other explanations of the Spartoi have a rationalistic tinge (e.g. they were people who had previously lived *σποράδην*) and reveal a belief that the Theban people *ought* to be descended from the Spartoi, which is after all what one expects of the story; the dragon's teeth are like Deukalion's stones. From them the *πολῖται* emerge, as Pherekydes said. Similar is Hippias of Elis' statement that the Spartoi were an *ἔθνος* (*FGrHist* 6 F 1); this could be part of a rationalizing explanation, but it also denotes a collectivity like Pindar's *Σπαρτῶν ἱερὸν γένος ἀνδρῶν* (fr. 29; cf. *Σπαρτῶν γένος* *Pyth.* 9.82, *Isthm.* 1.30). *γένος* puts one in mind of a Hesiodic Age; it is not a natural expression for historical *γένη* descended from the original Spartoi, and *ἱερὸν* also implies heroic stature or even cult veneration (for which there is however no other evidence). Aischylos (*Sept.* 474) and Euripides (*Phoin.* 942; cf. 795, 1006–7) also refer to the *Σπαρτῶν γένος*. All the Spartoi as named in **Hell. fr. 1, 51b** and Pher. fr. 22a have names connoting chthonic, gigantic qualities, suggesting protective spirits, not eponymous ancestors (there are no such names attested in historical Thebes);²⁶ if the clans were descended from them, they

²⁴ When Euboulos fr. 33 makes the Pythia instruct Kadmos to 'found a city of Boiotoi', his sense of history is lamentable, but he can be forgiven.

²⁵ Robert, *GH* 109 n. 4; Latte, *RE* 10.2.1465.

²⁶ The names of the five unusually do not vary, which could be significant (linked to contemporary realities in Thebes, like the names of Attic tribes): see e.g. schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 942 = Aisch. fr. dub. 488; Paus. 9.5.3 (who comments on the dearth of information surrounding them); Hyg. *Fab.* 178.6; other sources written out by Radt on Aisch. loc. cit. Timagoras, *FGrHist* 381 F 2, made Kreon a sixth Spartos, according to the scholion that quotes him; but probably he only said that Kreon was descended from one of the Spartoi, as in Aisch. *Sept.* 474, Eur. *Phoin.* 942. The same will be true of Astakos, eponym of the Megarian colony (*IACP* no. 737; Memnon *FGrHist* 434 F 12). For a study of the complex significance of the myth of the Spartoi see Gourmelen, 'Interprétations du nom, réinterprétations du mythe'.

would have had to derive their names from their sons. Yet after all, given the importance of the Spartoi in the Theban imagination, one naturally expects that some kind of link would be forged, if only metaphorical as with the tribal eponymi at Athens, or Aeneas at Rome.

Descent from Kadmos (or the Spartoi) implied that some Kadmeioi had stayed behind after the destruction, or somehow returned. Homer's Hypothebans do imply a rump of some kind. At 5.57.2, Herodotos identifies the Gephyraioi explicitly as a subgroup of Kadmeioi left behind after the Argive campaign. They were subsequently evicted by the Boiotoi, which suggests completion of unfinished business, but also shows that the first evacuation was not total.²⁷ Diodoros and Strabo (Ephoros), drawing on local history of the fourth century BC, state indeed that the Kadmeioi slipped back into Thebes after a brief interval, but were then finally chased out by Pelasgians and Thracians; and Pausanias even has them invited to return by the victor Thersandros (subsequently, he says, those still affected by the Erinyes of Oidipous left at the behest of an oracle to join the Dorians).²⁸

Herodotos also says that on this occasion the Kadmeioi turned to the Encheleis for help. This was a tribe in Illyria or Epeiros,²⁹ and the story links to Kadmos' and Harmonia's ultimate fate. At the end of Euripides' *Bacchae*, Dionysos reports a prophecy of Zeus that Kadmos and Harmonia will be changed into snakes, in which form they will lead a victorious army of barbarians; they will sack many cities, until they attempt to sack Delphi, where they will be turned back. Thereafter, Kadmos and Harmonia will be translated by Ares to the Isles of the Blessed. The prophecy of an attack on Delphi by Illyrians and the Encheleis is mentioned again by Herodotos at 9.43.1. This metamorphosis of Kadmos and Harmonia might have cult connections, as chthonic, protecting divinities; they might be particularly at home on an acropolis, like the snaky beings in Athens. It is relevant here that according to Armenidas (fr. 5) the acropolis of Thebes was in fact called the Isles of the Blessed; this seems a quite probable context for this mysterious report (→§17.2). The whole of their story (foundation of the city; sacrifice of a portentous and willing animal; origin of the people; young

²⁷ The story may imply Boiotian antipathy towards Tanagra, home of the Gephyraioi (Hdt., loc. cit.; Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 118), which was a close ally of Thebes in the late 6th c. (Schachter, 'Tanagra' 64–5). The Gephyraioi themselves claimed Eretrian origins, which may reflect the stigma of being Boiotian in 5th-c. Athens (Schachter 62; the Battle of Tanagra dates to 458).

²⁸ Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 119 *ap.* Strabo 9.2.3 (→§5.4.1); Diod. Sic. 19.53.7; Paus. 7.3.1; 9.5.15–16 (oracle); 9.8.6–7; 9.9.5; 9.33.1–3; Vannicelli, 'La fuga da Tebe dei Cadmei' 23, who plausibly suggests the source was Aristodemos (→§18.2); Cingano, 'Tradizioni su Tebe' 132–6.

²⁹ Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 103; see Jacoby ad loc., and Dodds on Eur. *Bacch.* 1330–9; Ap. Rhod. 4.516–18; Ov. *Met.* 4.563–603; Hyg. *Fab.* 6; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.39 (who puts the metamorphosis into snakes after the barbarian campaigns). I do not see why Dodds and others say that Pher. (fr. 41) related this prophecy to the destruction of the twins' city; there is no mention there of Delphi, and the Phlegyai are a completely different group, never said to be Illyrian.

men's ritual combat; year's exile; archetypal marriage of the founder and Harmony; heroic transformation of the *ktistai*) would work very well as the aition for an annual civic festival like the Panathenaia, but there is, strangely enough, no evidence for worship of Kadmos and Harmonia in Thebes (or Boiotia), except for the house shown the tourist Pausanias (9.12.3) along with the place in the agora where the Muses sang at their wedding.

Herodotos' account of the departure of the Kadmeioi looks like a historicizing variant of the Kadmos and Harmonia story, which really concerned only the couple, and would have happened long before the Epigonoi. **Hellānikos (fr. 50)** took this a step further (or makes explicit what is only implicit in Herodotos): the Encheleis were a neighbouring tribe in Boiotia, with whom the Kadmeioi emigrated to Illyria. If this idea was inspired by the legendary eels, ἐγγέλεις, of Lake Kopais, we might be inclined to recognize one of Hellānikos' etymological inferences. However that may be, one can see the similarity between Kadmos' exile and this story of the Kadmeioi: the departure of the founder is a dramatic turn of events, the end of an era; so too was the eviction of the Kadmeioi. The vicissitudes of Kadmos, his daughters and Labdakid descendants seem to take to unusual extremes the common myth/ritual pattern of violent rupture followed by reconciliation, offence and atonement, disorder and unity, the opposing forces held in uneasy equilibrium, but rendered stable by the long traditions of myth and reassuring ritual action. The fortunes of the Kadmeioi were equally divided between glory and destruction.

§10.3 Kadmos and the Spartoi (Agiās/Derk. fr. 6; Pher. fr. 22, 88; Hellān. fr. 1, 51, 96)

The issues of source criticism raised by **Hellān. fr. 51a** and **51b** are exceptionally difficult, and require a broader assessment of the relationship between the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodoros, Apollorodos of Athens, and the mythographic scholia. This analysis is undertaken in the excursus at the end of this section (§10.10), where fr. 51 is no. 7 in the list. Three hypotheses are there canvassed; in my view the first is most probable. Though the divergences between the scholiast and his source (the *Bibl.*) are greater than usual (but only after *EGM* 1.180.19), they are explicable by his abbreviation and adaptation of the text to his own purposes. The scholiast has his material from the *Bibl.*, and his ascription of fr. 51a to Hellānikos has little value. It may be based on no more than a guess (easy enough) that Hellānikos, the great authority for regional histories, would have covered this topic in his *Boiotiaka*.

It remains possible that Apollodoros *did* get his material from Hellānikos without acknowledgement, adding variants from Pherekydes, who is named; but this hypothesis receives no support from fr. 51a, as just explained, and Hellānikos will be only one of many possibilities. Scholars have had different views about him as a source for the

Bibliotheca.³⁰ The strongest negative argument is that he is never cited for a variant. Apollodoros' habit is to give his main narrative without attribution, and occasionally to name the sources of variants. The natural assumption is that those named are his sources also for the main narratives, whether first- or second-hand. The argument is not watertight but given that Apollodoros cites upwards of forty authors (listed in Scarpi and Ciani, *Apollodoro* 687–8) one might expect at least one appearance from Hellanikos if he was used. Scholars have sought indirect proof of use of Hellanikos in the form of correspondences between Apollodoros and the fragments, particularly in the *Troika*, but this method is unreliable. Even in the most favourable circumstances it is difficult to prove dependency, given the perpetual contamination in the tradition, resembling that between manuscripts. The case of Pher. fr. 10–12 and *Bibl.* 2.34–42, discussed in §7.2.1, is illustrative; to remove reasonable doubt it required a good deal of corroboration that Pherekydes is Apollodoros' source. Even where there is shared material, one can never know if Apollodoros has got it first-hand from the early mythographer; and even if he has, he is free to modify details, without telling us where. In the case of fr. 51b, if he is following Hellanikos he has changed the parentage of Harmonia (see Hellan. fr. 23), which is not encouraging. There are other differences between fr. 51a and b to which one might attach greater or lesser significance, and differences between them and other accounts of this myth; the precise form of Hellanikos' account cannot be recovered.

Fr. 51a opens with the comment that Boiotia was formerly called Aonia. This designation occurs nowhere certainly before Kallimachos (see Pfeiffer on fr. 572 and Harder on her fr. 2b.4) and probably entered Hellenistic literature, and thence Latin literature, from a book of local history; it is not relevant to the story of Kadmos, which is not Boiotian but Theban. Also it is unlikely (in spite of his interest in etymology) that Hellanikos said Boiotia was named after Kadmos' cow (→§5.4.1).

When Kadmos goes to Delphi he is told to leave off the search and given new orders to found his city. The unexpected instruction finds parallels also in the foundation stories of Kyrene, Gela, and Kroton (Parke–Wormell nos. 37–40, 43, 71, 410 = Q45–8, Q28, Q47, Q41 Fontenrose; Vian, *Les Origines de Thèbes* 77) and in the return of the Herakleidai (Parke–Wormell no. 287 = L60 Fontenrose). The motif of the animal-guide

³⁰ Most optimistic is van der Valk, 'On Apollodori *Bibliotheca*' 134–43; cf. also Wellmann, 'De Hellanici Troicis' and Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* 159. Jacoby on fr. 22 thought *Bibl.* 3.156–70 on Aigina came from Hellan. ('eine andere maßgebende bearbeitung hat nicht existiert') and on fr. 23–31, 141 owing to the authority of the *Troika* and the lack of contradiction in the stemmata he argued that the genealogies in *Bibl.* 3.138–55 came from him (but not the story-line!). On fr. 19–21 he argued that *Bibl.* 3.110–55 (*sic*) were taken from the *Atlantika*; 'doch liegt er weder allein noch ungetrübt vor, sondern unter rückgriffen auf das epos und zuziehung anderer quellen'. Cf. Thomas, 'Charting the Atlantic' 17 n. 13. The detail about Lykos' immortality (*Bibl.* 3.111) is found only in Apollod. and Hellan., if he is the author of the papyrus, fr. 19b; see §13.1. Strongly and convincingly against Apollodoros' direct use of Hellanikos is Alpers, 'Hellanikos von Lesbos' 25–30.

is also conventional (Vian, op. cit. *ibid.* 77–80 and Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* 73–4 with many instances and bibliography); in our corpus we may note the wolves that guide Leto (Menek. fr. 2), and the boar that guides the founders of Ephesos (Kreoph. fr. 1).³¹ Pausanias (9.19.4) says that Mykalessos in Boiotia got its name from the lowing of Kadmos' cow as he was proceeding to Thebes, a bovine assisted the Gephyraioi (Kadmeians) to found Tanagra (Parke–Wormell no. 312 = L78 Fontenrose), and Polyidos had similar help when founding Plataiai (Kallim. fr. 42). Aineias founded Ainos when prompted by the lowing of a cow and his mother's instructions (Konon *Dieg.* 46), and another cow's antics, and an oracle, caused Helenos to found Bouthrotos (Teukros, *FGrHist* 274 F 1; Vian, op. cit. 89).

The precise form of the oracle given to Kadmos varies slightly in different accounts: Kadmos may be told to follow whatever he finds upon exit (he then finds a cow); he may be told to follow a cow, but that he will find it later; he may be told precisely where he will find or buy the cow; it may have special marks.³² The animal is said either to kneel (*ὀκλαῖζειν*) or lie on its right side to mark the spot (Hellan. fr. 51; Paus. 9.12.1; Ov. *Met.* 3.20–3; Nonnos *Dion.* 4.348–9, 44.40–1; schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 638). The kneeling of the animal recalls images, as far back as Minoan times, of animals about to be sacrificed kneeling or bowing their heads before an altar, their willing submission is propitious.³³ Kadmos sacrifices the cow to either Athena (as in Hellan.) or Ge, in an act of consecration of the new city.

The encounter with the serpent is reminiscent of Apollo's killing the Python at Delphi, and has similar import: the vanquishing of the primeval monster allows the order of the city to begin. On the cosmic level, Zeus's killing of Typhon has the same purpose.³⁴ The spring waters were required for the founding sacrifice, which Ares' creature guarded; many foundation stories involve a spring (Vian, op. cit. 104). Kadmos kills the serpent, whether with his sword (Pher. fr. 88) or a stone (Hellan. fr. 96, Eur. *Phoin.* 665, 1062 bis); the latter method is quite common in art, even if Kadmos sometimes also bears a sword (first certainly illustrated on a calyx krater of the mid-fifth century, LIMC Kadmos I no. 15; Tiverios, LIMC 5.1.8778). Ovid (*Met.* 3.59–67) and Nonnos (*Dion.* 4.410–13) have both.

³¹ Cf. the founding of Ilion according to Lykoph. *Alex.* 29, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.143 (→§18.1.2).

³² Cf. e.g. Mousaios fr. 100 Bernabé, Ov. *Met.* 3.10–16, Hyg. *Fab.* 178.4, Paus. 9.12.1, schol. Aisch. *Sept.* 486, schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 638, Eust. *Il.* 270.3; details in Vian, *Les Origines de Thèbes* 77. *PWürzb.* 1 (vi A D) has a recension of the scholia to this part of *Phoin.*, but it adds nothing new; on 638 the author has simply rewritten the verse oracle in prose, and mistakes the purpose of Kadmos' consultation. (The story of Europe was told also by Eumelos, fr. 16–20, Stesichoros, *PMGF* 195, Simonides, *PMG* 562, and Aischylos, fr. 99–101, in each case in poems named after the heroine, but we have few details.)

³³ Nilsson, *MMR*² 178 fig. 82 (on a seal found teasingly near Thebes); van Straten, *Hiera Kalá* 100–2 (who notes that the fiction of the 'willing animal' is often contradicted by the depictions); Himmelmann, *Tieropfer in der griechischen Kunst* 18–46; Vian, *Les Origines de Thèbes* 88–91. Cf. also the story of the goat and Aigeira at Paus. 7.26.3.

³⁴ J. Trumpf, *Hermes* 86 (1958) 140–57; Vian, op. cit. 94–113; Buxton, *Imaginary Greece* 190; Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Reading' *Greek Culture* 229.

In the sequel the sources are uncertain whether Athena or Ares or both gods advise the sowing of the teeth.³⁵ Ares is understandably aggrieved at the death of his offspring, and Kadmos ultimately does penance for it; one would think then that the Spartoi, like those Jason had to fight, were meant to kill him, and that this was Ares' plan. The wording in Pher. fr. 22 leaves it unclear as to whether he is being helpful or devious; one perhaps assumes the latter, and in Hellan. fr. 51 the reconciliation comes only later. The Theban relationship with Ares is quite ambivalent. The myth of the Spartoi moves from mindless internecine slaughter to reconciliation and stability; but these savage powers must always threaten to break out, like the Erinyes on the Areiopagos. Of himself Ares symbolizes extreme violence, and his people the Phlegyai had already destroyed Thebes once; yet his daughter Harmonia weds Kadmos. In their metamorphosis—as snakes, like the serpent in Thebes—they lead armies to victory; but they are barbarian ones, attacking even Delphi. Ares' spring is also known as Dirke, a metonymy for Thebes and for poetic inspiration in Pindar; but Dirke herself is an ambiguous figure, being cast as the wicked stepmother in the story of Amphion and Zethos. At the end of their lives it is Ares who transports Kadmos and Harmonia to the Isles of the Blessed.

Remaining details may be quickly noted. (i) **Agias/Derk. fr. 6** have rationalized: Drakon is a human son of Ares, whom Kadmos must kill, as Herakles does many opponents, to wed his daughter Harmonia. Palaiphatos 3 has the same idea (though without mention of Harmonia). (ii) **Hellan. fr. 1** uniquely says that only the five Spartoi sprang up, so that there was no fight; **Pher. fr. 22** has the usual version (cf. Aisch. *Sept.* 412, Eur. *HF* 4–7), and has moreover spotted a parallel with the story of Jason, from where he has adapted the stone-throwing motif (Kadmos throws instinctively out of fear, Jason by previous instruction); he flags up the parallel with his novel idea that half the teeth were given to Aietes. This part of the narrative is confusing in Apollodoros (Hellan. fr. 51b, p. 180.16–21, with a puzzling antithesis: some of the Spartoi die 'fighting against their will' while others die 'in ignorance'. The text has been disturbed.) For the equivalence of 'teeth' and 'seed' in Greek thought, see R. Drew Griffith, *Anc. Hist. Bull.* 8.4 (1992) 121–2. (iii) As the text stands, Apollodoros in fr. 51b (p. 180.30) says that Kadmos did service to Ares 'for an eternal (*αἰδίων*) year', which is a very odd expression, variously emended (see the apparatus). The word means 'eternal', 'perpetual', or 'permanent' (as at Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.198), never 'long-lasting'.³⁶ I find no example of it used with *ἐνιαυτός*. A reason for not emending Apollodoros is that he appears to have found this word in his

³⁵ Pher. fr. 22 says both gods give him the teeth, and Ares advises the sowing; Hellan. fr. 51 says Athena; Hellan. fr. 1 unamended says Ares, amended it says Athena; as there was no fight—five Spartoi only were born—no danger was envisaged, so Ares seems unlikely. See also Stesich. *PMGF* 195 (Athena); Eur. *HF* 252–3 (Ares); *Phoin.* 667, 1062–4 and scholia (Athena); Ov. *Met.* 3.102 (Athena); Hyg. *Fab.* 178.5 (Athena); Nonn. *Dion.* 4.393–405.

³⁶ Ramelli and Konstan, *Terms for Eternity* (I do not see their grounds for stating that Polybius uses the word to mean 'long-lasting').

source, because he feels the need to explain it. This does not mean that it was correct in the first place; that is, his source was mistaken. Apollodoros' explanation may be based on an idea of the 'Great Year',³⁷ and/or a tradition that Apollo's servitude to Admetos lasted eight years (Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 7.761, Frazer on Apollod. 2.5.11 [2.113]), or Hes. *Theog.* 801 (eight-year banishment of perjured gods), or the length of time Herakles took to complete his Labours (*Bibl.* 2.113). The same length of Kadmos' punishment is noted at Phot. (*Suda*) s.v. *Καδμεία νύκτ* = Lykos *FGrHist* 380 F 5. The notion that time was qualitatively different in former times is a mythological commonplace; see §3.4. (iv) Note that, by inserting Pher. fr. 22 and continuing *ἀνθ' ὧν ἔκτελλεν* (p. 180.30), Kadmos seems to make Ares angry because of the death of the Spartoi rather than the death of his serpent, as is the case in all other tellings.³⁸ (v) Hellan. fr. 23 said that Harmonia was not daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, but of Elektryone daughter of Atlas and Zeus, thus a sibling of Dardanos (see also fr. 19a) and Eetion/Iasion. It is probable that Hellanikos was led to this idea by a supposed link between Kadmos and Kadmilos in the Samothracian mysteries (→§1.7.2, §18.1.1). He also said that the Elektran Gates were named after her (cf. Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.1.45–6; Schober, *RE* 5A.2.1430). Harmonia herself, as mother of all, has much in common with Aphrodite (so that scholars are tempted to think of her as predecessor or hypostasis), for which goddess she notably founds a cult (Paus. 9.16.3–4; Vian, *Les Origines de Thèbes* 141–7; Jouan, 'Harmonia'). (vii) As noted already, we do not know how Pherekydes managed to get the fateful necklace from Europe to Harmonia (fr. 89; above, n. 10).

§10.4 Amphion and Zethos (Pher. frr. 41, 124–5, 170)

The order of events in Pherekydes' account of Theban history might—or might not—be elucidated by a curious synchronism he draws with Lokrian history. In **Pher. fr. 170** we learn that Maira, daughter of Proitos son of Thersandros, a follower of Artemis, was violated by Zeus and gave birth to Lokros 'who built Thebes with Amphion and Zethos'. This story comes to us from the Mythographus Homericus, so once again we cannot be sure which details are Pherekydean. **Fr. 124** also comes from the MH; it begins by telling us that Antiope was daughter of Nykteus. Assuming that both reports of Pherekydes are accurate, and assuming too that Amphion and Zethos had the same ancestry as they (probably) have in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, we obtain the stemma shown in Fig. 10.2.

³⁷ Hannah, *Greek and Roman Calendars* index s.v. 'cycles'.

³⁸ Perhaps both are meant. I owe this observation to Johanna Michels, from whom I have profited in discussing the knotty problems of this fragment. In her view it is odd that, if one assumes fr. 51a is taken from Apollod. (i.e. fr. 51b, minus the variants from Pherekydes), fr. 51a returns to orthodoxy on this point by sheer accident, as it were; she prefers option (iii) in the Excursus below (p. 381). I argue that the scholiast, constructing a typical *historia*, was not interested in scholarly variants and so made the necessary adjustments after eliminating Pherekydes.

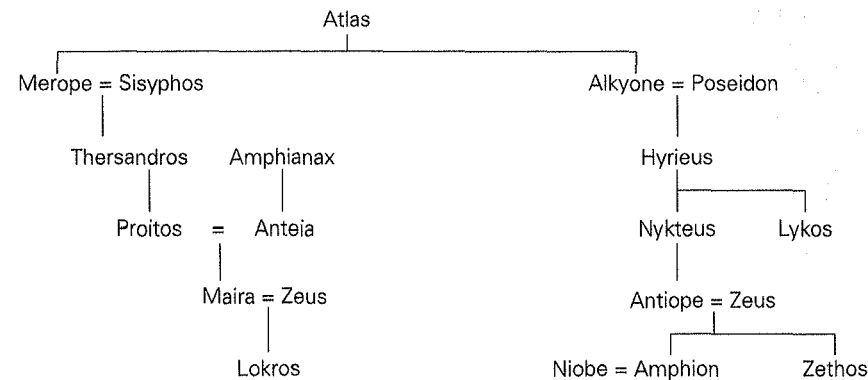


FIG. 10.2

Two preliminary points about this stemma. (i) Competing with Nykteus as father of Antiope is the river Asopos (*Od.* 11.260, *Asios* fr. 1), and it cannot quite be decided if the *Catalogue* had this parentage (West, *HCW* 101–2 and *ZPE* 61 (1985) 5; fr. 181 puts Antiope in the east Boiotian town of Hyrie, which suggests Nykteus. Otherwise Euripides in his *Antiope* (*teste* Hyg. *Fab.* 8; cf. Paus. 2.6.1, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.42, schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.100) is the start of this tradition, unless we accept that the *historia* in Pher. fr. 124, in giving Antiope her father Nykteus, faithfully reflects Pherekydes. Formally at any rate that is what the scholion says, whereas schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.735–7a (= *FGrHist* 3 F 41c) bears no such implication about Asopos (*pace* Jacoby). (ii) Anteia's other name is Stheneboia, the would-be seducer of Bellerophon,³⁹ and Proitos' normal father is Abas; Proitos rules in Tiryns. Someone has transferred Proitos to Boiotia, no doubt in order to explain the name of the Proitid gates at Thebes (Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.1.47). Proitos' father Abas suggests the Euboian Abantes;⁴⁰ at some point the Euboians seem to have found a place in the Io story (West, *HCW* 145–6). Since the substitute Thersandros effects a link to Sisypheos, one suspects the hand of Eumelos, whose tendency to claim everything for Corinth is well known; this Thersandros was also father of the Boiotian eponyms Haliartos and Koronos (→§5.3.5). By making Proitos Sisypheid as well, Eumelos could claim that he had gone to Tiryns from Corinth to claim the throne.

If the link with the Proitid gates is behind this, one might expect a story about Proitos, not his grandson; which is exactly what we get, briefly, in a scholion to Euripides *Phoinissai* 1109: 'Theban gates after Proitos son of Abas (em. Wilamowitz loc. cit.), who fled from Argos and took up residence in Thebes'. One reason for dating the story to the grandson's generation might be chronology, as one can see from the stemma (unless,

³⁹ Anteia in the *Iliad* (6.160), Stheneboia in the *Cat.* (fr. 129.18, 131) and Euripides' *Stheneboia*; Gantz 311. Amphianax is given as an alternative to Iobates, Anteia's father, in Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.25.

⁴⁰ *Il.* 2.536; Robert, *GH* 252; E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 415–18.

after all, Asopos was Antiope's father in Pherekydes); it avoids the anachronism of having the walls in existence two generations before Amphion and Zethos, but retains the link to Proitos by making him Lokros' grandfather. One would have to suppose, however, that in solving one chronological difficulty, Pherekydes has not noticed another one: Bellerophon is only two generations before Troy, and the story of the Labdakidai has still to run its course. (It would seem Pherekydes also did not notice the possible difficulty posed by his idea that Athena gave half the teeth to Aietes; see §6.5.) The chronological mismatch is all the more bothersome in that the stemma is clearly meant as part of early Boiotian history (i.e. before Kadmos), providing a place for eponyms like Proitos and Hyrieus.

The fragment of Pherekydes is quoted by the scholia to *Od.* 11.326, where Maira is named along with Klymene (daughter of Minyas) and Eriphyle, so presumably Boiotian, but we hear no more about her there. Otherwise we meet her in Pausanias (10.30.5), who cites the *Nostoi* (fr. 5); but there is one crucial difference: in that story, Maira died a *παρθένος*, which, even if it sometimes means 'young woman' (not necessarily 'virgin'), seems a strange word to use if the point of the story is that she gave birth to Lokros. (Her death as a maiden is mentioned briefly also in another note on *Od.* 11.326 and by Eust. *Od.* 1688.44.) Perhaps, like Koronis in Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.34), she was *παρθένος* in the sense that she was not yet properly married (as e.g. *Ar. Nub.* 530). There seems no obvious explanation for a Lokrian collaborator in the building of Thebes's walls, but the story allowed Pherekydes to find a place in his genealogies for a younger Lokros; he could be the eponym of the Ozolian Lokroi, since the older Lokros, eponym of the Epiknemidian Lokroi, ought to be closer to Aiolos (see Part B on Pherekydes, in the section 'The Structure of Pherekydes' Book').⁴¹

Pherekydes' interest in the names of the gates is on display also in fr. 125, where we learn that the Neitai Pylai were named after Neis, daughter of Zethos (who appears again in fr. 124), a name equivalent to 'nymph' i.e. 'young woman of marriageable age'.⁴² Schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 1104 says she was a daughter of Amphion and Niobe, and schol. Aisch. *Sept.* 460 says she was a daughter of Okeanos; otherwise she is unknown, except for Pausanias (9.8.4) who says *Nῆις* (which would mean 'stupid')⁴³ was a son of Zethos. Others invented explanations involving the 'youngest' child, or the 'lowest' string on Amphion's lyre. On the alternative form Neistai, see Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.1.49 (against) and Mastronarde on *Phoin.* 1104 (for).

Apart from her parentage, which is mentioned in Pher. fr. 124, the early history of Antiope does not figure directly in our corpus; for the many variants and

⁴¹ In doing so he reverses the order of precedence implied by Hek. fr. 16, on the reconstruction offered in §4.4.

⁴² *νηῖς* and *νύμφη* are often collocated in epic (e.g. *Il.* 6.21, 14.444, 20.384, *Od.* 13.356, *P.Oxy.* 2509.3).

⁴³ Magnelli, *ZPE* 127 (1999) 56 n. 22.

complications, see Gantz 484–6, Collard and Cropp 1.170–5, with further references. In Pher. fr. 124, the scholiast says Amphion and Zethos were known as Διὸς κοῦροι λευκόπωλοι, which makes them the local equivalent of Kastor and Polydeukes. They are so designated also three times by Euripides (*Antiope* fr. 223.98, *HF* 29, and *Phoin.* 606, where Mastronarde cites Kannicht on *Hel.* 204–9, Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1.28–9, and Burkert, *GR* 212–13), and Pindar may have them in mind when he refers to the ‘white-horsed streets’ of Thebes at *Pyth.* 9.83. In this respect it is probably significant that in *Asios* fr. 1 Antiope is said to have conceived her twins to Zeus and Epopeus; the implication is that one twin had a divine father, the other a human, like Herakles and Iphikles at Thebes, the Dioskouroi at Sparta, and the Molionidai in Hes. fr. 17(a). Epopeus’ rape of Antiope was also mentioned in the *Kypria* (Argum. 4), where she is called a daughter of ‘Lykourgos’, doubtless the brother of her usual father Nykteus, elsewhere known as Lykos. In Euripides’ *Antiope* Epopeus has married Antiope after she fled from Thebes (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.42); in Pausanias (2.6.1–3) he abducts her by force. It is an easy hypothesis that Antiope’s homeland is in this part of the Peloponnese (where there is another river Asopos, her first attested father) and that she moved to Thebes, like Alkmene from Tiryns.

In Apollodoros, Epopeus’ father is Poseidon, his mother the Aiolid Kanake (*Bibl.* 1.53); furthermore, in Pausanias (2.6.1) Epopeus comes from Thessaly to Sikyon, which accords with his Aiolid mother. Thessaly is also where Epopeus’s father Aloeus belongs (Otos and Ephialtes being the Aloadae: *Bibl.* loc. cit.). Apollodoros’ information might descend from the *Kypria* (above). Aiolian links between Thessaly and the Peloponnese in this period of mythical history are nothing unusual. In Eumelos (fr. 3), Epopeus is king of Sikyon who acquires the rule of Corinth as well. In his *Korinthiaka* (fr. 17 West), Eumelos made Aietes and Aloeus (the father of Epopeus) sons of Helios and none other than one Antiope: not the same Antiope as the mother of the twins, but the homonymy is not coincidental.⁴⁴ Antiope herself, originally Boiotian, was first appropriated by Sikyon; Eumelos in turn brought her and Epopeus into the Corinthian fold, though in different roles.

We are not told which of the two twins was Zeus’s child; in theory it could be either, but we know only of Amphion’s extraordinary musical skill (not, however, Zeus’s province). Euripides in his *Antiope* famously had the two brothers debate the merits of the contemplative vs. the active life. The construction of a new city wall is always an occasion for earnest ritual action to create the magic, impenetrable circle.⁴⁵ Amphion’s spectacular feat was perennially popular in both literature and art. In the archaic period, Homer, *Od.* 11.263, does not mention the music, but it is in Eumelos (fr. 30 West)

⁴⁴ Cf. M. L. West, ‘Eumelos’ 120; Jacoby on *FGrHist* 451, n. 15.

⁴⁵ Aristoph. fr. 1A; Livy 1.7.2; Verg. *Aen.* 5.755, with Servius = Cato *Orig. HRR* 1.61 fr. 18 = fr. 18ab Beck-Walter; Bremmer, ‘Romulus, Remus, and the Foundation of Rome’ 34–8; Horsfall on Verg. *Aen.* 7.157.

and the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 182); in our corpus it is mentioned by **Pher. fr. 41** and **Armen. fr. 2**, who both say Amphion got the lyre from the Muses; Dioskorides (quoted by the same scholion) said Apollo, whereas Eumelos and others said Hermes.⁴⁶

The *Odyssey* says that the Thebans could not live without their walls, in spite of the twins’ strength; this implies imminent danger, doubtless from the Phlegyai, who as barbarians provided the solution to the problem of how to clear the way for the second foundation. They are a wholly mythical people known mainly for their violent nature. Their eponym, Phlegyas, is naturally a son of Ares (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.41); the warlike nature of this ‘people of fire’ is also evident in the *Iliad* (13.298–302). Phlegyas is father (e.g. Eur. fr. 424) or brother (Strabo 9.5.21, Steph. Byz. γ120, Eust. *Il.* 333.24) of the Lapith Ixion; Strabo mentions a third brother Gyrton (ibid.; cf. 7 fr. 9), whose city was also a home of Lapiths (*Il.* 2.738–47; cf. fr. 41c l. 4).⁴⁷ These and other indications (e.g. that he is father of Koronis, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.118) show that he is Thessalian, and when Pherekydes puts the Phlegyai near Thebes, like the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (more specifically, Phokis), we recognize yet another transfer/sharing of mythology between these two parts of Greece. Sordi, ‘Mitologia e propaganda’ 18, argues that the Phlegyai are the traditional Theban enemy the Orchomenians, and that the myth is one of many examples of Theban/Boiotian tension; the context is the First Sacred War and the growing power of, precisely, Thessaly in central Greece, in conjunction with Delphi and various Boiotians (cf. §4.1). The Phlegyan king Eurymachos is not named anywhere else; he could be a son of Phlegyas seeking revenge for his father’s death (above, n. 18).

§10.5 Aedon (Pher. fr. 124)

The story of Aedon daughter of Pandareos, wife of Zethos, who killed her son Ityllos and mourned ever after, is sketched at *Od.* 19.518–23, including her metamorphosis into a nightingale. She is said there to have killed her son δι’ ἀφραδίας, which does not enable us to say whether Homer intends the motive in the story told by the scholia ad loc. and attributed to **Pherekydes (fr. 124)**, that she had wanted to kill one of Amphion’s children out of jealousy, but mistakenly killed one of her own. This story had little afterlife, being displaced by the story of Prokne and Philomela, daughters of the Athenian Pandion, and the wicked Tereus, subject of Sophokles’ play of that name (cf. already Πανδιονίς . . . χελιδών in Hes. *Op.* 568, and the same expression in Sappho fr. 135; the

⁴⁶ Other references in literature: e.g. Eur. *Phoin.* 824, *Antiope* fr. 223.90–7 (where Hermes gives him the lyre), *Hypsip.* fr. 752f 33; Ap. Rhod. 1.735–41; Hor. *Od.* 3.11.1–4 with Nisbet and Rudd (Mercury).

⁴⁷ See Fontenrose, *Python* 242–7, 46–69; Janko on *Il.* 13.301–3; E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 713–14; Richardson on *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 278–80. In Virgil, *Aen.* 6.618–20, Phlegyas is an archetypal sinner for his attack on Delphi; with his *discite moniti* he serves to warn others, as Ixion does in Greek literature. See Norden’s commentary pp. 276–7. Fontenrose well shows the similarities between (stories about) figures like Tityos, Phlegyas, Kyknos, and other violent criminals whom Apollo or other civilisers must put down (but he goes too far in saying they were identical).

story is implied also in Hes. fr. 312). References to the nightingale's proverbial lamentation should be presumed to refer to the Athenian not the Boiotian story.⁴⁸ Apart from the *Odyssey* and Pherekydes, the Theban version is mentioned only by Pausanias briefly (9.5.9), and in the scholia to the *Odyssey* passage, which have some slight variations in the details;⁴⁹ Antoninus Liberalis (*Met.* 11) then has a quite different tale set in Ephesos. Pandareos himself appears again at *Od.* 20.66, where he has two unnamed daughters who are snatched away by the Harpyiai and delivered to the Erinyes; other sources telling the story put this man in Miletos (Gantz 535 for details). Though both Pandareoi have daughters who suffer unusual fates, the two stories appear to be independent. We are not in a position to say how the Theban nightingale story arose, or what function it might have played, but the motifs of jealousy or pride about children, their bloody slaughter, and perpetual mourning recur in the much better known story of Niobe.

§10.6 Niobe (Dem. fr. 1; Pher. fr. 38, 126; Hellan. fr. 21, 76, 191; Herod. fr. 56)

Our mythographers are quoted mainly for the number of children they assigned to Niobe; **Pher. fr. 126** said six sons and six daughters, **Hellan. fr. 21** said four sons and three daughters, **Herod. fr. 56** said the same.⁵⁰ These numbers are fair game for poets and mythographers; it seems almost a generic expectation that one will offer one's own estimate, and that it will differ from others'.⁵¹ To judge from Euripides (*Phoin.* 159), who says that the seven girls were buried together, and Pausanias (9.16.7), who notes separate tombs for the sons and daughters (no number given), there was a link to cult activity of some kind at Thebes; the sources are insistent that the boys and girls were killed separately by Apollo and Artemis, the girls at home, the boys outdoors (hunting, say

⁴⁸ e.g. Aisch. *Agam.* 1144 (where see Fraenkel), Eur. fr. 448a.826, 773.67–70. The fate of Themisto in Hyginus' telling of her story (→§6.1.1) offers a parallel to the Boiotian Aedon; cf. Hansen, *AT* 301–5.

⁴⁹ One names the son of Niobe as Amaleus, and says that Aedon in grief prayed to be transformed (no mention of Poine as in Pher.); another says that Aedon killed her own son deliberately as well as that of Niobe in order to forestall punishment. These are repeated in Eust. *Od.* 1875.15–27.

⁵⁰ The reading 'four' is in R and is adopted by almost all recent editors and translators.

⁵¹ The principal variants are: Homer, *Il.* 24.604 (6 sons, 6 daughters); Hes. fr. 183 (9&10, or possibly 10&10; see Hirschberger on her fr. 88); Alkman *PMG* 75 (10 in most texts, but maybe 21: M. Haslam, *RhMus* 119 (1976) 192); Mimn. fr. 19 (20 in all); Sappho fr. 205 (9&9); Lasos *PMG* 706 (7&7); Pindar fr. 52n (10&10); Bacchyl. fr. 20D (10&10); Xanthos of Lydia, *FGrHist* 765 F 20 (quoted with Pher. and Hellan., and by Parthenios 33, where see Lightfoot; 10&10); then the three major tragedians and Aristophanes all agree on 7&7 (Aisch. fr. 167b, Soph. fr. 446, Eur. fr. 455 cf. *Phoin.* 159, Ar. fr. 294), which is also standard in later writers (e.g. Euphor. fr. 68, Diod. Sic. 4.74.3, Ov. *Met.* 6.182–3, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.45, Hyg. *Fab.* 9.2, 11, schol. Stat. *Theb.* 3.191), though some retain Homer's 6&6 (e.g. Prop. 2.20.7, Stat. *Theb.* 6.125). In some tellings, beginning with Telesilla (*PMG* 721), there were survivors; see W. S. Barrett ap. Carden, *The Papyrus Fragments of Sophocles* 231–5. Aischylos and Sophokles both wrote whole dramas entitled 'Niobe'; the content of Aristophanes' *Dramata* or *Niobos* is obscure. On the evidence for the myth see Barrett, loc. cit. 223–35; Erbse on schol. *Il.* 24.604a; Forbes Irving, *Metamorphosis* 294–7; Gantz 536–40.

Apollodoros and schol. *Il.* 24.602 = Euphor. fr. 68). The story could thus have been part of the aetiology for rituals involving young people of marrying age; it is of interest that the Theban Pindar in a paean told the story of the wedding of Niobe (see I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans* 360). The myth admonishes the listener to stay within the bounds of human happiness, a theme also in evidence in Alkman's *Partheneia*.

The scholion quoting Armen. fr. 6 reports the view that—in the opinion of some scholars—the Seven Pyres was a place in Thebes named for the pyres of the seven children. If this could be verified, it would indirectly support the cult link, as being part of the city's sacred geography. This cannot have been the view of Pindar, who thought there were twenty children, and for whom the pyres were those of the Seven against Thebes (*Ol.* 6.15, *Nem.* 9.24; →§12.3.3); but the toponym might have been reinterpreted by Armenidas' day (if that was his reference), or disputed even in Pindar's. Note that the 'Seven Pyres' refers to the place where the pyres had been laid; this does not imply that the tombs were there as well. Pausanias (9.16.7 and 9.17.2) puts the pyre and the tombs of the children in different places. It is probably significant, however, that he saw only one pyre. That Armenidas refers to the Niobidai is not at all certain from the text of the scholion. We know from another fragment of Aristodemos, who is quoted immediately before, that he did not believe there was a tomb of the Niobidai at Thebes; he was probably wrong, but 'thus also Armenidas writes' in the scholion *prima facie* indicates that he was referring to the Seven, not the Niobidai.⁵² If so, the support of Armenidas is removed, and the idea that the Seven Pyres refers to the seven children of Niobe could be the mere guesswork of grammarians.

The names were a matter for free invention; the motives are often inscrutable, and to us they can seem nothing more than arbitrary fillers. For the sons Pherekydes gives Alalkomeneus, Phereus, Eudoros, Lysippos, Xanthos, Argeios. The first two are eponyms of places in Boiotia, and Argeios may relate to Amphion's remote ancestry; Xanthos recalls the Boiotian king who figures in the aition of the Apatouria (Hellan. fr. 125). Of the girls (Chione, Klytia, Melia, †Hore, Damasippe, Pelopia) Melia recalls the Okeanid who bore Ismenos and Teneros to Apollo (e.g. Paus. 9.10.6) and Pelopia recalls her uncle Pelops. One need not emend to 'Pelopeia' on the grounds that the latter would fit in a hexameter; Pherekydes could have made it up without poetic authority. Hellanikos also has Pelopia, along with Ogygia (for the Ogygian gates) and Astykrateia; the three preserved boys' names are generic, denoting martial virtue and leadership. Hellanikos' three girls recur in Apollodoros, who quotes Herod. fr. 56; but he has none of his boys' names, and none of Pherekydes' names of either sex except Pelopia. Drawing a link with the gates is all too obvious a move, so we hear also of Neis (above, p. 363) and

⁵² Aristodemos *FGrHist* 383 F 3, quoted by the scholiast on Eur. *Phoin.* 159; on his unreliability see T. K. Hubbard, *HSCP* 94 (1992) 94 n. 42. The tombs of the Seven against Thebes were at Eleusis (Paus. 1.39.2, Plut. *Thes.* 29.5).

Homolois (schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 1119, who also reports a son Homoloios as the eponym),⁵³ and Elektra (schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 1129); but no source carries the programme through to its logical conclusion, except for Hyginus; but having said the seven gates were named after the children, he gives a list in which six have no such connection (*Fab.* 69).⁵⁴ By the time of late mythography, some names begin to recur more regularly, but the list is far from stable; Robert points to some overlap between Ovid, Hyginus, and Apollodoros (the latter two are precisely agreed on the sons), and thinks that Euphorion (fr. 68) might be behind them all, but there are differences as well.

Of greater interest is the storyline implied by **Pher.** fr. 38, a direct quotation. Niobe is returning from somewhere to Lydia; there is no reason to think this is anywhere but Thebes, and that her husband was Amphion as in all other sources that specify (first in Aisch. fr. 154a, in fact). She has struggled on after the death of her children, but when she sees the destruction of her father's city and the rock suspended over his head, it is all too much, and she prays to Zeus to be turned to stone. At once she becomes the figure on Mt Sipylos; her tears flow, and she looks northwards for ever. The historical presents nicely reflect the perpetuity of her transformation and her grief. Pherekydes' wording seems almost deliberately designed to exclude any rationalistic interpretation of the myth such as we find later in Palaiphatos 8—there was a statue of Niobe at the tomb of her children, nothing more—or Philemon fr. 102, where a comic character protests against such nonsense that a woman can be a rock: people only called her that because in her overwhelming grief she never spoke again.⁵⁵ **Hellan.** fr. 191 already reaches for this kind of explanation: there was a spring on Sipylos, which, if you drank its waters, turned your guts to stone.⁵⁶ For Pherekydes, the figure on the north side of the mountain is Niobe; his matter-of-fact style, in which the bare report of the transformation makes it seem instantaneous, reinforces the impression. Not for him lingering poetic descriptions of the metamorphosis; he does, however, implicitly convey the notion of Zeus's pity, which is explicit in Bacchylides (fr. 20D, cf. Euphor. fr. 68).

The solace Niobe obtains, if she does obtain any, does not consist in oblivion, if she is still weeping.⁵⁷ Perhaps it consists rather in the pity of others and the memorialization of her grief, of which she is the emblem from Homer onwards. In the *Iliad*, as in Pherekydes, her petrification follows some time after the death of her children (24.614–17);⁵⁸ the

⁵³ On these gates see §1.8.2.

⁵⁴ Further discussion in Robert, *GH* 122 n. 1; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.1.54.

⁵⁵ For this notion in antiquity see the references in Kassel, *Kl. Schr.* 140 n. 2.

⁵⁶ A similar spring existed among the Kikones according to Ov. *Met.* 15.313; cf. Sen. *Quest. Nat.* 3.20.3, Pliny *NH* 2.226, Vib. Seq. 33 Gelsomino.

⁵⁷ Cf. Buxton, *Forms of Astonishment* 201–2. Bacchylides does however say she was relieved of her pain; he must not have agreed about the tears. Nonn. *Dion.* 12.79 pointedly calls her ἐχέφρων. See also Frontisi-Ducroux, *L'Homme-cerfet la femme-araignée* 192–202.

⁵⁸ See Richardson ad loc.; but note T. Pearce's revival of the case for athetesis, *RhMus* 151 (2008) 13–25. Timotheos in his poem *Niobe* (PMG 786–7) is alone in representing her as going to Hades.

reason is that she is already associated with Mt Sipylos, but also with Thebes, so the story-teller must somehow get her from one place to the other. (Ovid, *Met.* 6.310–11, has her petrified in Thebes, and transported by a whirlwind to Lydia.) Homer is concentrating on, and adapting, those details which suit his context, so we do not know how exactly he imagined the final stages of her story, but Pherekydes draws a tidy link to her father's fate, and deftly outlines Niobe's tortured psychological journey even within the confines of his brief narrative.

Sophokles too (schol. *Il.* 24.602; *TrGF* 4.363) had Niobe return to Lydia, as did Apollodoros; we are not sure how Aischylos handled the matter, but he did unusually bring Tantalos to Thebes after disaster had befallen him, an innovation with obvious dramatic possibilities for mutual lamentation. Pherekydes' view is that Tantalos' punishment occurred *in situ* and kept him in Lydia. The story according to the *Nostoi* (fr. 3) was that, given a free wish by Zeus, he asked to live like the gods; Zeus begrudgingly put all their good things at his disposal, but suspended a rock over his head so that he would in his perpetual fear be unable to enjoy them. The story of Tantalos' punishment is alluded to by several other early writers, first by Homer (*Od.* 11.582–92), who is, however, unusual in his idea that the food and drink receded whenever Tantalos reached for them (unusual in antiquity, but the best-known version today); others have the rock (Archil. fr. 91.14, Alkm. *PMGF* 79, Alk. fr. 365, Pind. *Ol.* 1.38, 57b, *Isthm.* 8.10).⁵⁹ Tantalos' punishment has several ideas in common with Niobe's: offence against the gods; immobility; a stone; permanent misery.

Sipylos as Tantalos' home is mentioned by Pindar, but Pherekydes is the first to refer to the city's destruction; subsequently **Demokles** (fr. 1) offers an apparently rationalized explanation, in which Tantalos is a king whose city was struck by an earthquake such as affected Troy and other cities in Asia Minor ('apparently', since he could still have ascribed such things to divine wrath; but as presented his version has a historicizing patina, distinguishing different periods on the basis of geological phenomena).⁶⁰ Sipylos is also mentioned by **Hellankos** (fr. 76) as a 'polis' in Phrygia; the Niobe story is one possible context, the beginning of Pelops' story another (fr. 157; →§14.1). Later historians recorded that Ilos of Troy made war upon Tantalos, and that this was the

⁵⁹ For further details on Tantalos' crime and punishment (variously told) see Eur. *Or.* 4–10; Pl. *Krat.* 395d; Hypereides fr. 173 Jensen; Asklep. *FGrHist* 12 F 30; Cic. *Tusc.* 4.16.35; Diod. Sic. 4.74.2; Antipatros *AP* 16.131.9–10; Hor. *Ep.* 17.66, *Sat.* 1.1.68; Ov. *Met.* 4.458–9; Paus. 10.30.2, 10.31.12 (the Knidian lesche); Luc. *Sal.* 54.3, *De sacr.* 9.10; Anton. Lib. *Met.* 36; Apollod. *Epit.* 2.1; Hyg. *Fab.* 82; schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1.91, 97; schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 152; schol. *Od.* 19.518, 20.66; Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Crime and Punishment' 40–7, Gantz 531–6, Kossatz-Deissmann *LIMC* 7.1.839–43. There is uncertainty as to whether the stone-punishment happened before or after death, or if death was even involved; see R. D. Griffith, 'The Mind is its Own Place'. For allegorical interpretation (Anaxagorean?) see R. Scodel, *HSCP* 88 (1984) 13–24.

⁶⁰ On this fr. of Demokles see Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 1.87–8. The destruction is also mentioned by Eur. *IA* 952, Pl. *Krat.* 395d, Nikolaos fr. 1.9 *PCG*, Strabo 1.3.17, 12.8.18, Plut. *De comm. not.* p. 1059c, Paus. 7.24.13, Apollod. *Bibl.* 6.6, Pliny *NH* 5.117.

reason Pelops emigrated;⁶¹ was this Hellenikos' rationalization of the destruction? If Ilos was contemporary with Tantalos, his grandson Priam would be contemporary with Atreus (see the stemma in §18.1.1).

The natural phenomenon which was supposed to be the weeping Niobe was seen centuries later by Pausanias, who says one has to be some distance away to get the effect (1.21.3; the same point in Quint. Smyrn. 1.294–306). The eye of faith seems yet to survive, notwithstanding Frazer's entertaining comments on Paus. 5.13.7; see André-Salvini and Salvini, '*Fixa cacumine montis*' for a discussion of the curious Hittite monument on Manisa Dağ, near ancient Magnesia.⁶²

§10.7 Aktaion (Akous. fr. 33)

The reason for Aktaion's grisly fate is variously given in the sources; that of Akous. fr. 33, that Zeus was angry because he paid suit to Semele, is the only one known from the archaic period (Hes. fr. 217A, 346, Stesichoros *PMGF* 236).⁶³ Whether or not *P.Oxy.* 2509 also belongs to the *Catalogue*⁶⁴ it is at all events archaic, and depicts a scene in which Athena has gone to Cheiron to inform him of the death of his protégé Aktaion, torn apart by his hounds, and to tell him about the imminent birth of Dionysos; the narrative presumes the same story as in Akousilaos. It is possible that Aischylos' *Semele* also related the death of Aktaion.⁶⁵ Subsequently, however, the motive changes, and the offended deity is Artemis, because Aktaion either boasted he was superior (Eur. *Bacch.* 337–40), or accidentally saw her in her bath (Kallim. *Hymn.* 5.113–15), or (uniquely) desired to marry her (Diod. Sic. 4.81.4). The bath is the later *communis opinio* (so designated by Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.30; cf. e.g. Ov. *Met.* 3.138–252, Hyg. *Fab.* 180, 181), but given the little we know about plays such as Aischylos' *Toxotides* it would be no surprise to learn that the bath was older than the Hellenistic period.⁶⁶ It is not difficult to see how these motives could be worked into a single story (cf. Forbes Irving, *Metamorphosis* 86): the arrogant hunter, either accidentally or intentionally, intrudes upon the goddess's privacy and lusts after her, with predictable results; but it is not so easy to see how such a figure could be associated with Semele. The form of Aktaion's death, already attested in the archaic period, has no known alternative, and indeed is so striking an idea that, if anything is fixed in Greek mythology, it would be a story like this. Such a story belongs

⁶¹ Diod. Sic. 4.74.4; Nik. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 10; ps.-Nonn. on Greg. Naz. *Or.* 43.1.

⁶² 'Elle était probablement conçue pour être vue de loin', they comment on p. 17.

⁶³ Note, however, that Hes. fr. 217A and Stesich. both make Artemis the agent of the metamorphosis. On this passage and the artistic tradition see Buxton, *Forms of Astonishment* 103. Forbes Irving, *Metamorphosis* 197–201 gives full details of the sources; also Gantz 478–81; Schlam, 'Diana and Actaeon'.

⁶⁴ Janko, '*P.Oxy.* 2509'; M. Depew, *CQ* 44 (1994) 412–13.

⁶⁵ Fr. 221 with Radt; Hadjicosti, 'Semele and the Death of Actaeon'.

⁶⁶ Lacy, 'Aktaion and a Lost "Bath of Artemis"'; Gantz 479.

indisputably to the domain of hunting, and Artemis.⁶⁷ Yet that could be the link: the maenads are great hunters; Dionysos too is a master of animals. Aktaion could then be a figure analogous to Pentheus, whose interference threatens the worship of Dionysos, in Aktaion's case by preventing Semele from giving birth to the god in the first place, or displacing Zeus as his father.⁶⁸ Like Pentheus, he is torn to pieces for his offence. The relationship lies below the surface of the story, as Aktaion cannot yet know of Dionysos, but Zeus and the gods do, and the matter is presented in *P.Oxy.* 2509 as a necessary sacrifice for the triumphant career of Dionysos. One may still think that Artemis is original; there is some reason for placing the bath story at Plataiai, so that the version with Semele and Dionysos could be a Theban adaptation of a Boiotian story (Lacy, loc. cit. 42).

§10.8 The Hyades (Pher. fr. 90)

The Hyades are mentioned by both Homer (*Il.* 18.486) and Hesiod (*Op.* 615, *Astronomia* fr. 291); neither gives us a story about their origin, but the *Astronomia* names them as Koronis, Eudore, Phaisyle, Kleeia, and Phaio, which names are echoed by Pherekydes. The oldest story about them is found in the works attributed to Mousaios (fr. 88 Bernabé; cf. Pher. fr. 90c *ad init.*): Atlas and the Okeanid Aithra had twelve daughters and a son Hyas; while hunting in Libya, Hyas was bitten by a poisonous snake and died; the sisters then fell to inconsolable mourning. Five of them died of grief first; Zeus in pity made them stars, and called them Hyades after their brother. The remaining seven eventually followed suit, and Zeus called them Pleiades because there were 'more' of them.⁶⁹

This story has nothing to do with Dionysos; Pher. fr. 90, however, says the Hyades were the god's nurses, so called because Semele was also known as Hye (fr. 90a). He is the first author to say this; he was followed by Asklepiades (*FGrHist* 12 F 18), and his opinion was reported by Eratosthenes and Hyginus (who quote fr. 90d; cf. also Hyg. *Fab.* 192.3), and Ovid (*Fasti* 5.167). Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.29, knows of the Hyades, subsequently catasterized, as nurses of Dionysos (though he puts them in Nysa in Asia); Nonnos too knows of the nurses, though he has his own unusual take on these events (*Dion.* 1.196, 9.28, 14.146). Achaïos (*TrGF* 20 FF 16, 46) used 'Hyas' as an equivalent of

⁶⁷ Burkert, *HN* 109–16.

⁶⁸ A poem has been posited in which Semele was already pregnant with Dionysos, and like Koronis proposed to take a human husband: Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung* 2.23 n. 2; Janko, '*P.Oxy.* 2509' 301 n. 12. Zeus appears uniquely on a vase depicting Aktaion's death of c.440 BC (*LIMC* Suppl. 2009 add. 124), in a scene that scholars have thought reflects the stage (Aischylos, *Toxotides*?): see Arafat, *Classical Zeus* 143–5; Kossatz-Deissmann, *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 1.448–9. On the links between Artemis and Dionysos in the context of this myth see also Moreau, 'Actéon'.

⁶⁹ For this myth and its possible relevance to Alkman, see §13.1 and Ferrari, *Alkman and the Cosmos of Sparta* 86–93, 120–1.

'maenad', and Myrsilos of Methymna (*FGrHist* 477 F 15) said that the Hyades were daughters of Kadmos, that is (probably) maenads like their sisters.

Pherekydes' story is not entirely clear from the sources. Fr. 90b says that the Hyades were nymphs of Dodona who reared the god and accompanied him on his world tour bestowing the gift of wine; when Lykourgos chased Dionysos into the sea, Zeus took pity on them and turned them into stars. Fr. 90c says that they entrusted the baby to Ino for fear of Hera 'when they were chased by Lykourgos'. The transfer of childcare appears to be overmotivated (fear of both Hera and Lykourgos); also, if the god is already bestowing his gifts, he is full-grown (a process that does not, to be sure, take long with gods). Jacoby, after Eustathios, would rewrite fr. 90c to make Ino give the child to the Hyades, which is what logic seems to require, but the direction is the same in fr. 90d (see also schol. German. quoted in the apparatus), so this is what the tradition gives us.

If we just put all these reports together we have the following story for Pherekydes: Dionysos is born and given to the Dodona Hyades, so-called because Semele was called Hye; they accompany him on his travels; Lykourgos persecutes them; they give Dionysos to Ino at Thebes and Zeus turns them into stars. It is clear at a minimum that Pherekydes is accommodating competing traditions about the youthful Dionysos. Thebes goes without saying, and the Lykourgos episode accounts for one of the few mentions of Dionysos in Homer (*Il.* 6.130–40; also in Eumelos' *Europa*, fr. 27 West). We know of no role for Dionysos at Dodona, so Pherekydes' reasons for including it are unclear; it is not because Zeus, god of Dodona, is god of rain (Hyetios; not in any case attested at Dodona), as Pherekydes cites rather Semele Hye. It is true that one of the nymphs, Dione, shares a name with Zeus's consort at Dodona, but that would seem on the surface at least to be a quite different sort of personage.⁷⁰ Perhaps Pherekydes knew of the doves at Dodona (cf. Hdt. 2.54–7, Soph. *Trach.* 171–2; Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus* 62); in poetry *Πελαίδες* is a metrical alternative to Pleiades, the Hyades' sisters, and the popular etymology is implied already by Aischylos (fr. 312, with the passages quoted by Radt) and perhaps Pind. *Nem.* 2.11, where they are mentioned with Orion (before whom, like birds, they flee in the sky). If Pherekydes thought the Pleiades came from Dodona, it would be logical to think their sisters did too.

To get further with Pherekydes' Hyades we turn again to the *Iliad*. In that passage, Dionysos is old enough to move under his own power, leaping into the sea where he is

⁷⁰ Mother of Aphrodite in *Il.* 5.370; a Titan in Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.2; cf. Hes. *Th.* 17, *Orphic.* fr. 179.5 Bernabé; Lhôte, *Les Lamelles oraculaires de Dodone* 420–2; Bremmer, *GRC* 77 n. 30. Euripides (fr. 177, where see Kannicht) and an anonymous writer (*TrGF* adesp. 204) give Dione as the name of Dionysos' mother; possibly this designates Semele, being a modification of Thyone, her alternative name. The variant Thyone (or Thyene according to the paradosis) for Dione recurs in Pher. fr. 90d. Dione and Thyone appear together on a lost vase; see Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery* 60 n. 51. 'Thyonophoros' appears to be equivalent to 'phallophoros' in an inscription from Chalkis (*SEG* 29.807; cf. Hsch. *Θ985 θυονίδας τοὺς σικάνους φάλητας*; P. Veyne, *BCH* 109 (1985) 623). Thyone in turn evokes the Thyiades, another name for maenads; Bremmer, 'Walter F. Otto's *Dionysos*'.

succoured by Thetis; but the women with him are explicitly called his nurses. So, though still young, he is no longer an infant; the myth wants to have it all ways by giving the ephebe nurturing female companions, but making him old enough to work his miracles. As studies of Dionysos have repeatedly shown, this god combines opposites within his person in the starkest way, heightening the sense of mystery and ineffability; immature yet potent, dependent youth yet dominant male. The supposed difficulty of Pherekydes having nurses for the grown Dionysos is thus removed. In fact, to judge from Soph. *OC* 680, 'nurses' can be taken as a synonym for 'maenads', and we may take nurturing the young as an essential part of maenadism (a trait exploited by Euripides in the *Bacchai*, 699–702).⁷¹ Secondly, Thetis in the *Iliad* is the exact counterpart of Ino at Thebes both in narrative function—like Thetis, she receives the young Dionysos from the nurses—and in character: Ino became the sea-goddess Leukothea; Dionysos' leap into the sea mirrors her own leap with the baby Melikertes in her arms, driven mad by Hera. The parallel confirms the order of events in Pherekydes.

One sees reflections of maenadic and initiatory ritual in this myth. There are points of contact with other myths with similar associations. The pursuit of the nurses recalls story of the Proitides and, in Boiotia itself, of the Minyades; both are aetiological (→§5.3.3). Symbolically the leap into the sea is a kind of death; the mortal dies, the immortal is born. It is the realm both of death and of gods, which a privileged ephebe like Theseus enters temporarily by divine dispensation (*Bacchyl.* 17). One may compare the requirement for initiates at Eleusis to bathe in the sea with their piglet, which is then sacrificed; a life for a life, emerging from the barren salt water. Ino, as Leukothea, assists Odysseus in his passage over the sea to Scherie, an equivalent of the Isles of the Blessed (*Od.* 5.333–53); as he steps ashore, close to death from fatigue and hunger, Odysseus casts behind him the magical veil, symbolizing the final leave-taking, the no-going-back. The Isthmian Games, showcase for youth, were founded in honour of Melikertes, some said by Theseus. In Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.28–9, Ino in her madness first throws her son into a cauldron of boiling water; this puts one in mind of Medeia, another child-murderess, whose cauldron boiled Pelias but rejuvenated, according to various stories, Aison, Jason, and (NB) the nurses of Dionysos (→§6.7.1). It would be imprudent to reconstruct a ritual or rituals from these stories, as such motifs circulated freely; but the strong association with initiation is unmistakable, and ritual links are probable (Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 405–6). It is unsurprising then to learn that Dionysos was raised as a girl by Ino.⁷²

The reasons why Semele was called Hye, and why Pherekydes would associate Hyades with Dionysos, may also relate to initiation; if so, Pherekydes becomes one of the earliest

⁷¹ For kourotrophic nymphs, Dionysos and Hyes see also Sourvinou-Inwood, *Hylas, the Nymphs, Dionysos and Others* 106–8.

⁷² Apollod. loc. cit.; Bremmer, 'Transvestite Dionysos' 184–8 and 'Walter F. Otto's *Dionysos*'.

writers to refer to Dionysiac mysteries. Several pieces of evidence reveal a connection between Ὕης and Dionysos. First, the well-known passage in Demosthenes' speech *On the Crown* (18.260), in which he ridicules Aischines for his involvement in orgiastic cults. Among the many disreputable activities mentioned by Demosthenes is processing through the streets shouting Ὕης Ἀττης Ἀττης Ὕης.⁷³ Attempts have been made since antiquity to identify the cult in question; some say Sabazios, others say Attis, others say Dionysos himself. In fact, Demosthenes has no interest in scholarly accuracy, and the passage is a catalogue of the disreputable things that went on in orgiastic and mystery cults; but Dionysos and Sabazios would be two examples, and are certainly in the mix here.⁷⁴ Kleidemos (quoted with fr. 90a), writing about the same time as Demosthenes, says that Hyes is an epithet of Dionysos, and Euphorion, writing in the next century, uses the word in just that way (fr. 15a). Earlier still, Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4 F 176) said that Osiris, the Egyptian Dionysos, was called Hysiris by the priests; in quoting the fragment, Plutarch (*De Isid.* 34 p. 364d) finds the account plausible because of ὕσαι and the epithet Hyes. The probability is that Hellanikos, with his well-known interest in etymology, advanced this argument. Aristophanes also referred to Hyes (fr. 908), but, interestingly, not as an epithet of Dionysos, rather as a foreign god. The popular prejudice that orgiastic cults are foreign and degenerate is familiar from many passages in comedy, and is what Demosthenes exploits in his speech against Aischines. Dionysos himself came from abroad, as did Sabazios, who was also called Hyas (schol. Ar. *Av.* 874; cf. Hsch. v110). In the *Bacchai*, Mt Tmolos in Lydia is the home of the maenads (55, 65, 154, 462); Zeus was worshipped there as Hyetios (Ioann. *Lyd. Mens.* 4.71), which refers of course to his rain, but perhaps Hyes was worshipped there as well (and note Hsch. v112 Ὕης· Ζεὺς ὀμβριος). The legendary Phrygian poet Hyagnis invented the Phrygian mode and the aulos for use in the worship of Dionysos, Pan, and Meter. Finally there is an intriguing entry in Hesychios (v128) ὕην· τὴν ὀμπελον, a word which is represented in Mycenaean *we-je-we* (*LSJ Suppl.*) and cognate with Latin *vitis*, *vimen*. If these connections are valid, the name of Hyes would be a reflection of an Indo-European root pertaining to vines, of which he is the personification. Usener, *Götternamen* 46–7 not without reason supposed Hyes and Hye to be male and female equivalents in some prehistoric or lost context.

Pherekydes, then, seems to have known something about the myths of this god, which led him to equate Semele with Hye. We mentioned above two writers who equated Hyades and maenads (Achaïos and Myrsilos). Inevitably, Greek ears heard the verb ὕειν and thought of rain; this is what Kleidemos says (Pher. fr. 90a), and he is echoed by

⁷³ The accent Ὕης is approved by Arkadios *De accentibus* 24 = Hdn. 1.59.20 Lentz, followed by Wankel on Dem. 18.260, where the manuscripts support the perispomenon. The recessive accent is better attested, however, including in the MSS of writers such as Strabo (10.3.18) who have Demosthenes in mind; ὕην also in Plutarch (below). Perhaps there is a difference between exclamation and epithet.

⁷⁴ R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 159; Price, *Religions of the Greeks* 116; Bremmer, *GRC* 273.

Plutarch (above) and Hesychios v111 Ὕή· ἡ Σεμέλη ἀπὸ τῆς ὕσεως. The constellation of the Hyades is situated next to the Pleiades, which rose at the start of the rainy season. The quantity of the vowel is against this interpretation, but that is no obstacle in popular etymology.⁷⁵ The idea that the rain nurtures the vine would surely have seemed relevant to the Greeks (Frazer, *Apollod.* 1.321 n. 5).

In addition, there are two ritual Dionysiac contexts in which water plays an important role. The first has to do with putting out fires. There are several artistic depictions of nymphs putting out fires, either that of Herakles' pyre on Mt Oita (while the hero ascends to Olympos), or of Alkmene, whom a disbelieving Amphitryon tried to immolate before she was rescued by Zeus (*LIMC* Hyades nos. 1–10). Some scholars have identified the figures on these vases as Hyades. Unfortunately they are not labelled as such on any representation. The fire brigade in Heraklean scenes runs in at ground level, and on the one vase where they are identified they bear the names Arethousa and Premnousia (*LIMC* Hyades no. 5, late fifth century); these are ordinary nymphs of streams or fountains. On the Alkmene vases, the water pours down from the heavens, and the nymphs occupy a place next to Zeus; there seems a better case for regarding these as Hyades. Trendall in *LIMC* (1.554, on Alkmene nos. 5–7) remains cautious, preferring to regard them as personified clouds, though perhaps the distinction between clouds and rain-nymphs is pedantic.

In Dionysiac myth there are two fires resulting from Zeus's thunderbolt: the one which incinerated the Titans, and the one which incinerated Semele. To take Semele's first, the spot where she was struck was a cult site in Thebes; Euripides makes the still-smouldering fire a prop in the *Bacchai*, and Dionysos refers to it at the beginning of the play (8). Also in the *Bacchai* (519–24) the chorus tells how Dirke soothed the infant in her waters, suffering as he was from the effects of the fire. Faraone has collected a number of parallels for the idea of people or gods saved from fire by water: Herakles and Alkmene, already mentioned; the boy Demophon in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*; baby Zeus himself in one work of art; and, intriguingly, a mystic initiate in a magical papyrus of the first century.⁷⁶ As for Dionysos, in addition to the *Bacchai*, plays of Aischylos and Sophokles, both entitled *Hydrophoroi*, Aischylos' bearing the alternative title *Semele*, dramatized the birth of the god, as did numerous lost comedies (*PCG* 5.243) and tragedies including a *Σεμέλη κεραυνουμένη* by Spintharos (*TrGF* 40 T 1). It is possible that some of these plays involved a chorus of women acting as the fire brigade. (Faraone thinks that the chorus of fire-extinguishing women in the *Lysistrata* draws on this paradigm.) Finally, a poem of Meleager is quite explicit about the nymphs washing Dionysos upon his escape from the flames (*AP* 9.331 = Gow–Page, *HE* 4706–9). It seems

⁷⁵ The Latin name *suculae* (Aul. Gell. 13.9) may suggest rather ὕες 'pigs' (Gundel, *RE* 8.2.2616–17; West, *IEPM* 353), but all memory of this has disappeared from Greek sources if it was ever there.

⁷⁶ Faraone, 'Salvation and Female Heroics'.

possible that, as in the case of Herakles on Oita and Demeter at Eleusis (where initiates underwent 'purification by fire'), this myth of Semele is aetiological; the ritual would have involved dramatization of the episode, and the cult would be one of mystery and salvation. Semele herself was raised to heaven after her death, as Pindar in his Orphic poem reminds us; in the same passage (*Ol.* 2.25–30) he mentions Ino's eternal bliss among the Nereids, the undersea home evidently an equivalent of Olympos.

The second Dionysiac fire involves the Titans, whose importance in these mysteries is well known. On several of the Thuri leaves the initiate claims to have been struck by lightning;⁷⁷ they have shared the fate of the Titans, but survived by virtue of their initiation. The ritual perhaps involved re-enactment of the terrifying events surrounding the killing and consumption of Dionysos, including extinguishing of the fire and the rescuing of the young god's heart. It is tantalizing in this context to read in Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 299e–f) that at the Agrionia in Orchomenos, whose aetiology involves three maenads drawing lots to see whose child they would kill, the grief-stricken men were known as Psoloeis; this is a standard epithet of lightning in poetry, explained by scholiasts as signifying the smouldering ashes it causes. The mad women, according to one restoration of the text, are called Oleiai, destroyers.

The first use of water in Dionysiac cult, then, is to deal with the consequences of Zeus's thunderbolt. The second is to bathe the newborn baby (after his birth from Zeus's thigh). There is no reference to this bath in the classical period, though the *Bacchai* passage quoted above is suggestive, and when in his *Aitia* Kallimachos mentioned the bath of Dionysos at Haliartos (fr. 43.87 ff.; cf. Pfeiffer on fr. 584), he probably drew on a classical precedent. The water-bearers in some of the plays mentioned above might have had this function. In art, episodes from the infancy of Dionysos are not depicted at all in the archaic period; these begin in the classical period, but the representations all just show the baby being handed over to the nymphs, without any reference to a bath. The earliest example seems to be a late fourth-century BC Etruscan mirror in the British Museum (*LIMC* Dionysos/Fufluns no. 14). It involves an arrangement familiar from classical vases of Silenos handing over the baby, with two nymphs to the right. One of the nymphs has a jug in her right hand, presumably for water, and a liknon on her head. This scene anticipates later iconography, in which the preparations for the bath are more prominent (*LIMC* Dionysos/Bacchus nos. 153–6, Dionysos (*in peripheria orientali*) nos. 95, 97 = Hyades no. 12). The liknon on the Etruscan mirror is also suggestive. It is prominent in the Hellenistic and Roman mysteries of Dionysos, and Servius (*Georg.* 1.166) tells us that with it the nymphs received the newborn baby from its mother's womb. It seems probable that there were classical precedents also for this feature of Dionysiac ritual, as several vase-paintings strongly suggest.⁷⁸ In general, scholars' belief

⁷⁷ Tablets no. 5–7 in Graf and Johnston, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife*; see Johnston's discussion on pp. 125–7.

⁷⁸ On the liknon see Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* 95–8; Krauskopf in *ThesCRA* 5.278–83. Aischines had been a *liknophoros* according to Demosthenes.

that Dionysiac mysteries are a post-classical phenomenon (reinforced by their belief in the degenerate nature of such things) has been undermined by things like the Orphic tablets and the Derveni papyrus.

A final detail to note is that one of Pherekydes' Hyades bears the name Ambrosia, immortality (fr. 90b, d). From Hesiod (fr. 291) he has taken Koronis, Eudore, Phaisyle, and perhaps Phaio (fr. 90d; Phyto in fr. 90d, with associations of vegetation). Polyxos has been substituted for Kleeia for no obvious reason, and Dione/Thyone and Ambrosia are new. We see from the names of Dionysiac nymphs on classical vases that they are a very varied lot;⁷⁹ there was no canonical list, and artists and writers were free to make up names that suggested suitable qualities. Pherekydes' Ambrosia may merely suggest the god's salient quality, but if mystery religions are the main context of this myth, it could gain added significance. Centuries later in the artistic tradition, Ambrosia is shown being assaulted by Lykourgos with an axe (*LIMC* Lykourgos I nos. 31–53); in another scene (*LIMC* Hyades 12, fourth century AD), she is helping to get the bath ready.⁸⁰

§10.9 Cetera Dionysiaca (Hek. fr. 31; Phér. fr. 91)

According to Photios, **Hekataios** (fr. 31) said 'Tentheus' not 'Pentheus'.⁸¹ Uncial corruption is an easy hypothesis but one should not lightly set aside ancient scholars' direct testimony about forms. The word *τένθης* ('glutton') occurs in comedy (Ar. *Pax* 1009, 1120, Kratin. fr. 358; *τενθεία* Ar. *Av.* 1691), and is glossed by *λίχνος* in the lexicographers (Hsch. 7472, 477, Photios s.v., cf. Anon. on Arist. *EN* p. 182.10, *Suda* 7315; cf. *λιχνοτένθης* Poll. 6.122); in the case of *λίχνος*, a secondary sexual meaning develops (*LSJ* s.v. I 2: 'curious, inquisitive, lewd'). Such an extension would not be surprising for *τένθης* and of course perfectly denotes the character of Pentheus so brilliantly portrayed by Euripides. Wilamowitz on *HF* 56 (and again *Glaube der Hellenen* 2.66 n. 1 [2.65 n. 2]) thought that 'Tentheus' was changed to 'Pentheus' (first in Aischylos in his play of that name) as a matter of etymology (the *ἐτυμος λόγος*) because of his miserable fate (cf. e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 367). Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.* 1.295, agreed, rejecting any notion that we have to do here with different modifications of an original labiovelar. Beekes, *Etym. Dict.* s.v. *τένθης*, now diagnoses this word as undoubtedly pre-Greek (non-IE). If this

⁷⁹ Kossatz-Deissmann, 'Satyr- und Mänadennamen auf Vasenbildern'; a selection in Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery* index s.v. nymph-labels. Of the scores of names known, none except for Dione corresponds to those in Pherekydes (or Hesiod).

⁸⁰ Cf. *Anecd. Bekk.* 1.207.26 ἄλλοι δὲ ὕην μὲν εἶναι τὸν Διόνυσον ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβάντος ἐπὶ τῇ γεννήσει αὐτοῦ ὕετοῦ· ὅσε γὰρ ἀμβροσίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὁ Ζεὺς· ἅπτης δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Διόνυσος ἀπὸ τῆς γενομένης ἐκ Τιτάνων εἰς αὐτὸν ἅπτης καὶ φθοράς. On Ambrosia in art see further E. Simon, *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 1.53–5. For the reference to the Hyades at the end of Euripides' *Erechtheus* (where, according to a scholion on Arat. *Phain.* 172, he equated them with the Hyakinthides), see Sourvinou-Inwood, *Athenian Myths and Festivals* 123–34.

⁸¹ Photios 7153 Theodoridis (in his *Nachlaß*; information from Rudolf Kassel).

assessment of the name's history is right, then Hekataios may reflect a myth in which Tentheus' intrusion on the women's rites is his primary offence rather than his resistance to the god.

Pher. fr. 91 is transmitted by Philodemos in a passage where he is discussing instances of gods afflicted by illness and other disturbances. There are difficulties in the text which prevent certainty about what Pherekydes might have said.⁸² On one reconstruction, which seems the most probable on philological grounds, he is castigated for depicting Dionysos as seized by madness. Philodemos habitually cites a wide range of authors in making his point about mythical conceptions; he wishes to show how widespread such foolishness is. He does not therefore always cite the most obvious case in point, and for Διόνυσος μαινόμενος there are many possibilities beginning with the Lykourgos episode in Homer (*Il.* 6.132), which could well be the context in Pherekydes (fr. 90; see previous section). The god, μαινόμενος and Βάκχος, has the same quality as his worshippers, the Mainades or Bacchai; he is routinely pictured in their midst.⁸³

Another reason, however, for Philodemos' citing Pherekydes (and a mythographical reason for articulating the papyrus as suggested) is that he draws routinely on the mythography, in which the madness of Dionysos does indeed figure; Apollodoros mentions it immediately before the story of Lykourgos (*Bibl.* 3.33). The madness is mentioned also at the outset of Euripides' *Kyklops* (3–4, where see Seaford) and by Plato, *Laws* 627b (cf. Nonnos *Dion.* 32.98–152), so it is an old part of the tradition. In all these writers, the madness is not self-induced but inflicted by Hera, for the same reason as she drove Herakles mad, out of hatred for Zeus's bastard. Given that the Lykourgos story was also in Eumelos' *Europa* (fr. 27 West) we may guess that all of this was in Pherekydes.

§10.10 Excursus to Hellan. fr. 51: Apollodoros of Athens and Apollodoros' *Bibliotheca*

There are thirteen passages in the Homeric D scholia, listed below, that correspond closely to passages in the *Bibliotheca*.⁸⁴ Nos. 1 and 11 are cited from 'Apollodoros'; nos. 2, 4, 5, and 7 are cited from 'Apollodoros' with book-numbers (2, 1, 2, 3 respectively). No. 7 cites Hellanikos as well as Apollodoros; no. 8 is cited from Kallimachos, no. 13 from Euripides; no. 12 identifies a detail in *Bibl.* as coming from Pindar. One first assumes

⁸² Recent discussion by J. Schloemann and R. Krumeich in *Das griech. Satyrspiel* 528–9; →Part B.

⁸³ Cf. Seaford on *Bacch.* 306–8, citing e.g. Eur. *Ion.* 714–18, fr. 752, Ar. *Nub.* 603–6; and on 115, citing Henrichs, "He Has a God in Him" 19–20. See also Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery* 35–41.

⁸⁴ Diller, "The Text History of the *Bibliotheca* of Pseudo-Apollodoros"; van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* 108–11. Kenens, *Writing Greek Myth* 23, notes also schol. *Il.* 1.106 ~ *Epit.* 3.21–2, *Il.* 2.145 ~ *Epit.* 1.12–15, and *Od.* 10.494 ~ *Bibl.* 3.71–2, where correspondence is less close and a common source might be posited.

that the scholia have followed *Bibl.*, but Diller, loc. cit., and Cameron (*Greek Mythography in the Roman World* 93–104) have pointed out that this view is not without difficulties:

In the first place, the *Bibliotheca* is not divided into books in the manuscripts; the three books of modern printed editions were introduced by the first editor on the basis of these very citations in the D scholia. Second, there are other D scholia with similar parallel versions to the *Bibliotheca* that cite, not Apollodoros, but much earlier sources like Hellanikos, Euripides, and Callimachos [nos. 7, 8, 13]. Third, there are other D scholia that have no similarities at all with the *Bibliotheca* but nonetheless cite Apollodoros. In the third category there can be no reasonable doubt that the reference is to one or the other of the two learned monographs (*On Gods* and *Catalogue of Ships*) by the second-century BC scholar Apollodoros of Athens. [On these see below, p. 381.] Fourth, none of the other sources cited in the D scholia are later than the Hellenistic age, ranging from Hesiod and Hellanikos to Euphronion and Apollodoros of Athens. A derivative recent handbook like the *Bibliotheca* is not at all the sort of source we should expect to find cited alongside such 'learned' references.⁸⁵

The alternative is to suppose that 'Apollodoros' refers to Apollodoros of Athens. Let us consider the passages one by one.

1. Schol. *Il.* 1.10 (in cod. A, on 1.126) ~ *Bibl.* 1.46–8. The scholion begins λαοί: ὅχλοι. λᾶες κατὰ διάλεκτον οἱ λίθοι λέγονται. There follows the story of Deukalion and Pyrrha. Apollodoros is cited (ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ) without book-number. The two versions are almost identical, but where *Bibl.* says τότε δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ Θεσσαλίαν ὄρη διέστη the scholiast writes Τέμπη for ὄρη, which would not be beyond some scribes' knowledge. At the end, *Bibl.* adds ὅθεν καὶ λαοὶ μεταφορικῶς ὠνομάσθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ λᾶος ὁ λίθος, which resembles the opening gloss in the scholion. Etymology was Apollodoros of Athens' forte, and though this passage comes neither from the *Catalogue of Ships* nor deals with gods, one would not like to say he could not have referred to the story in one of his works. Whether he would have gone on at this length is another matter.

2. Schol. *Il.* 1.42 ~ *Bibl.* 2.10–13. The scholion explains how 'Danaoi' = 'Hellenes' by telling the story of Danaos, and concludes by citing Ἀπολλοδώρος ἐν β. The opening words of the scholion first give Belos' genealogy, summarized from 2.10, then gives the opening words of 2.11, but omits the alternative genealogy from Euripides. We then have a strong divergence: where *Bibl.* has ὑποθεμένης Ἀθηνᾶς αὐτῷ ναὺν κατεσκεύασε πρῶτος καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐνθήμενος ἔφυγε, the scholion has καθότι καὶ ἐκ χρημοῦ ἡ κηκόει ὅτι φονευθήσεται ὑπὸ ἐνὸς αὐτῶν, ὑποθεμένης Ἀθηνᾶς ναὺν πρῶτος κατεσκεύασεν τὴν κληθεῖσαν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ πεντηκόντορον, ἐν ᾗ τὰς κόρας ἐνθήμενος ἔφυγεν. This is sufficient to show that the scholion does not depend on our version of the *Library*. At this point we infer either that he has got a better version at his disposal, or that both are drawing on a common source,

⁸⁵ Cameron 97–8. Despite my disagreement I am much indebted to this discussion, without which I could not have formulated my view.

or that our scholiast has inserted material from his general knowledge or from elsewhere (but this is somewhat *recherché* information about the first ship and 'pentekonter', and scholiasts are not normally so diligent in their research and compilation). For the rest, the scholiast has the same wording as *Bibl.* but stops at *ὁ τότε βασιλεύων Ἄργους* and adds *αὐτὸς δὲ κρατήσας τῆς χώρας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Δαναοὺς ὠνόμασεν*, which loops back to the opening *Δαναοὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες*.

3. Schol. *Il.* 1.59 ~ *Bibl.* epit. 3.17–19. The scholion comments on Achilles' remark that the Greeks may be 'driven back' from Troy, by referring to the story of Telephos in the 'younger poets' (the Cycle). The story is then related without source citation. There is no obvious link with any of Apollodoros' works, though he frequently made reference to *οἱ νεώτεροι*. The scholion provides the name of Telephos' mother, missing from the epitome (common knowledge, and anyway the scholiast may have had the complete text of *Bibl.* to work with); it omits to say that Thersander son of Polyneikes was killed; it adds that Telephos tripped over a vine because Dionysos was angry with him for depriving him of due honours; it condenses the remainder of the story to a single sentence.

4. Schol. *Il.* 1.195 ~ *Bibl.* 1.20. It is worth reproducing the scholion in full: *οὐρανόθεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ παρεγένετο, φησὶν, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, ὃ ἔστιν ἡ φρόνησις. δεῖ γὰρ οὕτως αὐτὴν καταβαίνειν οἷα καὶ τῆς κόμης αὐτὸν κρατεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἄλλου μέρους τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ' ἐνθα ἰδρυται τὸ λογικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος. εὐλόγως δὲ καὶ οἱ μυθογράφοι φασὶν ὅτι ἔγκυος οὖσα ἡ Μῆτις τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν κατεπόθη ὑπὸ Διὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τῷ ὠρισμένῳ τῆς ἀποκνήσεως χρόνῳ ἐξέθορεν ἡ θεὸς σὺν ὅπλοις. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ ἐν Α. The first part of this sounds much like Apollodoros of Athens; cf. e.g. 244 F 353 *ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ Ἀλαλκομενῆς Ἀθήνη παρὰ τοῖς εὐ λογιζομένοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας, ἡ ἀπαλάκουσα τῷ ἰδίῳ μένει τοὺς ἐναντίους. οὐ γὰρ πειθόμεθα τοῖς νεωτέροις, οἳ φασιν ἀπὸ Ἀλαλκομενίου τινὸς εἰρῆσθαι κτλ.* The myth is then related in terms much like those at *Bibl.* 1.20; brief though the narration is, there is no doubt about a connection between the two passages.*

5. Schol. *Il.* 2.103 ~ *Bibl.* 2.5–8. The note explains the epithet Argeiphontes in a quite Apollodoran manner: *ἀργῷ καὶ καθαρῷ φόνου· εἰρημικὸς γὰρ ὁ θεός.* That story of the slaying of Argos is offered as an alternative explanation, ending with *ἡ δὲ ἱστορία πλατύτερον κεῖται παρὰ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ ἐν β.* There is nothing in the scholiast's abbreviated version (which omits also the alternative genealogies in 2.6) not found in *Bibl.* (the information about 'eyes all over' is from 2.4).

6. Schol. *Il.* 2.106 ~ *Bibl.* epit. 2.10–12 (and ~ schol. Eur. *Or.* 811). The scholion to Homer has a slightly abbreviated version as against *Bibl.*, for all that we are working with the latter's epitome here; schol. Eur. is closer to schol. *Il.* than to *Bibl.* Apollodoros is not given as the source by the two scholia.

7. Schol. *Il.* 2.494 ~ *Bibl.* 3.21–3. These are Hellan. fr. 51a–b (→§10.3). The beginning of the scholion explains the origin of the name 'Boiotia' and is the sort of information we

might expect to find in Apollodoros' commentary on the *Catalogue of Ships*. The myth continues, however, well beyond where it needs to go for this purpose (*EGM* 1.180.8), in order to tell the story of the Spartoi. The scholion as usual omits the extra information in *Bibl.* from Pherekydes, which the mythographer needs for the names of the Spartoi. For the rest, the scholion has an abbreviated version, but it does mention the fact that Ares wanted to kill Kadmos, omitted by *Bibl.*, and mentions the Muses singing at the wedding (*Bibl.* simply says 'all the gods'). The Muses are common knowledge, and the point about Ares is easily guessed (but note that it is slightly odd in context that Ares becomes angry *after* the teeth are sown). In the subscription the scholiast says 'Hellanikos in his *Boiotiaka* and Apollodoros in Book 3 tell the story'. Three main hypotheses are available.

(i) The scholiast, after a comment (Apollodoros-of-Athens-style, to be sure) on the origin of the name 'Boiotia', adds a *historia* from *Bibl.*, omitting the variants; he knows from elsewhere that Hellanikos told this story, or more probably he thinks he knows. It is indeed very unlikely that the scholiast did independent research. The choice *χέρνιβα* (cf. Eur. *Phoin.* 662) for *ῥῥωρ* and *Ἀρητιάς* for *Ἀρεία* imply access to a better version of *Bibl.* than we have.

(ii) The whole of the scholion and *Bibl.* draw independently on the same source. This source could be Apollodoros of Athens, who cited both Hellanikos and Pherekydes. Could this kind of material come from Apollodoros? He is cited for a *historia* in two fragments (244 FF 129, 158); in the first of these, a scholion on *Od.* 23.198, we are not dealing with myth so much as religion and *ἱστορία* might almost be translated 'information', but at least it shows that this *form* of citation could be used for Apollodoros of Athens. In the second fr., a scholion on *Il.* 8.284, 'Apollodoros' is a conjecture for 'Apollonios the grammarian', not otherwise known, and *Νεῶν* is a conjecture for *Γενῶν*; the fr. is best left out of account.⁸⁶ A serious difficulty with the attribution of fr. 51a to the Athenian is that, though he drew on myths in his researches, he did not go on at length telling stories like a mythographer. Another problem is that this scholion is attached to the first line of the *Catalogue*, yet it is cited from Book 3 of Apollodoros; though the organization of the Athenian's treatise is obscure in some respects, the book-number is surprising. Finally we have seen in §5.4.1 some reason for thinking that Hellanikos did *not* explain the name Boiotia from *βοῦς*, though he must have told the story of Kadmos and the Spartoi.

(iii) In the *historia* part of the scholion, both the scholiast and *Bibl.* are drawing on a common source such as the Mythographus Homericus. The author of the *Bibl.* has added his variants from a second source, in this case Pherekydes, as is his habit. The attribution to Hellanikos and Apollodoros could come from the original source, and is

⁸⁶ Its place in Apollodoros of Athens' book remains uncertain, as Jacoby admits; on the other hand the correspondence with *Bibl.* 2.136 is not very good either.

attended by the usual doubts; or perhaps this source cited only Hellanikos, and the scholiast added 'Apollodoros', meaning *Bibl.*; or the scholiast added both attributions.

8. Schol. *Il.* 2.547 ~ *Bibl.* 3.188. The scholion comments on Erechtheus, whom he says was also called Erichthonios; we then get 3.188 slightly abbreviated, but cited as from Kallimachos' *Hekale* (fr. 260.18–20, where it is briefly alluded to). A fr. of Apollodoros' *Il. θεῶν* (106) discusses Athenian autochthony, but that is a remote link, and we are here in the *Catalogue of Ships*.

9. Schol. *Il.* 2.595 ~ *Bibl.* 1.17, the story of Thamyris, more or less exactly as in *Bibl.* except adding a moralizing adjective about his homosexual love (αἰσχροῦν), and saying that Thamyris was Thracian, which is commonplace but actually inconsistent with *Bibl.* in this passage. No authority cited.

10. Schol. *Il.* 8.368 ~ *Bibl.* 2.113, 122–5. At 2.113 we have 'The labours were finished in one month and eight years but Eurystheus would not accept the cattle of Augeas or the Hydra and so imposed an eleventh labour' (viz. the Hesperides), whereas in the scholion (no authority cited) we have the same introduction, but there follows 2.122–5, the labour of Kerberos (twelfth in *Bibl.*), word for word until abbreviated towards the end.

11. Schol. *Il.* 12.117 (in cod. A, on 13.307) ~ *Bibl.* 1.49; an exact citation of this section, attributed to 'Apollodoros' and working with a better text than we have for the mythographer.

12. Schol. *Il.* 14.319 ~ *Bibl.* 2.34–5. The correspondence is close,⁸⁷ except in one startling point, where *Bibl.* says that according to 'some' authorities Danae was raped by her uncle Proitos, and the scholiast says 'Pindar [fr. 284] and some others'. No authority is cited for the story as a whole. As Cameron remarks (*Greek Mythography in the Roman World* 99), this alternative to the shower of gold story has the ring of rationalization. Cameron's own view is that the scholion and *Bibl.* draw on a common source; it is possible too that the scholiast has added Pindar to *Bibl.* on his own authority. He is unlikely to have done any research; if he had, he would not have thought Pindar ever said such a thing.

13. Schol. *Il.* 14.323 ~ *Bibl.* 3.26. The correspondence is exact, but the scholiast cites from his own general knowledge Eur. *Bacch.* (88–98). It is reassuring that this is accurate in a sense (Euripides does tell this story) but illustrates only too clearly how these ascriptions got added.

It is excessively sceptical to deny that material from the *Library* has found its way into the scholia of Homer. No. 11 alone establishes this,⁸⁸ and the very close and extensive verbal correspondences, in passage after passage, do not suggest copying from a

⁸⁷ At the end of the scholion the tale is heavily abbreviated and slightly confused about Polydektes. Schol. adds the information that Seriphos is one of the Cyclades (common knowledge). Van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* 97 assumes the scholion derives from Apollodoros.

⁸⁸ Pace Diller p. 303, the scholion is from the minor tradition; see Van Thiel's online text.

common source in such a fluid tradition.⁸⁹ Apollodoros of Athens was certainly not such a source; he wrote no extended mythography like this. No. 10's mistake is hard to reconcile with the selection-from-common-source view; he has a defective copy of *Bibl.* in front of him, or his eye wandered. Moreover, passages from the *Library* occur in Tzetzes, the scholia to Plato, a recension of Zenobios, and other medieval writers;⁹⁰ and of course we know that Photios read the book (*Bibl.* 186). So it was known in Byzantium from the first revival of learning onwards, and taken as authoritative (there was no rival of its type). It is true that the sources given in most *historiai* are no later than the Hellenistic age (Cameron's fourth point), but in the first place later authorities are cited (schol. *Il.* 2.220 cites Quintus of Smyrna), and secondly, on the view that the *historiai* from the *Library* (and elsewhere) were added to the corpus after the insertion of tales from the Mythographus Homericus,⁹¹ one would expect citation of late authors in the scholia to be less frequent, as they had already begun to reach a fixed form. We conclude that *historiai* have been added in the normal manner to notes of one kind or another, some of which deal in etymologies or other material at home in Apollodoros of Athens but not necessarily from him for that reason alone.

There remains the question of the citations from books 1–3 of the *Library*. It is true that our tradition does not have these divisions, but then all our MSS descend from one, quite late MS. In the case of no. 11 at least, the scholia had a better manuscript than those available to us; perhaps then this surmise was correct in nos. 2, 3, and 7 as well.⁹² Presumably there were book divisions originally. Moreover, it is odd that all these putative citations from Apollodoros of Athens confine themselves to books 1, 2, and 3, when *On Gods* had 24 books and the *Catalogue of Ships* had 12; and the citation in no. 7, if from the Athenian, looks to be incorrect in its book-number. Conversely, the *Library* in the part not epitomized falls nicely into three books, and the citations in the scholia line up with where they might be expected to come, and do not contradict each other. Finally, the differences between the scholia and *Bibl.* are often a matter of commonplace mythological knowledge; only the different source citations diverge sharply, and these may be put down to the scholiasts' imitation of the Mythographus Homericus. They are usually guesswork.⁹³

In view of all this it would be nice if scholars finally stopped calling the author of the *Library* 'pseudo-Apollodoros'. Diller thought that the numerous citations of the 'real' Apollodoros in the Homeric scholia led someone to attribute the *Library* to the

⁸⁹ Contrast the versions of Pher. fr. 10–12 in schol. Ap. Rhod. and *Bibl.* 2.26, 34–47, where such a relationship obtains (both copying independently from Pher.).

⁹⁰ Kenens, *Writing Greek Myth* 21–52 provides the most thorough study to date of the indirect tradition, which is more extensive than scholars have thought.

⁹¹ Van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* 106–8.

⁹² Cf. Dobesch, 'Die Interpolationen aus Apollodors Bibliothek ...' 81 (many examples).

⁹³ Van Rossum-Steenbeek thinks they might be vestiges of original *historiai* ousted by *Bibl.* but this seems over-complicated.

Athenian, but as we have seen the citations in the minor scholia really do come from this book, so we would have to suppose that the MSS of the *Library* acquired this sobriquet quite early (which is not impossible; it came to Photios as by 'Apollodoros the grammarian', and our MSS add 'the Athenian'). But this book looks nothing like a work of the Athenian scholar, and in its text and epigraph (cited by Photios) makes no attempt to misrepresent its identity, in stark contrast to normal frauds. One is hard put to find a reason why the text was foisted upon Apollodoros of Athens; any one of the other authorities cited by the *Mythographus Homericus* might have been more obvious. The most economical hypothesis is that it really is by someone named Apollodoros, who was then mistakenly assumed to be the Athenian. This worthy and competent man put together an admirable work of mythography which is still a standard authority. He deserves to go forward into posterity rid finally of his 'pseudo'.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Alpers, 'Hellanikos von Lesbos' 24 n. 96 remarks that one would with as much justice call Apollodoros' editor Richard Wagner 'pseudo-Wagner' because he bears the same name as the composer.

§11

CRETE

§11.1 Overview; Epimenides fr. 4

A MODERN book on the place of Crete in the Greek *imaginaire* still awaits its author.¹ There is no dearth of studies of the history and archaeology of Crete, but a comprehensive treatment of its image and mythological valence amongst Cretans, so far as their voice can be recovered, and amongst other Greeks is still lacking. It is the other Greeks we hear most from. Native Cretan literary sources are hard to come by; we do not even know the ethnicity of most of the writers of *Cretica* in *FGrHist* 457–68. That they seem to follow a similar pattern is suggestive. Down to the arrival of the Herakleidai, they read like the legendary histories of other regions; but thereafter, they read more like the ethnography of foreign nations.² Contrast the historiography of cities on the mainland, which, if they continued past the end of the heroic period, did so in the same style, since the history had important implications for contemporary citizens. If this pattern is not an accident of our evidence, it suggests that the authors of these histories were not writing in or for Cretan communities, or, if they were, they were acquiescing in agenda determined by others. Mainlanders needed to find a place for Cretans in the heroic age, because of their role in Homer; the precise degree of their Greekness had also to be gauged. Beyond that what was of interest was the peculiarities of the Cretan lifestyle and the marvels of their constitution, under which all hundred cities (or was it ninety?) supposedly lived, even though, as inscriptions show, considerable variety prevailed.³ The parallel with Spartan historiography, also written by others, is strong. Similarities between Sparta and Cretan ways of life were often remarked, and to a large extent

¹ For excellent treatments of various aspects see Perlman, 'Imagining Crete'; S. P. Morris, *Daidalos*; Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past* 123–30; S. Wallace, *Ancient Crete* esp. 365–75; Camerotto, 'Storie cretesi'. Camerotto 30–1 has good remarks on the vague ethnicity of the Cretans; see also Sourvinou-Inwood, *Hylas* 273.

² Jacoby, Introduction to *FGrHist* 457–68, p. 308. The first such work we know of is that by Charon of Lampsakos (test. 1; title only surviving). Cf. Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* 2.25–6.

³ A hundred cities at *Il.* 2.649; ninety at *Od.* 19.174. On the constitution, see Perlman, 'Imagining Crete' and 'One-hundred citted Crete'. The relative uninvolvedness of Crete in mainland events of the archaic and classical periods (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1272b 20) is also a reason those centuries are poorly evidenced, a kind of Cretan 'Dark Age' (Perlman, *IACP* p. 1149). Tragedy, like Homer, portrayed Cretans as Greek (E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* 169–70).

created, by the ancient writers themselves, and one well-known tradition held that Lykourgos had brought the Spartan constitution from Crete (Hdt. 1.65.4).

The island, geographically on the edge of the Greek world and unimaginably ancient, like Arkadia was home to strange myths and gods, even encompassing the idea of a dying Zeus. A non-Greek language, perhaps descended from Minoan, continued to be used in Praisos as late as the fourth century B.C. In Homer, Minos' grandson Idomeneus leads an army assumed to be Greek (*Il.* 2.645–52 and often). That his father was Deukalion, homonym of the father of Hellen, could be an attempt to suggest Greekness by association, even if the name is attested in Linear B (→§3.1). Minos himself, son of a Phoenician princess, was a king who attacked mainland cities like Megara and Athens and ruled the Hellenic sea. Herodotos (3.122) and Thucydides (1.4) are both nicely ambiguous as to whether or not he was Greek.⁴

Odysseus describes the island as being of mixed ethnicity: Achaioi, Eteokretes, Kydones, Dorians, and Pelasgoi.⁵ The Achaioi are usually placed around Knossos, and may reasonably be assumed to reflect a memory of Mycenaean occupation. The cities ruled by Idomeneus in the *Catalogue of Ships* are all from the central region of Crete. The puzzle that the Dorians were already in Crete before Troy is well known, and is of a piece with other stories about Dorian settlement without the Herakleidai (→§9.1); in Crete, as elsewhere, people bought into the Peloponnesian version by saying that more Dorians immigrated to their lands from the Peloponnese after the Return.⁶ The common view that the island was thoroughly Dorian in the historical period is, however, false; though a strong presence, the Dorians co-existed with many other groups.⁷ The Pelasgians make little odds (→§2.1); one expects them everywhere. The Kydones' capital was Kydonia (modern Chania) in the north-west, and the name is attested in Linear B. Homer probably thinks of them as non-Greek; Strabo (10.4.6, quoting Andr. fr. 16a) says they were autochthonous. After a break the town was inhabited continuously from the eighth century on a site not far from a Minoan predecessor, and onomastics and other evidence suggest the presence of a pre-Hellenic stratum.⁸

The Eteokretes carry their non-Greek credentials in their name. Diodoros (Epimen. fr. 4 (64)) puts these autochthonous people at the head of his history (cf. Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 145, Strabo 10.4.6). They are domiciled in the east, especially at Praisos, where there

⁴ Herodotos says 'Polykrates was the first of the Greeks of whom we know who formed the intention to rule the sea . . . apart from Minos the *Knossian*', whom he famously places in a different, unknowable time; Thucydides says 'Minos is the oldest person known to us from tradition to have acquired a navy, and to gain mastery of most of what is *now* the Hellenic sea.'

⁵ *Od.* 19.175–7, a cardinal passage; see Russo's and Rutherford's commentaries ad loc.

⁶ Epimen. fr. 4(80); Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 FF 146, 149.18; Konon *Dieg.* 36, 47; Strabo 14.2.6; schol. *Il.* 2.649; schol. *Od.* 19.174–5. Phaistos was founded by a grandson of Herakles according to Steph. Byz. s.v. (654.18 Meineke), a kind of half-way position between early Dorians and later Herakleidai.

⁷ Perlman, 'Imagining Crete' 282.

⁸ Sekunda, 'Land-Use, Ethnicity, and Federalism in West Crete' 330–2.

are distinctive elements of the material culture as well as the language already mentioned. A passage in Herodotos (7.169–71) seems relevant: he tells how, after the death of Minos in Sicily, new peoples moved into Crete, particularly Greeks; they sent help to Troy, even though the Greeks had not helped them avenge the death of Minos; as a result, the island was afflicted with drought and disease and again devastated of its population; the survivors are the present-day Cretans. His source for this is the people of Praisos, who (one infers) regard themselves as among these survivors (cf. Strabo 10.4.12). But although the Praisioi felt themselves to be different from others in Herodotos' day, this is a long way from establishing the continuous existence of an ethnic group from the Bronze Age to the fifth century. Material culture neither confirms nor disproves in any clear sense the picture reconstructed from the literary record; even at Praisos the situation is not unambiguous. The real ethnic history is unrecoverable; the main purpose of the Eteokretes is to signal, more strongly and proudly than Pelasgians could do, the enduring presence of pre-Greeks on this mysterious island.⁹

The mythological map of Crete, if the collectivity of Cretan stories may be so called, is dominated in the record by a few familiar tales.¹⁰ Lucian gives most of the list: ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν Κρήτην ἀφίκη τῷ λόγῳ, πάμπολλα κακείθεν ἢ ὄρχησις ἐρανίζεται, τὴν Εὐρώπην, τὴν Παισιφάνην, τοὺς ταύρους ἀμφοτέρους, τὸν λαβύρινθον, τὴν Ἀριάδνην, τὴν Φαίδραν, τὸν Ἀνδρόγεων, τὸν Δαίδαλον, τὸν Ἴκαρον, τὸν Γλαῦκον, τὴν Πολυΐδου μαντικὴν, τὸν Τάλω, τὸν χαλκοῦν τῆς Κρήτης περίπολον (*Salt.* 49). To these may be added myths such as the rearing of Zeus and episodes in the Titanomachy and Gigantomachy, Minos' kingship, thalassocracy, and death in Sicily, Rhadamanthys' legislation, and Sarpedon's colonial and military career. Minos' progeny (most famous among them, his grandson Idomeneus) have a certain amount of mythology, and links to the mainland (*Apollod. Bibl.* 3.12–20); he, his brother Rhadamanthys and their children have links with various islands and cities in the eastern Aegean. One of Minos' daughters, Akalle (*Apollod. Bibl.* 3.7; no more is said of her there) or Akakallis was a frequent partner of Apollo or Hermes and mother of important eponyms like Miletos, Oaxos, or Kydon; this looks like a faded Minoan deity.¹¹

To the store of knowledge about Cretan myth our fragments make only a meagre contribution. Discussed in §11.2 below are the eponym Kres; the catasterism of Aigokeros; the name of the Ikarian sea; the genealogy of Sarpedon; the polis Aipeia.

⁹ On the material culture, Whitley, 'Praisos'; on the ethnicity, Whitley *ibid.* 612–14, Prent, *Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults* 545–50, and Sjögren, 'The Eteocretans' and *Fragments of Archaic Crete* 59–60. Duhoux, *L'Étéocrèteois*, represents an older approach. Epimenides fr. 4(80) has a wave of miscellaneous barbarians, who became Hellenized, immigrate after the Dorians but before Minos; these might correspond to Herodotos' mixed influx, which he puts after Minos. The implied early date for the Dorian arrival is shared by Andr. fr. 16b, who puts it in the time of Kres. Perhaps significantly there are no fragments of Hekataios pertaining to Crete, as Jacoby remarked.

¹⁰ For an outline of Cretan myth see Gantz 259–75, Robert, *GH* 345–80.

¹¹ Sourvinou-Inwood, *Hylas* 292–7. Oaxos probably rather than Naxos; M. L. West, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 4.

Discussed in other sections of the commentary are the Daktyloi, Telchines, Kouretes, and Korybantes (§§1.7.3–5); Europe (§10.1); Iasion (§18.1.1); the Cretan Bull (§8.4.7); the flight of the Harpyiai before the Boreadai (§6.4.4); Theseus, Ariadne, and Daidalos (§16.3.1); various tales bringing Crete into relation with the settlement of Ionia and the East (§19.1, §19.2.2); and a fragment of Epimenides (19) about communal life on Crete (§20). Deukalion son of Minos was mentioned by Pherekydes (fr. 85) in an unknown context (→§16.3.1 *ad fin.*).

Then there is **Epimen. fr. 4**, a special case.¹² It is the longest account we have of Cretan prehistory.¹³ Although Diodoros says he compiled his narrative from the four sources named in c. 80, and cites in addition Ephoros in c. 64 (*FGrHist* 70 F 104), his standard procedure is to stick to one source for long stretches, occasionally interleaving material from another; he does not produce a newly-minted reworking of all his evidence.¹⁴ This is, moreover, a history written from a very particular point of view. *A priori* one assumes that Diodoros' thoroughgoing rationalism would not be characteristic of Epimenides' *Cretica*, even though the godfather of this kind of theology was Prodikos of Keos already in the fifth century. The detailed working-out of the implications of Prodikos' theory is associated with major figures like Hekataios of Abdera and Euhemeros. Moreover, pseudo-Epimenides, if he adopted such an approach, would not have looked much like the original Epimenides, man of marvels.¹⁵ Jacoby offered reasons for thinking that neither Dosiades nor Sosikrates was Diodoros' primary source, so he opts for Laosthenidas; however, we know absolutely nothing else about this man.¹⁶ Whoever was the source, he represents a strong filter between Epimenides and Diodoros.

Diodoros follows his procedure of combining sources in defiance of contradictions small and large between them, of which he must have been aware. Clearly they did not concern him. His purpose above all was to demonstrate the exemplary value of history for personal morality and social good. Factual accuracy came second to this consideration. One has the impression that, in Diodoros' eyes, the strength of the morals drawn from the stories proves their truth and not vice versa; thus, it does not matter if two stories providing the same uplifting *exemplum* contradict each other in less important senses.

¹² Jacoby printed the whole excerpt as *FGrHist* 468 (Anhang) F 1; his commentary is excellent.

¹³ There is much history in Strabo's geography of the island (10.4), and it is clear that Ephoros had a lengthy treatment (*FGrHist* 70 FF 144–9).

¹⁴ Jacoby on *FGrHist* 468 F 1 p. 341; R. Drews, *AJP* 83 (1962) 383–92; O. Murray, *JEA* 56 (1970) 144–50; J. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia* 20–39; Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion* 117–19; P. Lang on Hekataios of Abdera *FGrHist* 264 F 25 (BNJ). Diodoros chose sources so far as possible congenial to his own outlook; though he reproduces them with minimal alteration, he makes his own point of view clear. Sacks, 'Diodorus and his Sources', well analyses his procedures; see also Wiater, 'Geschichtsschreibung und Kompilation'.

¹⁵ Epimen. fr. 5 gives the traditional, Hesiodic version of Aphrodite's birth, contradicting fr. 4 (72.5). A hint of a different, Herodoran kind of rationalism perhaps in fr. 3; see §16.3.1 n. 77. A fragment of Aristotle's *Peplos* has been transmitted to Diodoros by one of his sources; below, p. 395.

¹⁶ For discussion see N. Sekunda's BNJ comm. on Laosthenidas (BNJ 462).

In his Cretan history, Diodoros catalogues multiple benefactions to mankind on account of which Cretan figures came to be revered as gods. He stresses repeatedly that this is what the Cretans say; in fact, details sometimes contradict his own versions in other books. The account of Tektamos' immigration at 4.60.2 is inconsistent with that of 5.80: in the former passage, Pelasgians and Aioliens arrive together with him, and Tektamos becomes father of Asterios, Europe's human husband; in the latter passage, we hear about Achaians also coming with Tektamos, the Pelasgians arrive by themselves before him, and Minos is separated from Tektamos by the mixed-barbarian stage. At 4.60.2–3 we learn that Minos son of Zeus was Minos I, and the thalassocrat was actually Minos II his grandson ('who some say was son of Zeus'); this cannot be reconciled with 5.78 (in the Epimenides fr.), or 5.84.2, where Minos son of Europe is the thalassocrat; but in the latter passage, he is jealous of Rhadamanthys and sends him away, behaving like the belligerent Minos of book 4. But, even if Diodoros' perpetual use of the expression 'people say' would allow him, like Herodotos, to disavow what he reports if pressed, he does not mean to dismiss the Cretan accounts as a fiction; rather, the fact that these ancient traditions—it is all about tradition—point independently to the same conclusions lends these conclusions extra authority.¹⁷

Much of Diodoros' Cretan history consists in simple appropriation of familiar pan-Hellenic tales, which are asserted to be Cretan and rewritten in euhemeristic mode. Overarching is a narrative of general progress towards civilization, to which each group makes successive contributions; the genre is as old as the Sophists, and used also in the other sections of the *Library*. There is, however, some specifically Cretan material, some of which might have come indirectly from Epimenides; but we can never know if this is the case, or how faithfully Diodoros might have preserved the original. The list is as follows. At the outset there are the Eteokretes and the eponymous Kres (below, §11.2.1). The Daktyloi were well at home in Crete, but also in other places. In this passage, however, they are localized at Berekynthos in the territory of the Apterioi (64.5). Herakles the Daktyl, different from the later son of Alkmene, is mentioned here (→§1.7.3). The Kouretes are of course clearly Cretan, if not once again exclusively so (→§1.7.5); in Diodoros' account, in addition to their protection of the infant Zeus they are credited with various inventions beneficial to settled life. The ruins of Rhea's house and her cypress grove at Knossos are mentioned; the Titans also dwelled there (66.1). The unusual parents of the Titans, one of the Kouretes and Titaia, may be called Cretan, even if one suspects them to be a specious invention (66.3). The Titans are unusually eleven in number; the names are Hesiodic, but Theia is for an unknown reason omitted. The place

¹⁷ Jacoby also argued (on *FGrHist* 468 F 1, p. 349) that the attitude to deification in Epimen. fr. 4 is at odds with the euhemerism of other parts of the *Library* (where he draws on Hekataios and Dionysios Skytobrachion); he assesses Stoic influence, and a serious philosophical commitment from Diodoros. But the difference between e.g. 1.13.1 and 4.66.3, 67.5 is hard to see, and Diodoros as a philosopher should be regarded in the same light as Xenophon. Contrast Winiarczyk, *Euhemeros von Messene* 152.

where Zeus's umbilical cord fell to the earth, Omphalos in the Omphaleion plain near the river Triton, is identified (70.4), and the cave on Mt Ida is naturally mentioned (*ibid.*). An amazing story is told about Zeus's transformation of the local bees, so that they could withstand the harsh conditions up the mountain; a mark of his eternal gratitude for their services to him (70.5). A city near Mt Dikta, which he founded, has largely disappeared, but has left behind a few traces (70.6). The giant Mylinos was killed in Crete (71.2); this character is mentioned only here.¹⁸ Athena was born in Crete near the river Triton, and there is still a temple there (72.3). The marriage of Zeus and Hera took place near the river Theren, in the territory of the Knossians; a temple still stands there, where annual sacrifices are held, and the marriage ceremony re-enacted (72.4). Apollo taught the Cretans their archery, for which they were proverbial (74.5). Dionysos created the Dionysiades islands near the so-called Twin Gulfs, which proves he was born there (75.5). Britomartis/Diktynna receives due attention (76.3–4), as do Demeter and Iasion (77.1–2). At Knossos, the secrets of the mysteries so carefully guarded at Eleusis and elsewhere are openly spoken of; this proves their Cretan origin (77.3). The histories of the brothers Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon are duly if briefly set down. The epitaph from the tomb of Idomeneus and his cousin Meriones is quoted, and their cult at Knossos recorded; they are said to help particularly in the dangers of war (79.4).

A few notes on these peculiarities:

Berekynthos (64.5). Diodoros is the only person to mention this feature (his 'so-called' may register some doubt); the name, and the tribe Berekyntes, are elsewhere associated with Phrygia.¹⁹ The Daktyloi themselves in one tradition, as Diodoros himself tells us here, transferred from Phrygia to Crete; this datum is part of that general picture, but for all that there could have been such a place in Crete. It has been assumed to be the elevation west of Aptera (*IACP* no. 947; *Barrington Atlas* 60 B2), but there is absolutely no evidence to support this view.²⁰

Rhea at Knossos (66.1). For attempts to identify this shrine and grove in the vicinity of the Minoan palace see D'Agata, 'Cult Activity on Crete in the Early Dark Age' 406–7 and Coldstream, 'Knossos in Early Greek Times' 582–4.

Titaia (66.3). Mentioned elsewhere only by Diodoros himself at 3.57.1–2 = Dionys. *Skyt.* fr. 6 Rusten. There, somewhat differently, Titaia is married to Ouranos, and wins divine honours after her death, when her name was changed to Ge. Furthermore, she has 18 children with him (mostly unnamed) instead of 11; a new daughter Basileia is added, and Rhea is said to be also called Pandora.

¹⁸ Other figures in Roscher, *Lex.* with this root are associated with milling: perhaps he is simply the Grinder, a suitable name for a Giant. Jacoby notes the oddity of Mousaios amongst the Giants.

¹⁹ e.g. Aisch. fr. 158 (the earliest example); Soph. fr. 513; Arist. *Vent.* 973a 24, fr. 250.4; Kallim. *Hymn* 3.246; Verg. *Aen.* 6.784; Hor. *Carm.* 1.8.13, 3.19.18, 4.1.22; Strabo 10.3.12.

²⁰ Jacoby on *FGH Hist* 368 F 1 (p. 352) regards it as invented. *Barr. Atlas* depends on K. F. Kitchell, *Topographica Cretica* (Diss. Loyola, 1977) 335, who can cite only the *communis opinio*.

Omphalos and Omphaleion, and the Cave of Zeus (70.4); *the bees* (70.5); *Dikta* (70.6); *Athena's birthplace* (72.3); *Cretan mysteries* (77.3). At 70.2 Diodoros appears to say that Rhea gave birth at Ida (MS C says Dikta), but at 70.6 he says Dikta (cf. Agathokles *FGH Hist* 472 F 1); Hesiod (*Th.* 477) had said Lyktos, Kallimachos in his *Hymn to Zeus* (10) said Arkadia. Mt Dikta in eastern Crete was the site of ancient worship, as the famous Palaikastro hymn attests, but there was no cave there; the cave where (as Diodoros rightly says) Zeus was reared was on Ida, but often called 'Diktaian', causing predictable confusion.²¹ Kallimachos (*Hymn to Zeus* 44–5) reports the incident of the umbilical cord, though it is the nymph Nede and not the Kouretes who are carrying Zeus when it fell off. The story works in Kallimachos, as the baby was born in Arkadia and was being conveyed to Mt Ida; in Diodoros, in the order he presents the information, the baby was born on Mt Ida, and the cord falls off while the Kouretes were conveying the baby to—Mt Ida.²²

The scholia to Clement of Alexandria *Protr.* 26.14 (= *FGH Hist* 457 T 4e, Epimen. fr. 13 Bernabé) claim that Epimenides was a priest of Rhea and Zeus. There was a tradition that Pythagoras acquired some of his secret knowledge from Epimenides in the Idaian cave.²³ Moreover, the famous 'Cretans are liars' line which Kallimachos appropriated from Epimenides (*Hymn* 1.8 ~ *FGH Hist* 457 F 2, Epimen. fr. 41 Bernabé) was, in Epimenides' proem, probably delivered by the goddess (Aletheia?) after the abusive manner of Hesiod's Muses;²⁴ she then told him the truth, and through him the lying Cretans. Epimenides' dream, in which the conversation occurred, took place in the cave of Diktaian Zeus (Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 10.1 = *FGH Hist* 457 T 4f, Epimen. fr. 6 Bernabé). These traditions will have been reflected in the mythographical book used by Diodoros.

When he refers to mysteries at Knossos, however, Diodoros most probably means those of Demeter, rather than some unattested ones in the sanctuary of Rhea; otherwise his claim of their superiority over the Eleusinian rites would lose force. The sanctuary has been published, and an abundance of lamps and miniature cymbals suggest nocturnal mystery rites; but the rites were not entirely nocturnal, nor indoors, nor confined to women as in the Thesmophoria. 'Perhaps it was the open-air character of these celebrations', write Coldstream and Higgins, 'in contrast to the heavily enclosed Telesterion at Eleusis with its carefully guarded approach, which moved Diodorus to write as he did about the Mysteries at Knossos.'²⁵

²¹ West on Hes. *Th.* 477; Sporn, *Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas* 49–50. For the cave on Ida see J. Larson, *Ancient Greek Cults* 25; Sporn 218–23. For the hymn, see Furley and Bremer, *Greek Hymns* 1.65–76, 2.1–20. Diodoros unfortunately does not specify which polis Zeus was supposed to have founded near Dikta; that it was ruined by his day was convenient.

²² For this reason some scholars have adopted C's reading *Δίκτην* at 70.2.

²³ Diog. Laert. 8.3; Burkert, *Lore and Science* 151; OR 63.

²⁴ e.g. Arrighetti, 'Fra purificazioni e produzione letteraria' 223; Mele, 'Il corpus epimenideo' 236.

²⁵ R. A. Higgins and Coldstream in Coldstream, *Knossos: The Sanctuary of Demeter* 186.

In an obscure poetic fragment (43 Bernabé ap. Plut. *De def. orac.* 1 p. 409e)²⁶ Epimenides angrily denies that there is an omphalos of either earth or sea; the remark was aimed at Delphi and the story of the eagles. Scholars have suggested he might have gone on to tell the story of Zeus's omphalos, but this is hardly a necessary inference. Kallimachos' lines make the location of the Omphaleion plain near Knossos quite clear.²⁷ He does not mention Diodoros' river Triton, and Diodoros does not mention Kallimachos' town Thenai, but, if these two writers have the same idea about Omphaleion, the two names should go together. The sanctuary of Zeus Thenatas on the coast east of Herakleion and the mouth of the Amnisos (the modern Karteros) has been thoroughly published; Thenai must be nearby.²⁸ Faure accordingly identified the Amnisos with the Triton, which, according to the nymph's itinerary in Kallimachos, puts the Omphalion between its mouth and Knossos.²⁹ The alternative, followed by the *Barrington Atlas* (61 D2), equates the Triton with the modern Platyperama west of Herakleion. This identification depends on a passage adduced by Guarducci from the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum* (for August, vol. 2 p. 345)³⁰ in which St Myron (third century) travelling from Rhaukos to Knossos (so Guarducci) was able to still the raging waters of the Triton. If this was his route, the river can only be the Platyperama.³¹ Unfortunately this is not what the digest of the good saint's life says. It opens by saying he was born at Rhaukos, but by the time it gets to the miracle it simply says he was on his way one Sunday to visit the brethren at Knossos. There is no reason to think he was coming from Rhaukos. We may therefore accept Faure's identification.

Diodoros predictably makes Triton the birthplace of Athena, and claims there was a temple there. This is not the only place where a local river Triton prompted such a claim; Pausanias records instances in Boiotia (9.33.7) and Arkadia (8.26.6).³² Some colour is lent to Diodoros' assertion by a modern discovery. In 1972 Davaras published the torso of a monumental female seated statue of the mid-seventh century found at Astritsi, at the headwaters of the Karteros; this he identified as Athena Tritogeneia, the very occupant of Diodoros' temple.³³ It has been questioned whether the statue is in fact that of a seated

²⁶ = *FGrHist* 457 T 6; see Jacoby's commentary.

²⁷ Kallimachos adds that the name Omphal(e)ion was bestowed by the Kydones. This is before the time that they were confined to the western regions (above, p. 386).

²⁸ Schäfer *et al.*, *Amnisos* 159–77, 226–73, 352–4; on the cult see A. Chaniotis in the same volume, 88–104.

²⁹ P. Faure, *BCH* 82 (1958) 502. Chaniotis, loc. cit., suggests rather the Kairatos, the tributary of the Karteros (ancient Amnisos) which ran by Knossos.

³⁰ Antwerp, 1735.

³¹ M. Guarducci, *Historia* 8 (1934) 627–30; *ICret* 1.46.

³² Cf. Farnell, *CGS* 1.266–70; Koster on schol. (rec.) *Ar. Nub.* 989c. *τρίτων* was supposed to mean 'head' in Cretan (Eust. *Il.* 696.38) but it was also claimed for Athamantian (!) (Nik. fr. 145 ap. Hsch. 71454) and Boiotian (schol. *Lykoph. Alex.* 519); these are grammarians' inventions (Latte, *Kl. Schr.* 664).

³³ Davaras, *Die Statue aus Astritsi*; supported by Chaniotis (n. 28) 76. Faure also argued that Astritsi was identical with ancient 'Tritonion'; but this is his emendation of *Διατόνιον* in Polyb. 22.5.1, which seems arbitrary (and it would have to be *Τριτώνιον*). Davaras' identification can work without it.

figure, the attribute which, together with its size, led Davaras to identify a divinity;³⁴ nothing in particular points to Athena, so the alternative would be that it is an impressively large kore. *LIMC* does not list the piece even among the uncertain representations of Athena, or of any other goddess. The question of identification remains to be settled by the experts, but, if correct, would spectacularly confirm Diodoros' account.

Diodoros presents the story of the bees as a most amazing piece of mythology; in spite of his euhemerism, he cannot resist reporting marvels and paradoxes. For Zeus's reward of the beneficent bees, see Mynors on Verg. *Georg.* 4.150–2.

The sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera (72.4). For discussion of this passage, the only literary evidence for such a ritual in Crete, see Avagianou, *Sacred Marriage* 71–3. A pithos from Knossos of the early seventh century has been interpreted as a depiction of their wedding (*LIMC* Hera no. 198; Avagianou loc. cit. and 80–1). Diodoros places the event at the river Theren, tentatively identified with the modern Gournianos east of Knossos (*Barr. Atlas* 60 D2); the identification with the Platyperama seems less likely (Herbst, *RE* 5A.2.2367).³⁵ Scholars have also thought Diodoros' Theren is identical with Pausanias' Tethris (1.27.9), but that too is unlocated.³⁶

Cretan archers (74.5). The Cretan Meriones is known for his archery in the *Iliad* (10.260, 13.650), and he wins the archery contest (23.850–83). The first explicit reference to Cretan archers is in Bacchylides (26.12), then in Pindar (*Pyth.* 5.41); Thucydides then mentions them twice, employed as mercenaries (6.25.2, 6.43.1). See Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.17.

Dionysiades Islands (75.5). A group of small islands off the north-east coast of Crete (*Barr. Atlas* 60 F2); see *ICret* 3.157.

Britomartis/Diktynna (76.3–4). The equation of these two Cretan, doubtless Minoan, goddesses with each other and their assimilation to Artemis were effected long before Diodoros' day.³⁷ The myth to which Diodoros objects is familiar from Kallimachos *Hymn* 3.189–203; Diktynna's association with nets is found in Aristophanes at *Wasps* 368, who may also allude to her pursuit by Minos at *Frogs* 1356 (see Dover ad loc.).³⁸ Diodoros' birthplace Kaino is not otherwise attested. He and Pausanias (2.30.3) agree that Britomartis' parents were Zeus and Karme, daughter of Euboulos; but where Diodoros says Euboulos was son of Demeter, Pausanias makes him son of the obscure Karmanor, who purified Apollo after the slaying of Python (2.7.7, 2.30.3, 10.7.2, 10.16.5; in the last passage he adds that Apollo mated with Akakallis in the house of Karmanor, in the polis

³⁴ M. Sipsie-Eschbach, *AA* 1982, 487–91.

³⁵ Kirsten, *RE* 7A.1.305, suggests it was a tributary of the Platyperama.

³⁶ A. Chaniotis in Schäfer, *Amnisos* 95.

³⁷ For the sources see Preller–Robert, *GM* 217–18; Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.117 [1.115]; *LIMC* 3.1.169–70, 391–4; D. Müller, *Topographischer Bildkommentar* 1.943–5; *BNP* s.v. Diktynna.

³⁸ The myth is also related by Strabo (10.4.12–13), criticizing Kallimachos in his discussion of the Diktynnaion, which was on the eastern side of the Tityros peninsula at the north-western end of Crete (cf. *Hdt.* 3.59.2).

of Tarrha). Antoninus Liberalis, by contrast (*Met.* 40), says she was a daughter of Kassiopeia and Phoinix (cf. [Verg.] *Ciris* 220); Neanthes of Kyzikos (*FGrHist* 84 F 14) says Britomartis/Artemis was a daughter of Hekate. The myth of Britomartis is not found in Apollodoros, which is a matter of minor interest with respect to the mythographical tradition. The coincidence between Kallimachos, Pausanias, and Diodoros suggests that their common source was local history, so often mined by the first two and explicitly Diodoros' source here. The allusions in Aristophanes show that the story was available to the early mythographers, but does not survive in our fragments. Perhaps that is accidental, but if Pherekydes had mentioned it one would expect to find it in Apollodoros. Pan-Hellenic mythography such as that of Pherekydes started, like epic poetry, with the pan-Hellenic store of myths, which could be enriched at any time by an attractive local story; but cases like this one, and many others in Hellenistic poetry, show that the local riches far exceeded the capacity of pan-Hellenic mythography to absorb them.

Demeter, Iasion and Ploutos (77.1–2). The association of this myth with Crete is attested already at Hes. *Th.* 971; Demeter herself (in disguise) claims to be Cretan (*Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 123), and in Bacchylides Persephone is kidnapped from the island (fr. 47). For the myth, see §18.1.1. Diodoros gives two accounts of how Ploutos acquired his name. The place in Crete where Ploutos was supposed to have been born according to Diodoros, Tripolos, if not a simple misunderstanding, could be a philological interpretation of Hes. *Th.* 971 *νεῖω ἐν τριπόλῳ Κρήτης ἐν πτόνι δῆμω*.

The sons of Zeus (78–79.3). Minos founded Knossos, Phaistos and Kydonia; this tradition is also in Strabo (10.4.8, 10.4.14). Minos' famous conversations with Zeus, said by Diodoros to be a mere pretence, spring from *Od.* 19.179 *ἐννέωρος βασιλεὺς Διὸς μεγάλου δαριστής*, which was commonly interpreted to mean that he met with him every nine years, though other readings were advanced.³⁹ Strabo (10.4.8, 19, 16.2.38) agrees with Diodoros that the conversations took place in a cave, doubtless that on Ida.

Minos and Rhadamanthys both had the reputation of lawgivers, which led to stories of conflict between them (Diod. Sic. 5.84.2; Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 147; perhaps implied by Rhadamanthys' exile at Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6).⁴⁰ Minos is always the thalassocrat, but Rhadamanthys also has links to various islands and cities as detailed by Diodoros (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* loc. cit.); since Rhadamanthys is not a fighter, Diodoros says these places willingly placed themselves under his rule on account of his justice. Erythros of Erythrai was his own son (→§19.2.2); other regents were his captains, including Oinopion grandson of Minos (→§19.2.2) and Alkaios, who Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.100) says was another grandson of Minos (son of Androgeos). In the same passage Apollodoros tells of four sons of Minos who founded Paros (cf. *Bibl.* 3.7). For Sarpedon see below §11.2.4.

³⁹ Pl. *Leg.* 624a–b, *Min.* 319c; Herakleid. *Lemb. Exc. Pol.* 14 (p. 19 Dilts); schol. *Od.* 19.179; Apollon. *Soph.* 68.11–19; *Etym. Magn.* 343.22–40 (also *Etym. Gen.*: Theodoridis on Phot. e988).

⁴⁰ Kinaithon fr. 1 has an unusual genealogy for Rhadamanthys: son of Phaistos son of Talos son of Kres.

Idomeneus and Meriones (79.4). These two fighters are familiar from Homer, but he only gives them 80 ships (*Il.* 2.652).⁴¹ The recurrence of the epitaph in the Aristotelian *Peplos* (fr. 640.15 Rose) and the *Greek Anthology* (7.322) is a matter of some interest for the history of both the *Peplos* and the *Anthology*; see Cameron, *The Greek Anthology* 390–1; Heitsch, *Ges. Schr.* 1.144–6.

§11.2 Other Fragments

§11.2.1 KRES (Anaxim. fr. 2)

The eponym of the island was the subject of much learned guesswork; it is clear that there were no authoritative native traditions to draw upon. The suggestions are as follows:

(i) After Kres, king of the Kouretes (i.e. 'Koures', syncopated): **Anaxim. fr. 2**; Arrian *FGrHist* 156 F 65. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Κρήτη* (383.21 Meineke) comes at it from the other direction, as it were: the island was called 'Kourete' after 'Koures' and syncopated to 'Krete'. Cf. Philistides *FGrHist* 11 F 2 and Krates fr. 139 Broggiato (both quoted with Anaximandros): the island was first called Aeria, then Kouretis. Eust. ad Dion. Per. 498 (who also quotes Arrian) says simply 'Krete from the Kouretes'.

(ii) After Kres son of Zeus and an Idaian nymph (or 'Idaia'): Steph. Byz. loc. cit.; 'Kres son of Zeus' Eust. on Dion. Per. 498.

(iii) After an earthborn Kres: Steph. Byz. loc. cit.; Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 145; Diod. Sic. 5.64.1 (= Epimen. fr. 4).

(iv) A combination of (i) and (iii): an earthborn Kres, one of the Kouretes: Euseb. *Chron.* (Hier.) p. 22.20 Helm; Georg. Synkell. pp. 119.24, 145.19.

(v) After Krete one of the Hesperides: Steph. Byz. loc. cit.; Dosiadas *FGrHist* 458 F 4.

(vi) After Krete a daughter of one of the Kouretes (sons of Zeus and Idaia): Diod. Sic. 3.61.1–2, 3.71.2 = Dionys. Skyt. fr. 10–11 Rusten.⁴²

(vii) Two non-mythological explanations: *Etym. Magn.* 537.54 (*Etym. Gen.* p. 195 Miller): *Κρήτες* παρὰ τὸ ἐπὶ κρέας βιοτεύειν· κυνηγετικοὶ γάρ. ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος (*FGrHist* 244 F 225) παρὰ τὸ εἶ κεκράσθαι τὸν περὶ τὴν νῆσον ἄερα. For this last remark cf. Pliny's comment at the end of Anaxim. fr. 2, ps.-Skymnos 536 = Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 145, Chariton 3.3.9, and Diodoros' description of the island's fertility at the opening of Epimen. fr. 4.

⁴¹ On Idomeneus in particular see Camerotto, 'Storie cretesi'.

⁴² Asklepiades *FGrHist* 12 F 17 made Krete daughter of Asterios, stepfather of Minos and his brothers, whom Minos married. Asterios (or Asterion) is called simply 'king of the Kretes' by Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5; Diod. Sic. 4.60.2–3 makes him son of Tektamos son of Doros (cf. Andr. fr. 16). Cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 1.354, *Etym. Magn.* 588.25. 'Asterios' is also the Minotaur's name: Paus. 2.31.1, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11. In Lykoph. *Alex.* 1301 and Tzetzes ad loc. he is rationalized as the son of a general Tauros who commanded Minos' army; cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 13.223, 40.285 (son of Minos). For other women named Krete see Roscher, *Lex.* s.v.

Clement of Alexandria synchronized Kres with the *Urmenschen* Aigialeus of Sikyon and Phoroneus of Argos, in the time of Ogygos' flood; see Akous. fr. 23a.⁴³

§11.2.2 AIGOKEROS (Epimen. fr. 2)

The second sentence of the fragment ought to mean that Aigokeros (Capricorn) was similar in form to Aigipan, 'since he was born from him'.⁴⁴ Aigipan is usually taken to be another name for Pan, emphasizing his goatish aspect.⁴⁵ He mates with the goat that nursed Zeus (see the parallel sources in the app. crit.), and their child was Aigokeros. But this would entail that Pan was a generation older than Zeus. Elsewhere Pan is a son of Hermes, or Apollo, or Zeus himself.⁴⁶ Aischylos (fr. 25b) did indeed say that there were two Panes, and that Kronos was father of one of them; so unorthodox genealogies did circulate about this curious god. But we still need to go back one additional generation if he is to be older than Zeus. It may be relevant that confusion also reigned about Amaltheia in this myth: was she the goat's keeper, or herself the goat? (→§8.5.7). It seems that mainlanders knew a Cretan story about a goat-god who was vitally involved in the rearing of Zeus, but were unsure of the details; they then mapped this story onto their own Pan in different ways. This would account also for Aischylos' Kronos; he is perhaps thinking that Pan was the young god reared with Zeus.

Epimenides' own version is, however, different; this is clearly indicated by the parallel passages to Eratosthenes (whence Neustadt's <ᾱ>). His figure, unnamed in our excerpt, earned his catasterism not by being his childhood companion (though he might have been that) but by helping Zeus during the Titanomachy. His newly invented conch trumpet induced 'panic' in the Titans.⁴⁷ He might, then, have been called simply Pan. If (as seems likely) the catasterism was found in him too, then Aigokeros might have been an epithet of the god, or a new name he acquired upon becoming a star.

We do not know if this Pan was reared with Zeus on Ida—the excerpt says only that he was 'with' Zeus—but we can say that this episode is from Zeus's youth, and Pan is unlikely therefore to be his son. The fragment thus seems to contradict one quoted from Epimenides' poems, *Vors.* 3 B 16 = *FGrHist* 457 F 9, in which he says that Pan and Arkas

⁴³ For other scattered references to Kres see Tambornino *RE* 11.2.1714.

⁴⁴ Pàmias ad loc. argues that the words mean 'modelled after him', but that is redundant after ὁμοιος τῷ Αἰγίπανι, and a forced way of reading the Greek.

⁴⁵ 'Aigipan' is in fact rare, and late. With Hermes he recovered Zeus's sinews in the battle with Typhon (Apollod. 1.42; Nonnos, *Dion.* 1.362–534, gives the credit for this feat to Kadmos). Elsewhere, apart from mentions in grammarians discussing the accent, the name is found in Greek only in ps.-Plut. *Parallela minora* 22B p. 311b = Aristides *FGrHist* 286 F 5 as an equivalent of Silvanus, and in Plut. *Bruta ratione uti* 7 p. 991a where it is clearly identical with Pan; the same is true of the rationalizing story in Euhem. fr. 68 Winiarczyk ap. Hyg. *Astr.* 2.13. See further (apart from the parallel sources quoted with Epimen. fr. 2) Hyg. *Fab.* 155; Pomp. Mela 1.23; Pliny *NH* 5.7.

⁴⁶ Hermes: *Hymn. Hom.* 19.28–37; cf. Soph. *Ai.* 695–7; Apollo: Pindar fr. 100; Zeus: see below. The Arkadian Pan is sometimes said to be the son of Penelope (→§13.2 n. 31).

⁴⁷ On the phenomenon, see Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece* 88–116 (this passage at p. 100).

were the twin sons of Zeus and Kallisto. Perhaps he posited two Panes, like Aischylos. Eratosthenes goes on to say after our fragment that Zeus catasterized both Aigokeros and his mother the goat; the simultaneous catasterism, as Pàmias says, looks like a Hellenistic elaboration and so does not come from Epimenides. In Epimenides one might rather expect the goat to be the one that nursed Zeus, as at Arat. *Phain.* 162 (cf. M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* 128 n. 24). Thus we do not know what parentage Epimenides gave the Cretan Pan.⁴⁸

§11.2.3 THE IKARIAN SEA (Menek. fr. 5)

The famous tale of Daidalos' and Ikaros' escape from the labyrinth by means of artificial wings, Ikaros' failure to heed his father's advice and headlong plunge into the sea named after him, is most familiar from Ovid *Met.* 8.183–235; in the literary tradition, it is first found in Kallimachos (*Aitia* fr. 23.3, 43.48), then in Philostephanos (fr. 18 Capel Badino), Diodoros (4.77.8–9) and others.⁴⁹ The earliest artistic representation appears to be an Attic hydria from the first half of the sixth century (*LIMC* Daidalos et Ikaros no. 14). The escapade may or may not have been included in Euripides' *Cretans* (see Crollard and Cropp 1.531). Assuming, then, that the tale was commonly known, **Menek. fr. 5** offers a rationalized explanation of the naming of the sea: Ikaros was exiled from Athens and set out to Crete to join his father Daidalos; en route he was shipwrecked. Varro ap. Solin. 11.30 held a similar view. Xenophon's version too may count as a rationalization (*Mem.* 4.2.33): he says that Daidalos and Ikaros fled together from Crete, Ikaros somehow died, and Daidalos was recaptured. Phanodikos (*FGrHist* 397 F 3) and others had a different rationalization: during the flight Daidalos rigged up the very first sail using his cloak, thus enabling his ship to escape its pursuers; they reported that he had escaped on wings (cf. Palaiphatos 12; Kleidemos *FGrHist* 323 F 17; Paus. 9.11.4–5; slightly differently Diod. Sic. 4.77.5–6. At Pliny *NH* 7.209, Ikaros is said to have invented sails, Daidalos masts and yards).

§11.2.4 SARPEDON (Hellan. fr. 94)

The scholiast on Eur. *Rhes.* 29, where Euripides had identified Sarpedon as a son of Europe, says that Hellanikos was also of this opinion (**Hellan. fr. 94**). In fact this was

⁴⁸ The goat-mother elsewhere only in Euhemeros (n. 45) and Hyg. *Fab.* 155. Hyg. *Fab.* 196 gives yet another story about how Pan helped Zeus during the Titanomachy. The 'Cretan myth' about the constellation Draco in schol. Arat. *Phain.* 46, also deriving from an incident in the Titanomachy, was attributed by Maass to Epimenides (*Vors.* 3 B 23, fr. 36 Bernabé) along with other myths about the young Zeus in the *Phainomena* (fr. 49–50 Bernabé); Jacoby prints these as *FGrHist* 468 FF 3–5 and is sceptical about the attribution. Cf. West, *Th.* 293.

⁴⁹ Palaiphatos 12 presumes the tale and may be earlier than Kallimachos. Subsequently Strabo 14.1.19; Ov. *Ars* 2.33–96; Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 675–90; Dio Prus. 4.120–1; Arrian *Anab.* 7.20.5; Luc. *Gall.* 23; Zenob. 4.92; Apollod. *Epit.* 1.12–13; Hyg. *Fab.* 40.4; Anon. *De Incred.* 14; Tzetzes *Chil.* 1.505–8; schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 887; Myth. Vat. I 1.43.9–10, II 148 (125). There are many other passing references in Latin and later Greek literature.

everyone's opinion except for Homer (*Il.* 6.197–8), so one wonders why Hellanikos was cited for this; perhaps we may interpret this as another sign of his authority in Trojan matters.⁵⁰ He may have been the oldest historian available to the learned commentator clearly to confirm Euripides' statement (the genealogy is implied by Herodotos at 1.173 and 4.45.5). Sarpedon in the *Iliad* is appropriately Lycian, where he was an ancient figure of cult;⁵¹ at some stage he entered the Greek epic tradition as a great Trojan ally, the only son of Zeus at Troy, and subject of some of Homer's most famous passages. This was incompatible with his being a son of Europe, whose great-grandson Idomeneus commanded the Cretans at Troy, so adjustments were necessary. (This sort of egregious anachronism was recognized by poets and mythographers long before the genealogical calculations of scientific chronography.) Homer's idea that his mother was not Europe but Laodameia, was one solution; the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 140–1), with charming *naïveté*, (probably) said that Zeus granted Sarpedon three generations of life (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6). Others, predictably, said there were two Sarpedones; this is Diodoros' solution (5.79.3 = Epimen. fr. 4). We do not know what Hellanikos said. Jacoby wondered whether the idea in the *Iliadic* scholia that 'europe' was an epithet of Laodameia ('fair-eyed') was his (cf. Io/Kallithyia, §7.1.1, and Erysichthon/Aithon, §5.2.3).

Given that everyone agreed that Sarpedon was Lycian, it becomes a puzzle why people thought there was a Cretan Sarpedon at all. Apart from the chronological difficulty historians then had to explain how Sarpedon got from one place to the other (Hdt. 1.173, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5–6). Yet Sarpedon son of Cretan Europe is clearly old and deep-rooted tradition. The answer to this conundrum is lost in prehistory, but there are many other connections between Crete and Karia/Lycia in legend and archaeology; cf. §§5.3.6, 19.1, 19.2.2. Sarpedon's association with headlands and other geographical features as far apart as Thrace and Cilicia suggests that his name was in widespread and early use across the whole Aegean and beyond.

§11.2.5 AIPEIA (Hellan. fr. 198)

According to Stephanos of Byzantium (a139) Hellanikos said there was a polis Aipeia in Crete (**Hellan. fr. 198**). There is no other evidence for this city, and we have no idea in what context the information might have occurred. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 1.490, thought the fragment might be from Hellanikos' *Foundations of Ethne and Poleis* (FGrHist 4 FF 66–70), which on the meagre evidence dealt with non-Greek settlements.

⁵⁰ Sarpedon's mother Laodameia appears elsewhere, but in authorities who cite, or may be assumed to be dependent on, Homer: the scholia on the *Iliad* passage; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.3; Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 1.100; Nonn. *Dion.* 7.127. Diod. Sic. 5.79.3 (= Epimen. fr. 4) calls her Deidameia. Sarpedon is son of Europe, brother of Minos and Rhadamanthys in Hes. fr. 140–1, Bacchyl. fr. 10, Aisch. fr. 99.16, Eur. *Rhes.* 29, Diod. Sic. 4.60.2, 5.78.1 (= Epimen. fr. 4), Arrian *FGrHist* 156 F 58, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.3, Hyg. *Fab.* 145.2 etc.

⁵¹ See Janko's excellent note on *Il.* 16.419–683 (p. 372).

§11.2.6 δμόκαπ(ν)οι (Epimen. fr. 19)

The MSS of Aristotle's *Politics*, where he quotes **Epimen. fr. 19**, offer the variants δμόκαποι ('manger-fellows', as Rackham translates it in his Loeb edition, from κάπη) or δμόκαπνοι ('hearth-fellows', from καπνός); both are unique. Editors of Aristotle have overwhelmingly chosen δμόκαποι: δμόκαπνοι is the *lectio facilior* and more likely to be the result of corruption; δμόκαποι is analogous in meaning to δμοσίπνοι in the same sentence; and for the concept of a common household, eating together is fundamental ('smoke' might indeed suggest the hearth and therefore eating, but δμέστιος is available for that purpose).⁵²

Epimenides, according to Aristotle, is describing the first social unit of primitive society, the οἶκος. If we could be sure that Epimenides wrote a *Constitution of Crete* (Epimen. test. 1), one might assign the fragment to it, but doubts arise from scholars' lack of confidence in Lobon, Diogenes' source for this title. The *Kretika* is a possibility, given that Diodoros' account in fr. 4, however remote its debt to Epimenides, offers a developmental account of Cretan history. Epimenides' fellow-diners have been compared with Spartan *syssitia*, and the similarity of Cretan and Spartan customs was commonly observed in antiquity. The analogy, however, extends only to the idea of eating together as fundamental to society; the Spartan *syssitia* belong to a later stage of social evolution.

⁵² See Newman (1887) and Susemihl (1879) ad loc.

§12

THE THEBAN CYCLE

§12.1 Teiresias (Aristoph. fr. 4; Pher. fr. 92)

THE more familiar story about how Teiresias became a blind prophet is that he struck a pair of copulating snakes with his staff, and was turned into a woman; later, encountering the same snakes, he was turned back into a man. Zeus and Hera, arguing about whether men or women enjoyed intercourse more, each urged the opposite sex's case; they appealed to Teiresias, who decided in favour of Zeus. Hera punished him with blindness, but Zeus rewarded him with the gift of prophecy. The story stood in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*.¹

Less familiar is the tale that he was blinded for seeing Athena at her bath. This is attested for Pherekydes by two witnesses, Apollodoros (Pher. fr. 92a) and a scholion to the *Odyssey* (fr. 92b).² Pherekydes is the earliest and nearly the only source for this story, which is subsequently told only—but memorably—by Kallimachos in the *Lavacrum Palladis* 55–130.³ Although Kallimachos has changed some details (notably that Athena does not lay hands upon Teiresias; her mere words bring his punishment into effect), there is no doubt that the Alexandrian has taken his material primarily if not exclusively from Pherekydes.⁴

¹ Phlegon of Tralles *FGrHist* 257 F 36 IV (= fr. 4.1 Stramaglia), who accredits Hesiod (fr. 275), Dikaiarchos (fr. 69 Mirhady), Kleitarchos (*FGrHist* 137 F 37; 'Klearchos' Carl Müller), and Kallimachos (fr. 576); Ariaithos of Tegea *FGrHist* 316 F 8; Ov. *Met.* 3.316–38; Anton. Lib. *Met.* 17.5; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.71–2, also citing Hesiod; Hyg. *Fab.* 75; schol. and Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 682–3 citing Hes. fr. 275–6; schol. *Od.* 10.493–4 (Eust. *Od.* 1665.42); Fulgentius *Myth.* 2.5; schol. Stat. *Theb.* 2.95–6; [Lact.] *Narr. Ov.* 3.4; Myth. Vat. I 1.16, II 106 (84), III 4.8. For details of the versions see Frazer, *Apollod.* 1.364 and Gantz 529. Herakleit. *De Incred.* 7, Paus. 9.33.2, and Auson. 72.10 briefly mention the sex-change. A third story, attributed merely to 'others' by Apollodoros, was that, like Phineus, Teiresias was revealing things the gods wished to be kept secret (implying he was already a seer, unless the reference is to mysteries or the like).

² In MS T only; it is not found in V^o as claimed in *EGM* 1. The sources of the myth are discussed, and the treatments of Pherekydes and Kallimachos are compared, by Ugolini, *Untersuchungen zur Figur des Sehers Teiresias*; Bulloch in his commentary on Kallim. *Lav. Pall.*; M. Depew, *CQ* 44 (1994) 410–26; Ambühl, *Kinder und junge Helden* 99–160.

³ It is briefly alluded to by Prop. 4.9.57–8, Nonn. *Dion.* 5.337–45, Eust. *Od.* 1665.47.

⁴ Cf. Henrichs, "Thou Shalt Not Kill a Tree" 90. The gifts bestowed upon Teiresias mentioned by Pherekydes (ability to understand birds' speech, the wonderful staff) recur in Kallimachos (except that he says birds' flight rather than speech), who adds long life and sentience after death; these might have been in Pherekydes too for all we know. The former is found in Hes. fr. 275–6, the latter is of course from the

The continuation in Pher. fr. 92b is obscured by textual corruption, but on the assumption that the lacunae are brief it appears to tell how Teiresias, as a maiden, had intercourse (with Apollo?),⁵ and was about to be immolated by 'her' father Eueres (who, in accordance with the type, must not have believed her story) when she was turned back into a man at the god's behest. This story, no longer Pherekydes' of course, is known from nowhere else, though Apollo as Teiresias' lover is paralleled in the remarkable elegy of 'Sostratos', *SH* 733, according to which Teiresias was born a girl, and was taught music by Apollo in return for sexual favours; when she no longer gave herself to him, he made her a man 'so she could have experience of love'. Conceivably, *παρθένον ὑπάρχουσιν* in fr. 92b refers to Teiresias' ordinary, not her/his metamorphosed, state.⁶

Although Pherekydes' story is much less well attested than that of Hesiod, there is no reason to think that he has made it up on the pattern of the Aktaion story, as there would be no obvious motive. Rather, this is a piece of local knowledge. The key should be Chariklo, who is dispensable in the story; Teiresias' mother does not need to be a companion of Athena for him to suffer his unfortunate encounter with the goddess. We know this Chariklo from nowhere else, although the name does recur as that of Cheiron's wife, and as a daughter of Kychreus (Roscher, *Lex.* s.v.). The story may be an aition of some kind, needing a reference to this local nymph. But though she is dispensable, Chariklo is useful in the narrative for motivating, through her anguished appeal, the goddess's pity and compensation. That an extraordinary gift such as prophecy compensates for blindness is a notion found also in connection with Demodokos in the *Odyssey* (8.63–4), who received his power of song from the Muses; intriguingly, a scholion to Ovid's *Ibis* (272) says his blindness was a punishment for challenging them in a contest, and predictably losing.⁷ The interplay of blindness and seeing in this myth is but one of its creative tensions; in Pherekydes' version, there is also the contrast between the active, out-of-doors young hunter and the archetypal seer Teiresias was to become: old, withdrawn, living a life of the mind, dependent on others.⁸ There is then the

Odyssey. Other details in Kallimachos could have come from Pherekydes, such as the setting at the 'horse's spring' on Helikon (Tilphossa, birthplace of Areion? Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 3.39 n.5), and the timing at noon (typical for encounters with divinity). Teiresias has a golden staff in *Od.* 11.91. For the idea of 'clean ears' (Pher. fr. 92a) see Lloyd-Jones, *Academic Papers* 2.169, 195.

⁵ So the run of the words at first glance suggests, but lest hasty conclusions be drawn cf. Phlegon *FGrHist* 257 F 36 IV = fr. 4.1–2 Stramaglia: *γενέσθαι γὰρ ἐξ ἀνδρὸς γυναῖκα καὶ μυχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ. τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτῶι χρῆσαντος*...

⁶ On this poem see J. J. O'Hara, *TAPA* 126 (1996) 173–219. The whole thing was very probably an invention of Ptolemy the Quail (Phot. *Bibl.* 146b); see Cameron, *Greek and Roman Mythography in the Roman World* 150–2 (*contra* O'Hara 199). Teiresias is son of Eueres also at Kallim. *Lav. Pall.* 81, 106, Theok. 24.71, Hyg. *Fab.* 68.4, 75.1, schol. Stat. *Theb.* 2.95–6, Myth. Vat. II 106 (84); 'Eumares' in Phlegon *FGrHist* 257 F 36 IV = fr. 4.1 Stramaglia (who follows Meursius in reading 'Eueres'); son of Phorbas according to the Cretans, says Ptolemy.

⁷ For many other examples and discussion of this compensation, see Buxton, 'Blindness and Limits' 27–30.

⁸ Though seers do not always have to be old: Bremmer, *GRC* 146–7

exploration of sexuality, not only through the transsexual Teiresias but through Athena and her companion Chariklo, a nymph and member of a band not unlike Artemis', but already a mother. The earthy symbolism and eerie sexual power of the snakes further thicken the texture of the tale.⁹

At the other end of his long life Teiresias died when he drank the lethally cold waters of the spring Tilphossa (Aristoph. fr. 4). Aristophanes' words, as passed on by Athenaios, contain a hint of rationalization—Teiresias was just too old to withstand the cold—yet the frigid waters recall those of the deadly Styx, and it is interesting to learn that the spirit Tilphossa was associated with the Erinyes.¹⁰ Teiresias met his end either during the flight from the victorious Epigonoi, or while he and his daughter Manto were being taken to Delphi after their capture.¹¹ Scraps of a more circumstantial version survive in PSI 14.1398, in which Zeus is angry at Teiresias for some reason; Lloyd-Jones, who identified the subject of the papyrus, suggested it was because Teiresias had saved the refugees from destruction, against the decree of fate.¹² Line 6 contains the words ἐμβάλλει λήθην (sc. Zeus), which led Lloyd-Jones to ask whether this spring contained waters of forgetfulness like that at the nearby oracle of Trophonios; but the reference is surely to Zeus making Teiresias forget what he presumably knew, viz. not to drink at this spring or it would kill him. The draught did not in fact make Teiresias forget; on the contrary, he was the only human to retain his memory after death. As such, he would be an appropriate inhabitant of an oracular site; Tilphossa is where he was buried (Strabo 9.2.27, 9.2.36, Paus. 7.3.1, 9.18.4, 9.33.1). We are not well informed, however, about how the oracle operated, in particular how Teiresias consorted with Apollo there; the god shows considerable hostility towards the spring in his *Homeric Hymn* (244–76, 375–87). But it was Apollo's sanctuary all the same.¹³

§12.2 Oidipous¹⁴

§12.2.1 CORINTHIAN CHILDHOOD (Pher. fr. 93)

According to Pherekydes the name of Polybos' wife was Medousa, daughter of Orsilochos son of the river Alpheios (Pher. fr. 93). In Sophokles she is called Merope

⁹ Frazer, *Apollod.* 1.365, collects parallels in folklore for the belief that seeing snakes coupling is unlucky. For critical explorations of the Teiresias story see e.g. Brisson, *Le Mythe de Tirésias*; Loraux, *The Experiences of Tirésias*; Liveley, 'Tiresias/Teresa'.

¹⁰ *Thebais* fr. 11, schol. Soph. *Ant.* 126; cf. the similar figure in Arkadia (Kallim. fr. 652, Lykoph. *Alex.* 1040 with schol.). The spring is mentioned by Pindar fr. 198b in an unknown context.

¹¹ During flight: Diod. Sic. 4.67.1, Strabo 9.2.36, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.84; en route to Delphi: Paus. 7.3.1, 9.33.1. PSI 14.1358 is not clear on this point.

¹² Lloyd-Jones, *Academic Papers* 2.359–61.

¹³ Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1.76–7, 3.38–9, 60–2; 'Tilphossa: The Site and its Cults'. For the supposed death of Teiresias at Klaros, see §18.5.2. Plin. *NH* 37.180 mentions a *monumentum Tiresiae* in Makedonia.

¹⁴ For the early mythological tradition see Mastronarde, *Euripides: Phoenissae* 17–38; Edmunds, *Oedipus: The Ancient Legend* 6–17; Hutchinson, *Aeschylus: Septem Contra Thebas*, pp. xvii–xxx; March, *The Creative*

and said to be 'Dorian', i.e. from Doris (OT 775, 990); in Apollodoros, who gives no ancestry, and Hyginus she is named Periboia (*Bibl.* 3.49, *Fab.* 66.2); 'others' in the scholion that reports Pherekydes say she was Antiochis daughter of Chalkon, therefore probably Euboian.¹⁵ The reason the adoptive mother, however named, is a fixture in the myth is revealed by Apollodoros and Hyginus: she takes in the foundling Oidipous and gives him his name. Noble parentage must be found for her, and Pherekydes has employed a minor Homeric character for the purpose (*Il.* 5.546, *Od.* 3.489, 15.187, 21.16), the Messenian Orsilochos ('Ortilochos' in Homer).¹⁶ This may be the same person as the Ortilochos who is the father-in-law of Ikarios in schol. *Od.* 15.16. Pherekydes' own candidate for that honour was the unknown Eurypylos (fr. 128; →§13.2).

§12.2.2 MEETING AT THE CROSSROADS (Pher. fr. 94)

A crossroads, that eerie and dangerous place, is a fitting site for the fateful encounter.¹⁷ Pherekydes said that 'Polypoites' was the name of Laios' herald or charioteer (Pher. fr. 94).¹⁸ This is another fixture in the tale; one could even see his tomb (Paus. 10.5.4). The point is that a servant's giving the order heightens the insult. This character is called Polyphontes in Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.51), which we know as a good Theban name from *Il.* 4.395 and Aisch. *Sept.* 448; Schwartz's emendation of the transmitted 'Polyphetes' in schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 39 is reasonable (Polyphetes is otherwise known only as a Trojan, *Il.* 13.791). Pherekydes' Polypoites is unique in this role, but it is not impossible as a name; it is borne by a doughty Lapith warrior in the *Iliad*, among others (see Höfer in Roscher, *Lex.*).

§12.2.3 OIDIPOUS' WIVES (Epimen. fr. 16; Pher. fr. 95)

Tradition knows four wives of Oidipous, of whom two (Epikaste and Iokaste) are clearly variants of a single name.¹⁹ The fourth name, Astymedousa, is confined to a D scholion on *Iliad* 4.376 (whence Eust. *Il.* 484.45) and Pherekydes (Pher. fr. 95). Pherekydes also appears to be the only writer to give Oidipous three wives, for reasons which we shall consider below. The main issue is whether Oidipous, having married his mother

Poet 121–54; Cingano, 'The Death of Oedipus'; Gantz 488–502; Lloyd-Jones, 'Curses and Divine Anger'; Ceccarelli in *BNJ* on Peisandros *FGrHist* 16 F 10. Among earlier discussions one may mention particularly Robert, *Oidipus*. For overviews of interpretations see Edmunds' recent *Oedipus*, and Bettini and Guidorizzi, *Il mito di Edipo*; Bremmer, 'Oedipus', gives a concise and insightful discussion.

¹⁵ Probably related to, if not identical with, the Chalkodon of *Il.* 2.541, famous king of the Abantes (Robert, *Oidipus* 1.71, 2.31 n. 31); his grandfather was called Chalkon according to the scholia ad loc., and 'Chalkon' is short for another 'Chalkodon' who was a suitor of Hippodameia (Paus. 6.21.10, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1.114, 127).

¹⁶ Ortilochos doubtless had a more prominent profile in lost epic, however. See Baldassarra, 'La saga degli Alfeidi'.

¹⁷ Bremmer, 'Oedipus' 45; S. I. Johnston, *ZPE* 88 (1991) 217–24.

¹⁸ It is not clear from the lacunose text which is meant, but nothing turns on the distinction.

¹⁹ They are variants again as the mother of Trophonios: schol. Ar. *Nub.* 508a; *P.Herc.* 243 III (M. L. West, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 6).

Epikaste or Iokaste, also fathered children by her, or the mother of the famous four children was another woman, called Euryganeia.²⁰ In the surviving sources, there appears to be a correlation between the answer to this question and literary genre, with the incestuous offspring being germane to tragedy but absent from epic; but this does not have to mean that tragedy innovated, since epic might have ignored the offspring in the interests of decorum (or the honour of families descended from Thersandros), whereas tragedy would relish the horror.²¹ It must be stressed how ignorant we are about the treatment of this legend in archaic epic (the *Thebais*, the *Oidipodeia*), lyric (Stesichoros), lost tragedies and folk traditions.²²

Homer (*Od.* 11.271–80) touches briefly on the story. He says that the gods made the truth of the incest known among men right away (*ἄφρα*); Epikaste hanged herself; Oidipous continued to reign in Thebes, but suffered much grief by the will of the gods and the Erinyes of his mother. Though Oidipous' blinding is not excluded by what Homer says, he seems to be thinking rather of more comprehensive and extended sorrows, that is the whole tragedy of the Theban Wars. As to whether there were offspring, Pausanias (9.5.11) points out that if the gods made everything known 'right away', Oidipous and Epikaste could not have proceeded to have four children;²³ he quotes the *Oidipodeia* (fr. 1) to support his contention that Oidipous had his children by his second wife Euryganeia, daughter of Hyperphas. (He does not say what the first wife's name was in this epic.) It is a fair point that Pausanias makes, and since Homer certainly knew about the war at Thebes, he must have thought Eteokles and Polyneikes were Oidipous' sons by someone else. Their conflict is taken by many scholars, though not all, to be in view at Hom. *Il.* 23.679, Hes. *Op.* 161–3, fr. 192–3, which refer to fighting over the inheritance of the dead Oidipous and/or his funeral games.²⁴ In all likelihood, then, Homer, Hesiod, and the *Oidipodeia* shared a version in which there were no children from the first marriage, and Oidipous continued to reign at Thebes after Epikaste/Iokaste's death. In the *Thebais* (fr. 2–3), however, Oidipous, though still at Thebes, has relinquished power to his sons (whose mother is not known). Other sources in which Iokaste/Epikaste is Oidipous' wife, but not mother of his children, are Peisandros

²⁰ 'Eurygane' in schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 13, Peisandros *FGrHist* 16 F 10. Daughter of Periphas according to Pherekydes; Pausanias 9.5.11 says Hyperphas; Apollodoros' text at *Bibl.* 3.55 has Teuthras which all editors correct to Hyperphas. The scholion quoting Pher. fr. 95 adds that according to *τινές* she was Iokaste's sister. Pausanias loc. cit. also says he saw a distraught Euryganeia in a painting by the 5th-c. artist Onasias (*LIMC* Eteokles no. 6); we take his word for it that her name was inscribed.

²¹ The tyrant Theron of Akragas and the Spartan Aigeidai were descended from Thersandros son of Polyneikes (Pind. *Ol.* 2.42–7; Hdt. 4.149).

²² Mastronarde, *Euripides: Phoinissae* 17–18. Ibykos too mentions 'the dark sufferings of Oidipous' in passing, *PMGF* S222.

²³ Cf. schol. *Od.* 11.274, which tries to get out of the problem by saying that *ἄφρα* here means 'suddenly'. Tsitsibakou-Vasalos, 'The Homeric *ἄφρα* in the Oedipus Myth', examines the meaning of the adverb in detail, but overinterprets our passage and arrives at a translation 'very' for *ἄφρα* which hardly convinces.

²⁴ Cf. Burkert, *Kl. Schr.* 1.152–3.

(*FGrHist* 16 F 10) and Apollodoros *Bibl.* 3.55–6 (mentioned as an alternative version; for his main narrative Apollodoros follows Sophokles).

Aischylos, in the *Seven Against Thebes* (752–7), is the first writer to say that Oidipous' mother was his wife and mother of his children; she is not named in that play, though in fr. (dub.) 488 Iokaste is named as Kreon's sister. Sophokles (*OT* and *OC*) has the incestuous children by Iokaste, as does Euripides in the *Phoinissai*. The apparent innovation in the latter is that Iokaste remains alive in Thebes to witness the disastrous quarrel of her sons; it is true that we do not know the name of the mother in Stesichoros, but it seems unlikely that an archaic writer would have allowed her to live on blithely as if nothing had happened. The mother of the sons in his poem was probably Euryganeia.²⁵

We come then to Pher. fr. 95, which offers several interesting features. First is that Oidipous *did* have children by his mother, but not the famous four. These children died in the wars with the Minyans and their king Erginos, after Kreon had ceded the throne to Oidipous (no doubt after he had dealt with the Sphinx). Pherekydes is the only writer to mention these sons, who have quite unusual names; 'Phrastor' occurs elsewhere only in an artificial genealogy constructed by Hellanikos (fr. 4; → §2.1), and 'Laonytos' (as presented by the MSS) or 'Laolytos' (Bechtel) is unique.²⁶ If, however, Pherekydes invented Phrastor and Laolytos, one would expect him to give us some clue as to the purpose of his invention; since he does not, we infer that he probably got the information from tradition. Parent-child incest was the object of the utmost revulsion in the Greek *imaginaire*; that it is coupled with patricide in this story, an equally revolting and all but unthinkable crime, is not accidental.²⁷ It seems significant that in archaic myth these monstrous offspring were given no further history than to be killed off. The tragedians of the classical age raised the level of horror by making the main players in the next chapter of the story the offspring of Oidipous' mother. Yet even in the archaic period these products of incest were allowed to be born and grow up. For lack of evidence the explanation of this situation eludes us.

Pherekydes' sequence of events raises problems when one tries to reconcile it with the story that Herakles killed Erginos, thus putting an end to his capers and winning the hand of Kreon's daughter Megara as a reward. Possible ways out of the difficulty were discussed in §5.5. It is sometimes thought, reasonably enough, that Pherekydes in this fragment was attempting to reconcile various accounts (as it might be, *Thebais*, *Oidipodeia*, *Minyas*, Homer, the Hesiodic *Catalogue*), but one could say that he has created more difficulties than he has solved by linking Erginos and Oidipous in this manner. If one thinks that Pherekydes' story in fr. 95 implies a tale in which Erginos was

²⁵ March, *The Creative Poet* 127–31.

²⁶ F. Bechtel, *Hermes* 50 (1915) 320, suggested that 'Laolytos' would correspond to the historically attested 'Lysileos' (several examples in *LPGN* 1, 2, 3A) as 'Lysippos' stands to 'Hippolytos'. 'Laonytos' is inscrutable.

²⁷ Bremmer, 'Oedipus' 49–52.

not deterred by Herakles, then his source at least for this part of the fragment would be anti-Theban. But even the usual story of Erginos' fate requires him to inflict some damage before Herakles shows up. Perhaps, then, all of Pherekydes' information comes from a single Theban source; but if that source was the *Oidipodeia*, then Pausanias was wrong when he said that in that poem Oidipous' mother-wife had no children. Pausanias does, it is true, refer specifically to the famous four children, but his argument is that in the *Oidipodeia*, as in Homer, the pollution of the patricide and incest came to light immediately. He says quite simply that in his view the couple had no children. In Pher. fr. 95, much happens between the first and second marriages: the birth and growth of two sons; the Minyan war; and a mysterious year, perhaps of purification after the pollution has come to light, perhaps of mourning.²⁸ This is a lot for Pausanias to have forgotten or overlooked.

Pherekydes also found, whether in this source or another one, a third wife Astymedousa. As mentioned, we encounter this person in one other place, a D scholion on *Il.* 4.376, found also in Eustathios (*Il.* 484.45). She probably figured in the *Catalogue* as a daughter of Sthenelos (fr. 193.1–8; 'Medousa' in Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.53; West, *HCW* 110–11), but whether she was also identified there as a wife of Oidipous is not known. The D scholion begins by saying that Oidipous wed Astymedousa after 'losing' Iokaste (ἀποβαλὼν), i.e. after her death.²⁹ The scholion goes on to say that Astymedousa accused her stepsons of making sexual overtures, and that this was the reason for Oidipous' cursing them. He then handed power over to them, and Eteokles as the elder cast Polyneikes out. This last detail is consistent with Pher. fr. 96 (see below), and it seems possible that the scholiast's tale was found in his book too. The omission of Euryganeia from the scholiast's excerpt occasions no surprise. At any rate, Astymedousa occurs nowhere else, we know of no other role for her, and Pher. fr. 95 could continue quite naturally in the manner suggested by the scholion. Jacoby and others have thought that Astymedousa instead of Euryganeia was the name of the *second* wife in some source encountered by Pherekydes, and that he has naively made two different wives out of them. Though the mythographers, like Herodotos, did not succeed in eliminating all difficulties when drawing on multiple sources, one should hesitate before accusing Pherekydes of such an elementary lack of understanding.

If the whole of Pher. fr. 95 came from a single source, it was not the *Oidipodeia*, unless one believes that Pausanias misremembered that poem (see above), or was being disingenuous. We have seen the difficulty of bringing Erginos and Oidipous together in the same narrative, and it is exactly at this point that Pherekydes' 'after a year had passed'

²⁸ Pherekydes, in writing his summaries, is sometimes elliptical, so it may be too bold to diagnose a lacuna in the text here (Jacoby), but what he omits was in the original poem. This is overlooked by Stephanopoulos, *Umgestaltung des Mythos durch Euripides* 105.

²⁹ Deubner, *Kl. Schr.* 664 comparing e.g. *Hdt.* 3.119.6.

seems to paper over a crack. On balance, then, it looks as if Pherekydes has taken the first part of this fragment from one source, and the second and third marriages from another; on this reading, Astymedousa, her accusation of the sons, and Oidipous' reason for cursing his sons as given by the D scholion, could all be from the *Oidipodeia*.³⁰

Between the second and third marriages Pherekydes mentions the death of Hismene³¹ at Tydeus' hands, at the spring outside the city walls subsequently named after her. This episode too we know is taken from tradition, as it was mentioned by Mimnermos (fr. 21) and is depicted on two sixth-century vases (*LIMC* Ismene I nos. 3–4; the inscribed names have the *spiritus asper*) and perhaps others (*LIMC* *ibid.*). According to Mimnermos, Athena ordered Tydeus to kill Hismene because she was engaging in sexual intercourse with one Theoklymenos ('Perikylemenos' on the first vase, presumably the Theban champion who defeats Parthenopaios). We do not know why Athena was involved, why she chose Tydeus as her agent, and whether he had any other connection with Hismene; but it is a reasonable guess that she was a virgin priestess, whose behaviour was a pollution and an affront.³² We know that Tydeus was one of Athena's favourites, until she was disgusted by his cannibalism (Pher. fr. 97; see below), so perhaps she simply took advantage of his presence in the city, on the occasion when he was attempting to negotiate a settlement in the dispute between Eteokles and Polyneikes (*Il.* 4.382–400, 5.800–8, 10.285–90). The painters depict Tydeus bursting in on the lovers in their bedroom; Pherekydes moves the scene outdoors, which might be easier from a narrative point of view: Tydeus could simply happen upon them, by Athena's agency, as he was leaving the city.³³

The story of course precludes the familiar Sophoclean role for Hismene. It is here linked to a Theban landmark, which could be a sign of Pherekydes' access to local traditions. The eponym of the spring, daughter of Asopos (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5), is depicted with Kadmos and other figures of the earliest Theban history (*LIMC* Ismene II), but as several scholars have said one has to suspect a connection between the two Hismenai; at some point in the mythological tradition the nymph became a princess. In Pherekydes, though she is killed by the goddess, in the familiar pattern she receives honour after death; one might think that the timid sister she eventually became represents an even greater demotion.

³⁰ Deubner, *ibid.* 665, after Carl Kirchhoff, *Der Kampf der Sieben vor Theben und König Oidipus* (Diss. Münster 1917), though Deubner also assigns Phrastor and Laolytos to the *Oidipodeia*. Of course Pherekydes could have drawn on lost tragedies and lyric poems. His use of 'Iokaste' can hardly determine his source, even if the name predominates in tragedy (cf. schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 12, schol. *Od.* 11.271, *Etym. Gen. s.v.* Ἰοκάστη in E. Miller, *Mélanges de littérature grecque* 169).

³¹ For the form of the name, see Mastronarde on Eur. *Phoin.* 101 (but see also Braswell on Pind. *Nem.* 9.22).

³² Robert, *Oidipus* 1.127. Hismene meets an equally grim end in Ion of Chios, *PMG* 740, who said that she was burned by Laodamas son of Eteokles together with Antigone in a temple of Hera; Hera points to an offence against the laws of marriage, but since Antigone was involved the reason was probably the burial of Polyneikes (Meuli, *RE* 12.1.697). On the legend see also Cingano, 'Figure eroiche nell'*Antigone* di Sofocle'. On virgin priestesses see Bremmer, 'A Body in Transition' and 'Transvestite Dionysos' 189–91.

³³ The scene of Ismene I no. 5, if correctly identified, is a sanctuary of Athena.

I have postponed discussion of **Epimen. fr. 16** until this point because the scholion presents a mishmash of information from which it is difficult to extract a coherent account. 'Epimenides says [Laios] married Eurykleia daughter of Ekphas, from whom Oidipous was born. Others say Laios married two women, Eurykleia and Epikaste. And they say that Oidipous married his mother Epikaste, and Eurygane.' Eurykleia has not been encountered before in any source, and 'Eurykleia daughter of Ekphas' looks like a wilful variant of Euryganeia daughter of Hyperphas, elsewhere Oidipous' second wife. The second sentence reports two wives of Laios, again the mysterious Eurykleia and now finally Epikaste; the third sentence is orthodox. There is no reason whatsoever for Laios to have two wives; these should be Oidipous' wives. Perhaps Epimenides did introduce a variant Eurykleia daughter of Ekphas, and equally deliberately equated her with Iokaste, whom he removed from the story; in other words, the storyline was much like that of Sophokles, but with a different woman.

§12.2.4 THE BLINDING OF OIDIPOUS (Hellan. fr. 97)

According to **Hellan. fr. 97**, Oidipous blinded himself upon discovering his incest with his mother. The information comes from a scholion to Euripides *Phoinissai* 61, where Iokaste says the same thing; it is curious that the scholiast thought it worth citing Hellanikos for this commonplace, so familiar to us from Sophokles' *OT* and before him Aischylos (*Sept.* 784). The scholion does go on to tell us something new, which is that in Euripides' *Oidipous* the servants of Laios put Oidipous' eyes out (Eur. fr. 541; cf. *LIMC* Oidipus no. 85). A particularly odd variant is reported by a scholion on *Phoinissai* 26, that the deed was done by Polybos when he heard the oracle that Oidipous would kill his father; one wonders what the whole story would look like (how did the blind Oidipous manage it, for instance. See C. Robert, *Oidipus* 1.506.)³⁴

§12.3 The Seven Against Thebes

§12.3.1 THE EXILE OF POLYNEIKES (Hellan. fr. 98; Pher. fr. 96)

In the *Thebais*, Oidipous curses his sons twice: once because they placed before him the golden cup of Laios on the table of Kadmos (fr. 2), and again because they sent him the wrong cut of meat (fr. 3). It is probably wasted ingenuity to explain how these two curses consorted within the same poem; much easier to suppose that one of them is actually from the *Oidipodeia* or another poem. They are effectively the same: that the sons should fight forever over their inheritance; or that they should die at each other's hands.

³⁴ This remarkable scholion offers a veritable circus of mythographical oddities, for instance that Oidipous also killed the Teumesian fox according to Korinna (*PMG* 672), that the Sphinx was wife of Menoikeus and daughter of Oukalegon ('I-don't-care') 'one of the locals', or that Oidipous also killed his mother. One wonders what Korinna, if she is really a 5th-c. poet, is doing with a booth at such a show.

It was argued above that a third reason for the curse, the false accusation of their step-mother, could have been found in Pherekydes (and perhaps also the *Oidipodeia*); because it is a false accusation, his scenario has a more tragic aspect than the straightforward insult(s) of the archaic epic(s). There follow in the tradition three different sequels: (i) that Eteokles drives Polyneikes out of Thebes by force (**Pher. fr. 96**); (ii) that they agree to share power in alternate years (Euripides, *Phoinissai* 69–74, 477–8); (iii) that they agree that Eteokles should get the throne, Polyneikes the property, in return for which he goes into exile (**Hellan. fr. 98**). Polyneikes then decides he wants power after all, and mounts the fatal expedition. The first two scenarios are not necessarily exclusive; Eteokles could break the agreement by evicting his brother when it was his turn to take over, but on the evidence the idea appears to be Euripides' innovation. (In the *Phoinissai*, Polyneikes leaves, and Eteokles then refuses to let him come back.) None of these scenarios is inconsistent with the idea of a curse, for the breakdown of any initially amicable agreement would be interpreted as the effect of the curse. The first scenario, that of Pherekydes, is found in Sophokles (*OC* 1292–8) and the *Iliad* scholion discussed above (p. 406); the second, that of Euripides, is that of the later mythographical vulgate;³⁵ the third was that of Stesichoros in the Lille poem (*PMGF* 222b), probably of the *Thebais*, given the role there taken by the necklace of Harmonia, and probably too of Euripides in the *Suppliants* (150–3, 930–1). The situation in Aischylos' *Septem* is not clear.³⁶

The scholion quoting these two fragments goes on to say that Polyneikes took with him Harmonia's necklace and tunic (χιτών), and gave them both to Argeia, daughter of Adrastus. The tunic, called a πέπλος, is mentioned also in Hellan. fr. 51b = Pher. fr. 89 (*EGM* 1.181). We learn more about this πέπλος from Diodoros (4.66.2–3) and Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.81): after Polyneikes' gift of the necklace to Eriphyle, which forced her husband Amphiaraios to take part in the expedition, Thersandros son of Polyneikes gave her the tunic, as a bribe to persuade her sons to take part. We may assume that this second bribe was found already in the *Thebais*, and repeated by Hellanikos; the scholiast is mistaken in saying Polyneikes gave both gifts to Argeia.³⁷

§12.3.2 THE EXILE OF TYDEUS (Pher. fr. 122)

A coup was mounted against Tydeus' father Oineus in Kalydon, in the course of which Tydeus was forced into exile for killing his relatives (→§4.3). That is the basic scenario;

³⁵ Diod. Sic. 4.65.1, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.57, Hyg. *Fab.* 67.8, Zenob. 1.30, Myth. Vat. I 2.50.

³⁶ For different assessments see Stephanopoulos, *Umgestaltung des Mythos durch Euripides* 115–16; Mueller-Goldingen, *Untersuchungen zu den Phoinissen des Euripides* 27–30; Gantz 504; and Mastronarde, *Euripides: Phoinissai* 26–7. Fateful necklaces: Buxton, *Persuasion in Greek Tragedy* 36–7.

³⁷ Prinz, *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie* 175–6 against Robert, *GH* 957. Pausanias mentions the peplos at 2.1.8. Sommerstein and Talbot, *Sophocles: Selected Fragmentary Plays* 2.32–3, on Sophokles' *Epigonoí*, argue that the 'second bribe' of the robe would have worked particularly well in tragedy.

the details vary. In the *Iliad* (14.115–20) Oineus has two brothers, Agrios and Melas, and Tydeus was driven into exile in Argos (no reason given). In the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, Oineus has four brothers, Agrios, Melas, Alkathoos, and Pylos. Tydeus killed all his uncles because they tried to depose Oineus (Hes. fr. 10a 55–7). The *Alkmeonis* had the same story, except that the plotters whom Tydeus killed were sons of Melas, that is to say his cousins (fr. 4). **Pher. (fr. 122a)**, as reported by Apollodoros, unusually said that Tydeus killed his own brother Olenias; the *historia* that is **Pher. fr. 122b** is unfortunately corrupt, stating 'he killed his cousins and with them accidentally his †cousin'. A variant 'brother' is found, probably a conjecture with Apollodoros in mind; the Towneleian scholiast on the same line says 'his uncle Melas, who was dining with them'. The similarity of 'Melas' and 'Olenias' (which is an unparalleled name)³⁸ leads one to think that the latter could be emended to the former in Apollodoros; the town of Olenos has just been mentioned in *Bibl.* 1.74 as the home of Tydeus' mother, and might be the source of the corruption. The motif of the unwilling murder would go better with the brother than the uncle. As Bremmer notes (GRC 68), fratricide is rarely mentioned in Greek myth, and when it is, it is usually accidental (Bellerophon and Deliades, Peleus and/or Telamon and their half-brother Phokos); in the present case, Hyginus (*Fab.* 69.2) says that Tydeus killed his brother Melanippus accidentally while hunting. The *Iliad* had said Tydeus was an exile from Kalydon, so others stepped in to fill the gap with various reasons.

§12.3.3 THE CAMPAIGN (Armen. fr. 6; Hek. fr. 32–3; Hellan. fr. 99; Pher. fr. 97)

A few random fragments concerning the campaign survive in our corpus.

Amphiaraos and the Elephants. **Hek. fr. 33** is a very puzzling fragment. Aelian is telling a story about sleepless elephants that guard the king of India. Somehow Amphiaraos comes into it, either as part of the story, or as a point of comparison. If the former, then the story is that Amphiaraos succeeded in putting these guards to sleep; this is so fantastic that it must be someone's freewheeling invention, perhaps from a period after Alexander's conquests. If the latter, then the story is that Amphiaraos fell asleep on guard;³⁹ again we know of no such incident, but Gantz (p. 512) shrewdly suggests that it could have something to do with the story of Hypsipyle, which took place en route to Thebes. Pausanias reports a fight between Amphiaraos and Lykourgos, father of the baby killed by the snake, depicted on the throne of Amyklai (Paus. 3.18.12): was Amphiaraos guarding the infant in some version of this story? When Aelian writes that Amphiaraos 'nearly suffered all that [Hekataios] says', he may mean that he was nearly killed or executed by the child's father/an angry army.⁴⁰ It is all very elliptical,

³⁸ Heyne suggested 'Olenios'; cf. Paus. 6.20.16.

³⁹ For the expression see Hdt. 9.93; Aelian uses it himself twice elsewhere (*NA* 1.15, 3.13).

⁴⁰ On this interpretation the text may be sound (I am no longer so confident as I was in *EGM* 1 ad loc.).

and Aelian's point cannot have been very clear to his readers, if this myth was as obscure to them as it is to us. Is there some link to the story of Amphiaraos falling asleep in the 'seer's house' at Phlious, whence he derived his gift (Paus. 2.13.7)?

The Genealogy of Parthenopaios. Parthenopaios had two competing genealogies, one Argive (**Hek. fr. 32**), the other Arkadian (**Hell. fr. 99**). Given his name and Atalante's Artemis-like nature, one might think his Arkadian mother was primary, and that the other genealogy arose from an Argive desire to make the Seven an all-Argive force (see further below on this point). Conversely, one could think that the Argive expedition against Thebes was originally all-Argive, and was expanded as the story was drawn into pan-Hellenic myth; and that Parthenopaios was claimed as Arkadian because his name made one think of Atalante. At all events, the Argive claim on Parthenopaios was as old as Hekataios, as this fragment attests, and might already have stood in the *Thebais* (fr. 10). In citing the two fragments, the scholiast offers an alternative between a mother Atalante and a father Talaos, which is a true alternative, as the Arkadian Atalante is married to Me(i)lanion whenever her husband is specified (Hellanikos is the first to do so; cf. Xen. *Kyneg.* 1.7).⁴¹ Agreeing with Hellanikos about Atalante are Aischylos (*Sept.* 532–3, 547; Atalante not actually named), Sophokles (*OC* 1322), and Euripides (*Phoin.* 150, 1106–9, 1153; at *Suppl.* 888–91 Euripides says Parthenopaios was Arkadian, but raised in Argos); agreeing with Hekataios about Talaos are the minor tragedians Aristarchos of Tegea (*TrGF* 14 F 5) and Philokles (*TrGF* 24 F 3), quoted with him, and Antimachos fr. 17, quoted with Hellanikos. Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.107–9 notes both Atalantai, and says Parthenopaios was son of the Arkadian Atalante and Melanion (or of Ares); he is clear about that also at 3.63. But at 1.103, he is son of Talaos and Lysimache (daughter of Abas, not of Kerkyon as in schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 150 which quotes Hellanikos). Pausanias is similarly indecisive: son of Talaos at 2.20.5 and 9.18.6, son of Melanion at 3.12.9. In Hyginus (*Fab.* 70, 99, 270) we meet for the first time the idea that Parthenopaios was the son of Atalante and Meleagros; she participated in the Kalydonian Boarhunt (depicted with Melanion on the François Vase and on the Kypselos chest, Paus. 5.19.2), where they had an opportunity to meet, but the idea of their union is of uncertain antiquity.

Hellanikos gives an extended ancestry of Melanion as if to reinforce his claim to Arkadian status. The genealogy is paralleled nowhere else, but the names Amphidamas and Kepheus have Arkadian resonance.⁴² The corrupt name of Kepheus' son is not recoverable; various suggestions are recorded in the apparatus.

⁴¹ Atalante in her turn has two forms, Arkadian and Boiotian; see §2.4 on Hellan. fr. 162.

⁴² Kepheus is son of Aleos or of Lykourgos; cf. Hellan. fr. 37 (→§2.4). Only here is he said to be a son of Poseidon. Amphidamas is a son of Lykourgos and brother of Iasos at Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.105 (so that Melanion and Atalante are cousins). At schol. *Il.* 2.603, Amphidamas is rather the father of Lykourgos (in a tree that does not include Melanion); at Ap. Rhod. 1.161, 2.1046 he is brother of Kepheus and son of Aleos (sim. Paus. 8.4.8 who adds Lykourgos and Auge as siblings; taken by West, *HCW* 93, to be Hesiodic).

The scholiast reporting Hek. fr. 32 says that some people called Parthenopaios' father 'Kalaos' rather than 'Talaos'. There is a parallel for this variation in the name of Daidalos' nephew Kalos or Talos (→§16.3.1), which is equally mysterious; perhaps we are dealing with a pre-Greek name. Simple confusion or MS corruption is possible in the present case; a son of Thyestes was called Kalaos (schol. Eur. *Or.* 4 p. 96.9, schol. rec. Eur. *Or.* 812, 2.211.12 Dindorf).

The Death of Tydeus. During the battle Tydeus was fatally wounded by Melanippos; when his enemy was killed by Amphiaraos, Tydeus asked for his skull, and proceeded to dine on his brains. Tydeus was Athena's favourite, and she was at this very moment bringing him the gift of immortality; disgusted by his behaviour, she withdrew the present, but consented to his request to bestow it on his son. Diomedes was indeed immortal (Pind. *Nem.* 10.7, *Carm. Conv. PMG* 894);⁴³ this story of the father's extreme, inhuman savagery—it is characteristic of animals, who know no right, to consume each other⁴⁴—perhaps underscores *e contrario* the beatific nature of the son. The myth is attested for **Pher. fr. 97**, a *historia* attributed to Pherekydes by the major scholia to *Iliad* 5.126; a similar *historia* in the minor scholia is attributed to the Epic Cycle by one manuscript, which may be a conjecture, but it is a very probable one (*Thebais* fr. 9*). The story was known also to Bacchylides (fr. 41), Sophokles (fr. 799) and Euripides (fr. 537), and is attested in Etruscan and Greek art of the mid-fifth century BC (*LIMC* Tydeus nos 16–17a, Suppl. 2009 add. 2). The scholia to Pindar (*Nem.* 10.12) add the detail that the wounded Tydeus asked Amphiaraos to kill Melanippos and bring him his skull. In Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.75–6), by contrast, as Tydeus lay dying he asked Athena for a *φάρμακον* that would make him immortal; when Amphiaraos saw this, out of hatred for Tydeus (because he had persuaded the Argives to fight the war), he brought the skull of Melanippos, knowing what would ensue. Apollodoros adds that Tydeus had himself managed to kill Melanippos. Apollodoros' version has the virtue of explaining why Athena happened to be coming at this very moment with her gift, but such concern for tidy narrative motivation need not have been shared by either the *Thebais* or Pherekydes.⁴⁵

The Seven Pyres. It is not clear from the disturbed state of the scholion whether the seven pyres in **Armen. fr. 6** were those of the children of Niobe, or of the 'Seven' of the

⁴³ Diomedes received divine honours at Metapontion and Thourioi (schol. Pind. *Nem.* 10.12) and on an island in the Adriatic (Ibyk. *PMG* 294, schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 602), now archaeologically identified (Kirigin and Čaće, 'Archaeological Evidence for the Cult of Diomedes in the Adriatic'; cf. *SEG* 48.692–4). For Diomedes in the West see Robert, *GH* 1487–96; Prinz 159–61; Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus* 234–57.

⁴⁴ Hes. *Op.* 276–8; Buxton, *Imaginary Greece* 200; M. Dorati, *AION* 15 (1993) 78–9. Hekabe in the *Iliad* wishes she could latch on to Achilles' liver (*Il.* 24.212); her inhuman grief and savagery resulted finally in her metamorphosis into a dog (admittedly not a univocal signifier: Mossman, *Wild Justice* 194–201). Achilles himself entertains the idea of devouring Hektor (23.346–7).

⁴⁵ See further Lykoph. *Alex.* 1066 with Tzetzes, Simias fr. 16, Ov. *Ibis* 428, 515–16, Stat. *Theb.* 8.716–66, Liban. *Prog.* 2.9.1, Eust. *Il.* 544.32.

Theban war; see §10.6 for discussion, where it is concluded that the latter is more likely. Pindar's seven pyres for the Seven (*Ol.* 6.15, *Nem.* 9.24) are, as the scholiast on the first passage remarks, a notorious problem: Amphiaraos was swallowed up by the earth, so could not be cremated; Adrastos survived; Polyneikes was not buried (in Sophokles, at least, if not in Aischylos *Sept.* 819); so how do we arrive at seven pyres? Yet it is clear that the number seven was deeply rooted in Theban tradition. Scholars have debated as to whether the seven champions or the seven gates of Thebes are originary; the seven gates are formulaic in Homer (*Il.* 4.406, *Od.* 11.263), which might lead one to think they came first. Archaeologically this was never the case at Thebes, but such considerations are no impediment to the mythical imagination. Burkert has attractively argued that the idea of seven champions assaulting a walled city was inspired by adapted Assyrian and Babylonian rites and myths.⁴⁶ If a Near Eastern origin is posited, the pairing of champions to gates will have featured already in the *Thebais*; it is first certainly found in Aischylos' *Seven Against Thebes*. The idea persisted through the other tragedians and beyond.

Yet in no surviving list are seven champions slain at Thebes, so as to require cremation.⁴⁷ The principal causes of variation in the names of the Seven are, firstly, uncertainty as to whether Adrastos was one of the front-line combatants, and secondly an apparent desire in some quarters—Argos—to make the Seven an all-Argive list, with Tydeus and Polyneikes as outsiders. The building in the sixth century of a shrine in Argos for the Seven probably has something to do with this desire, and with Argive propaganda in the context of Peloponnesian politics.⁴⁸ Some names are on every list as fighting at a gate (Amphiaraos, Parthenopaios, Hippomedon, Kapaneus), and Polyneikes and Tydeus are on all early lists; but Apollodoros cites an alternative in which Eteoklos (found also in the tragedians) and Mekisteus (cf. *Il.* 2.566, 23.678, Hdt. 5.673, Paus. 9.18.1) replace the two foreigners; compare the all-Argive list of seven plus Adrastos at Paus. 10.10.3 (though again slightly different, with the unknown Alitherses in place of Mekisteus). Pausanias asserts, on what evidence we cannot tell, that Aischylos reduced an originally larger number of assailants to seven (2.20.5), and if Pindar is thinking of individuals when he refers to the seven pyres, he must have had such a longer list in mind. His scholiast on *Ol.* 6.15 (23a–b) suggests that the pyres were not for the champions, but for the seven regiments they led. This has attracted the assent of some modern scholars,⁴⁹ but it is not well supported by the run of the words in the *Ninth Nemean*: 'seven pyres consumed the young men; but for Amphiaraos Zeus split the

⁴⁶ Burkert, *OR* 105–14 and *Kl. Schr.* 1.150–65; H. W. Singor, *Hermes* 120 (1992) 401–11, argues that gates not heroes came first, and challenges some aspects of Burkert's thesis.

⁴⁷ Aisch. *Sept.* Aisch. 375–652; Eur. *Suppl.* 857–931, *Phoin.* 119–81, 1104–40; Soph. *OC* 1308–25 (cf. *Ant.* 141); Diod. Sic. 4.65.7; Stat. *Theb.* 4.32–308; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.63; Hyg. *Fab.* 70. Details in Gantz 514–17.

⁴⁸ Cf. J. M. Hall, 'Beyond the Polis' 52–5 (who, however, overlooks some of the evidence about the names).

⁴⁹ e.g. T. K. Hubbard, *HSCP* 94 (1992) 96; Braswell on *Nem.* 9.24.

broad-backed earth . . .'. This is more easily read as a contrast between Amphiaraos and other individuals, than as one between Amphiaraos and seven regiments. Mekisteus, mentioned by Homer and Herodotos but not by Aischylos, has a good claim to be a member of the longer list pared down by the tragedian: such early variability suggests precisely that the number, not the name, was the primary datum—there was an assault of Seven champions against the Seven gates, and seven were cremated. Poets then disagreed as to the names. Disagreement, indeed, was inevitable if the idea of Seven was overlaid on an older story of an assault on Thebes (which was very old, being deeply embedded in Homer and the whole structure of Greek mythical history). The scenario supports Burkert's hypothesis.

§12.3.4 THE EPIGONOI (Hellan. fr. 100)

The only fragment in the corpus dealing with the successful assault of the sons of the Seven is **Hellan. fr. 100**, from which we learn that the decisive battle took place at Glisas, and that Aigialeus son of Adrastus was killed. He does not tell us where Glisas was; later scholars put it north-east of Thebes, but from Herodotos (9.43.2) it is clear that it lay between Tanagra and the river Asopos.⁵⁰ Pindar, *Pyth.* 8.48–53, whose scholia report this fragment, had said that Adrastus, having been the only one to survive the first campaign, was the only one on the second to bury his son. Strictly speaking this might mean he was the only father with a son on the battlefield, which does not preclude other champions falling; but pedantry aside, the clear import is that all the others survived, so that when Pausanias (9.19.2) records the tomb of Promachos son of Parthenopaios and others who fought with Aigialeus, he must refer to a divergent tradition, not necessarily early.⁵¹ Hellanikos is the first surviving source to mention both Glisas and the name of the son, but we know little about the archaic epic or Aischylos' *Epigonoï*, and not much more about Sophokles.⁵² The Theban king, Laodamas son of Eteokles, is always the one who kills Aigialeus; in some versions Laodamas is then killed, but in others (Hdt. 5.61, Paus. 9.5.13, 9.8.6, 9.9.5) he survives and leads the Thebans to Illyria; perhaps this was Herodotos' invention (→§10.2 *ad fin.*). For other details of the expedition see Gantz 522–8.

⁵⁰ Strabo 9.2.31, Paus. 1.44.4, 9.5.13, 9.8.6, 9.9.4, 9.19.2–3; Bölle, *RE* 7.1.1426–7; E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 273–4; Funke, *BNP* s.v.; *IACP* p. 434. *Barrington Atlas* follows the majority in placing Glisas NE of Thebes, but Schachter, 'Tanagra' 58, insists on the clear implication of Herodotos' text, noting too that a location south of Thebes makes more sense as the site of a battle with invading Argives.

⁵¹ Hyg. *Fab.* 71.1 *ceteri sex victores redierunt*. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.83, though brief, would surely have mentioned any other sons of the Seven to die.

⁵² For what can be said about Sophokles' play see Mülke's introduction to his edition of *P.Oxy.* 71 (2007) 4807 and Sommerstein and Talbot, *Sophocles: Selected Fragmentary Plays* 2.25–74 (extensive, if necessarily speculative, reconstruction). Aigialeus is identified by Athena at Eur. *Suppl.* 1216.

§13

ATLANTIDES

§13.1 The Group (Hellan. fr. 19)

THE strong association of the individual Pleiades with different regions suggests that they were originally independent figures, and that someone subsequently brought them together into a single family as daughters of Atlas. Their association with the constellation seems also to be a secondary development. It was traditionally said to consist of seven stars, but with only six visible to average eyes. The number could be very ancient, if the cluster of seven dots on the Nebra disc represents them (c. 1600 BC; West, *IEPM* 208); seven is a common number for groups.¹ The name too is very old, possibly Indo-European; the form 'Peleiades', 'doves', is a product of Greek popular etymology, found first in 'Hes.' fr. 288–90 and Alkm. *PMGF* 1.60, Simon. *PMG* 555.5, Aisch. fr. 312.4, Pind. *Nem.* 2.11.² The constellation appears to be chased in the sky by Orion (Hes. *Op.* 619–20), which gave rise to a myth;³ the image of a bevy of frightened girls fleeing an attacker might have encouraged the popular etymology. Alkman's 'Peleades', on a common interpretation, are a chorus of girls, yet clearly associated with the constellation. The stars in their turn were often thought of as a dancing chorus.⁴

The story of the girls' escape from Orion by catasterism is attributed to the Epic Cycle by the D scholion on *Il.* 18.486 (*Titanomachy* fr. dub. 14 Bernabé, p. 74 Davies); the subscription, as usual, cannot be relied upon, and may apply only to the last part of the *historia* concerning Elektra.⁵ Whether the passing references in Hesiod *Op.* 619–20 and

¹ Kidd on Arat. *Phain.* 257; Puhvel, 'Names and Numbers of the Pleiad'.

² Puhvel, loc. cit. and West on Hes. *Op.* 383–4, against Kidd on Arat. *Phain.* 254–67; see these authorities and Hübner, *BNP* s.v. Pleiades, for detailed discussions of the constellation. The form in Homer (*Il.* 18.486, *Od.* 5.272) and Hesiod (*Op.* 383, 572 etc.) is *Πληιάδες*, used most commonly with that scansion also in the Latin poets; the Attic *Πλειάδες*, first in Eur. *Phaethon* fr. 773.22, 779.4 and *El.* 468, is normal in prose, where also the singular *Πλειάς* is common (though it is not alien to verse: e.g. Eur. *Ion* 1152, *Or.* 1005).

³ Details in Gantz 213–14.

⁴ See in general Ferrari, *Alcman and the Cosmos of Sparta*, 3–6, 83–90, though I do not see why both associations (doves and stars) cannot be kept in play in the poem (p. 84): the stars *were* the Doves; that is, these are not two ideas but one. See also Dale, 'Topics in Alcman's *Partheneion*' (who argues for the constellation, not a chorus, but notes the relevance of the association between the two). Bowie, 'Alcman's First *Partheneion*', 33–65 rejects both rival chorus and constellation and argues that 'Doves' here is euphemistic for daimones inimical to maidens.

⁵ Printed by West as *Iliupersis* fr. 5*; →§18.4.4. Cf. T. Gärtner, *ZPE* 124 (1998) 22 n. 4.

Pindar *Nem.* 2.11 imply the myth, or just the proximity of the constellations, cannot be said. The other story, also cited by the Homeric scholia on this passage, attributed to Mousaios (em.; see Pher. fr. 90c), is that they were sisters of the Hyades and with them mourned their brother Hyas until Zeus turned them into stars out of pity. Both stories are incompatible with the tales of the girls' mating with various deities. This confirms the separate previous existence of the individual Atlantides. West has further observed that the adjective by which Hesiod describes them at *Op.* 383, Ἀτλαγενεῖς, more probably refers not to their father but to 'a cosmic figure associated with their first appearance in the sky . . . whether the local mountain over which they rise, or the giant who stands supporting the heavens somewhere at the world's end' (West, comm. p. 255). From here it is but a short way to thinking of them as in fact born of Atlas. This might have been the inspiration of the poet who first brought them together into a single family; if this poet was Lakonian (as one might think from the density of Atlantides in this part of Greece), the presence of choruses such as Alkman's would have helped further.⁶ Another encouragement to bring the separate Atlantides together was their common character as local nymphs, associated with mountains and other natural features, who mate with gods and give birth to eponyms or heads of early dynasties; these define the region's topography and primitive history, to be succeeded by culture-heroes, ethnic *Stammväter*, and figures who define the political landscape, such as Pelops, Kadmos, or Danaos. The Asopides had a similar role (§15).⁷

The names and relations of the Atlantides are all but invariable: Sterope alternates with Asterope, useful for versifying; more significant is the variant that she was Oinomaos' mate rather than his mother by Ares (→§14.1). Since Merope's union with Sisyphos, a mortal, is one of the two reasons given why one of the seven stars shines less brightly, marrying Sterope to a mortal as well as Merope precludes this myth. (The other story is that Elektra, mother of Dardanos, could not stand to see Troy fall, so turned her gaze away; →§18.4.4.) Radically different is Kallimachos (fr. 693), who says that they were daughters of the queen of the Amazons, known as Peleïades. 'They were the first to set up the dance and the nocturnal maidens' festival.' He gives their names as Kokkymo, Glaukia, Protis, Parthenia, Maia, Stonychia, and Lampado. If we believe that as a rule Kallimachos used 'nothing unattested' (fr. 612, though there are no grounds for thinking this a general statement), then he might have got this from a poem which gave the actual human names of a chorus of Doves (as Alkman names his choristers who compete with the Peleïades). Amazons dance in honour of Artemis in Kallimachos' *Hymn* 3.241–2, and of course Amazons are available in poetry as images for unmarried young women. So this oddity of Kallimachos need not detract from the

⁶ Note the similar story of the nurses of Dionysos pursued by Lykourgos and cataseterized in Pher. fr. 90b, and its relation to the ritual groups (→§10.8).

⁷ For the possible use of Merope and Alkyone by Pher. in his Lokrian and Theban genealogies see §10.4; Alkyone's son Hyrieus also figures in Hek. fr. 34 (→§6.4.5).

general picture so far painted, any more than would the doubtless ordinary names of Alkman's Peleïades, if we had them. That one of Kallimachos' girls is Maia, fairest of the Peleïades according to Simonides *PMG* 555, is surely a nod to the canonical group.

Hellan. fr. 19, which presents his list, comes to us in two forms. The first, fr. 19a, is given by the already mentioned scholion on *Il.* 18.486 that quotes Pher. fr. 90c. Six mated with gods. The order is: Taygete with Zeus, from whom Lakedaimon; Maia with Zeus, from whom Hermes; Elektra with Zeus, from whom Dardanos;⁸ Poseidon with Alkyone, from whom Hyrieus; Kelaino with Poseidon, from whom Lykos; Sterope with Ares, from whom Oinomaos. Then Merope with Sisyphos the mortal, which is why she is faint. Fr. 19b, a verbatim quotation on papyrus, gives in the preserved portion [Zeus mated in secrecy with Maia who bore] 'Hermes Philetes, because of his loving union with her;⁹ he became the herald of the gods, ageless and immortal. Poseidon mated with Kelaino; their son was Lykos, whom his father settled in the Isles of the Blessed, and made immortal. Teygete (*sic*, Ionic) mated with Zeus, and their son was [Lakedaimon].'¹⁰

The authenticity of this fragment is not certain. The first editor noted the old mythographical style and the Ionic forms; Thomas, 'Charting the Atlantic' 16–18, has recently sought to add further arguments. He notes that, of the other major early mythographers, Akousilaos' eponym for Sparta was Sparton not Sparte (fr. 24; →§7.1.1) and that Iris not Hermes was his messenger of the gods (fr. 29). Thomas does not consider Hekataios; one might think he would not have given so orthodox an account, and the fragment lacks his stridency, but we have so little of him it is hard to rule him out conclusively. In favour of Hellenikos one may note that etymologies were his particular forte, and this one for Philetes (arbitrarily making the iota short) is adventurous (like that for the Apatouria in fr. 125); but he had no monopoly on the device. The regularity of lists of Atlantides is such that Thomas' argument about fr. 19a ('if [the papyrus] were by Hellenikos, this would be a précis of it') loses force.¹¹

Accepting the view that Hellenikos was a source for Apollodoros in this part of the *Bibl.* (3.110 ff.), Thomas notes that Lykos' translation to the Isles of the Blessed is found only in Apollodoros (3.111) and this papyrus. He notes, on the other hand, inconsistencies between Apollodoros and Pherekydes concerning the Atlantides and Asopides. If the premiss that Apollodoros used Hellenikos were correct, this would be all but conclusive proof for the authorship of the papyrus; unfortunately, the premiss is very doubtful (see §10.3). All we can say, then, is that general probability is in favour of

⁸ 'Elektryone' was in fact Hellenikos' name for her; see §18.1.1 on fr. 23.

⁹ See O. R. H. Thomas, 'Charting the Atlantic' 16 for this choice of Φιλήτης over Φιλήτης.

¹⁰ Taygete has a different son only in the deviant sources ps.-Plut. *De flux.* 17.1 (she bears Himeros to Lakedaimon) and Steph. Byz. s.v. Ταΰγετον p. 607.12 Meineke (mother of Eurotas). Lakedaimon married Sparte daughter of Eurotas.

¹¹ Lists: Hes. fr. 169–70; Eratosth. *Katast.* 23; Arat. *Phain.* 262–3; Diod. Sic. 3.60.4; Ov. *Fasti* 4.172–5; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.110; Hyg. *Fab.* 192, *Astr.* 2.21. Mousaios fr. 88 Bernabé says they were daughters of Atlas and Aithra, daughter of Okeanos, but gives no names. For Kallim. fr. 693 see above.

Hellanikean authorship. The style is early, and Hellanikos was authoritative for these specialized topics; we know he wrote an *Atlanti(a)s* or *Atlantika*, from which three fragments are cited. With regard to the style, however, we should note that the blatant poeticisms (σπηῖ, ἀγῆρας καὶ ἀθάνατος) are unique in the preserved verbatim quotations of Hellanikos, though these are admittedly few. If Hellanikos is author of this papyrus, the explanation of the unique datum offered by both him and Apollodoros concerning the Isles of the Blessed is that it comes from an older source.

When we ask what his source was, poetry is unambiguously indicated by the poeticisms already mentioned; probably also by ἐν μακάρων νήσοις in ll. 13–14 and by θεῶν κῆρυξ in ll. 6–7 (Thomas, 'Charting the Atlantic' 19). Alpers ('Hellanikos von Lesbos' 31) notes also that Apollodoros has preserved the original poem's *simplex ᾠκισε*, whereas Hellanikos has written κατοικίζει, as one would expect in prose. That poem could be the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, as Thomas argues, or a lost *Atlantis*, as Alpers argues; most recently Vergados has argued that other sources, particularly hymnic traditions about Hermes Philetes, could have been worked in by Hellanikos as well.¹²

Thomas acutely observes that the extra information about Hermes and Lykos might have been given by Hellanikos at this point because he did not come back to these two figures in the more expanded discussion that presumably followed the papyrus' summative introduction. Lykos had no further mythology that we know of and Hermes is the only divine offspring of the Pleiades. If this excerpt is from an *Atlantis* whose purpose was to account for early human history, the story of Hermes as told by the *Homeric Hymn* would be out of place.

§13.2 Lakedaimon (Andr. fr. 12; Epimen. fr. 18; Pher. fr. 39, 127, 127A, 128, 164, 172A)¹³

From Pher. fr. 39 and 128 we derive the stemma shown in Fig. 13.1.

The link from Ikarios to Damasiklos is conjectural but probable; it is based on schol. *Od.* 1.275, 277, 4.797, where we also meet Asterodia daughter of Eurypylos son of Telestor.¹⁴ Thus Elatos married his niece. We may assume too that Ikarios is father of Penelope, as he is everywhere else. Given the coincidence of the mother's name in these scholia and Pherekydes, one may wonder whether any of the numerous other siblings named by the former also occurred in the latter. The first two scholia name Polymelos and Laodike in addition to Damasiklos, and the third one names Phalereus, Thoon, Pheremmelias, Pallas and Perilaos as brothers, and 'Mede or Hypsipyle or Laodameia'

¹² Vergados, 'Hesiod, Hellanikos und Hermes'.

¹³ For an excellent overview and interpretation of this region's legends see Calame, 'Spartan Genealogies'.

¹⁴ 'Amasiklos' in the second of these scholia (v.l. also in the first) and 'Amasichos' in the third probably conceal 'Damasiklos'. Eust. *Od.* 1773.22 names Semos and Auletes as further brothers of Penelope.

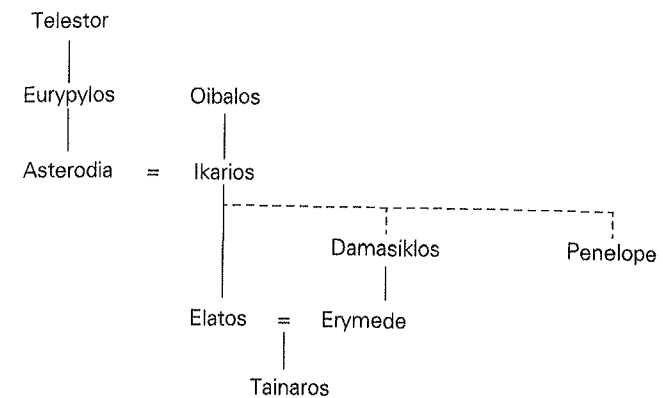


FIG. 13.1

as a sister. Iphthime is the name of Penelope's sister in the *Odyssey* itself (4.797), an *ad hoc* invention for the sake of the story; the epic poet Asios said her name was Mede (fr. 10), whereas Andr. fr. 12 said it was Hypsipyle. Of the brothers, 'Phalereus' is puzzling; 'Phereus' has more than once been suggested, eponym of Pherai (cf. *Od.* 3.488, 15.186).¹⁵ 'Pheremmelias' is unique; it does not seem impossible for a hero (cf. Mimn. fr. 14.4), but perhaps someone has misread an epithet in an epic poem as a personal name. 'Pallas' as a human name is also puzzling in this period (a few much later examples are attested in several volumes of *LPGN*).¹⁶ The divergences among these lists discourage any easy assumption that they accurately reflect Pherekydes or his source. Moreover, his Elatos is known from nowhere else as a son of Ikarios; the name is more familiar as that of a son of Arkas (e.g. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.102), a Lapith (e.g. Hes. fr. 87).¹⁷ We also know nothing about Asterodia's father and grandfather. A Damasos son of Telestor (cf. Damasiklos) occurs in an unknown context in Kallimachos fr. 33, but we can say no more about him.¹⁸ Perhaps Asterodia, daughter of Eurypylos son of Telestor, was named in the *Kypria* as Penelope's mother, but Penelope's siblings were not all named, leaving *carte blanche* for poets and mythographers to invent them. This assumption would account for the situation thus far.

Other sources offer different wives for Ikarios, and more offspring, some of whom have similar names to those above. Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.124–6) tells how Hippokoon

¹⁵ Φᾶρα/Φηραί; IACP no. 320 (modern Kalamata). In spite of Steph. Byz. s.v. it seems unlikely that Aphareus was its eponym (Robert, *GH* 311).

¹⁶ The name is attested only in Pontani's MS O (Vat. Gr. 1321, 16th c., written by Arsenius).

¹⁷ Plausibly supplemented, however, in Steph. Byz. p. 598.10 Meineke. Bremmer, 'A Body in Transition' nn. 4–5, collects the known examples.

¹⁸ D'Alessio on the passage of Kallimachos suggests that the Damasos of Hdt. 6.127 could be meant (so no link with our stemma).

chased Tyndareos and Ikarios from Lakedaïmon; they sought refuge with Thestios. Tyndareos married Thestios' daughter Leda, and both returned home after Herakles had killed Hippokoon and his sons. Ikarios then married a Naiad Periboia, by whom he had five sons Thoas, Damasippos, Imeusimos, Aletes, Perileos, as well as Penelope. Strabo, however (10.2.24), says that Ikarios did not return, but receiving a portion of Akarnania married one Polykaste daughter of Lygaïos, and fathered Penelope and 'her brothers'; these were named at 10.2.9 as Leukadios and Alyzeus. The authority cited is the *Alkmeonis* (fr. 5), whose story is of course set in this part of Greece, where these sons are eponyms. Polykaste is the name of *Telemachos*' wife in Hesiod fr. 221 (a daughter of Nestor; → §18.5.10). The scholion which quotes Pherekydes offers yet another alternative for Ikarios' wife, Dorodoke daughter of Ortilochos; this could be the same as the son of the river Alpheios, who is at home in Messenia and Polybos' father-in-law in Pher. fr. 93 (→ §12.2.1).¹⁹

The same scholion identifies Ikarios as son of Oibalos; Pherekydes is then quoted for the variant name of his wife. Strictly speaking, we cannot be sure if Pherekydes also said that Ikarios was son of Oibalos. The end of the scholion is **Pher. fr. 129**, which says only that Laertes arranged for Penelope to wed his son on account of her outstanding virtue. This is enough to rule out the story according to which the wily Odysseus himself asked for Penelope in return for his advice to Tyndareos to extract an oath from the suitors of Helen that they would stand by and defend his eventual choice (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.132). The oath was in Hesiod (fr. 204.78) and other early writers (Stesich. *PMGF* 190, Thuc. 1.9, Eur. *IA* 58), and the role of Odysseus might have been in Hesiod too (cf. fr. 198.2–5, where he is said to have known that his suit of Helen was pointless, as Menelaos would win—but he went anyway). The subscription of the scholion is 'Philostephanos and Pherekydes', and Pherekydes is missing in one branch of the tradition. Such double subscriptions usually mean the later writer is the source; he might have mentioned Pherekydes, or Pherekydes might have been added by the scholiast on who knows what authority. On general grounds Pherekydes is more likely to have followed Hesiod, not Philostephanos' much less interesting story (fr. 39 Capel Badino).

When we examine the facts about Ikarios' alternative father, Perieres, we may nonetheless feel some confidence that Pherekydes agreed that Oibalos was the father, given the strength of his roots in Lakonia. Perieres is best known as a son of Aiolos (Hes. fr. 10.27, 49, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.51), and is named by Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.87) as the father of Ikarios, Leukippos, Aphareus, and Tyndareos. Pausanias agreed about Leukippos and Aphareus, but says that Tyndareos was son of Oibalos. (He is silent about Ikarios, but he is probably Tyndareos' brother in the story told at 3.1.4.) However, Pausanias gives Tyndareos the same *mother* as Leukippos and Aphareus, Gorgophone daughter of

¹⁹ Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.80.3 also names Phanothea but he may be thinking of the Attic Ikarios (Robert, *GH* 334).

Perseus, who is the mother of all the sons in Apollodoros (Paus. 3.1.4, 3.11.11, 3.26.4, 4.2.4). At first glance it looks as if someone tried to insert the Aiolian Perieres into the genealogy, ousting Oibalos; the effect is to steal the Spartan ancestry of their beloved Dioskouroi, Oibalos' son Tyndareos being their father (see the chart below). If we ask *cui bono*, the answer is the Messenians, given their Aiolian connections. Complicating this tidy assessment, however, is the fact that Stesichoros, who some scholars have argued spent time in Sparta and composed flattering poems for its people, said that Perieres was son of Kynortes and father by Gorgophone of Aphareus, Leukippos, Tyndareos and Ikarios (*PMGF* 227).²⁰ Kynortes is elsewhere Oibalos' father. So the substitution of Perieres for Oibalos has taken place already in Stesichoros, an impeccable authority who possibly drew on Spartan sources (Fig. 13.2).

One way of reading these data is to say that two genealogies have been conflated: Perieres father of Aphareus and Leukippos on the one hand, Oibalos father of Ikarios and Tyndareos on the other.²¹ The reason might have been the close association of all of the grandsons in Spartan mythology. A homonymous Perieres would have been a tempting target for Messenian appropriation. Alternatively, a Messenian Perieres might have been made into a son of Kynortes by way of appropriating (or reappropriating) this version and making Perieres subordinate to a Spartan figure. In any case, the claims of Oibalos were clearly strong, and would have been upheld by the proud clan of the Oibalidai.²² Oibalos is father of Tyndareos in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 199.8), and the continuing strength of his case is reflected in Pausanias' genealogical manoeuvre mentioned above. Pausanias also records his cult (3.15.10).²³

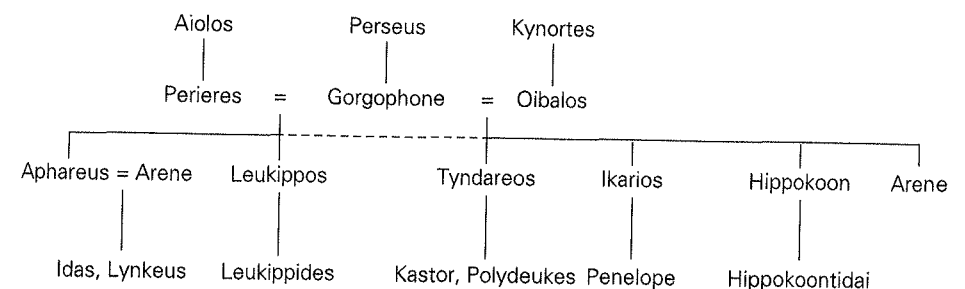


FIG. 13.2

²⁰ On Stesichoros and Sparta see Podlecki, *The Early Greek Poets and their Times* 158–60 (sceptical). Perieres was also mentioned by Alkman in an unknown context (*PMGF* 78).

²¹ West, *HCW* 67 n. 86.

²² Attested on Thera in the imperial period: *IG XII* 3.869. *Oibalides* = 'Spartan' is popular in Latin poetry; Robert, *GH* 332 n. 3.

²³ Apollodoros records both genealogies of Perieres at *Bibl.* 1.87; at 3.117 Perieres is son of Kynortes and father of Tyndareos, Ikarios, Aphareus, and Leukippos; at 3.123 he reports as a variant Perieres son of Aiolos and father of Aphareus and Leukippos, alongside Perieres son of Kynortes, and father of Oibalos who with a Naiad Bateia produced Tyndareos, Hippokoon and Ikarios. Jacoby on fr. 39 thought that this was a

About Kynortes, at least, father of Oibalos, there is unanimity that he was son of Amyklas; this genealogy goes back to Taygete the Atlantid. His cult is later attested by Pausanias (3.13.1) and scholars have thought there could be a link between him and Kynosoura, one of the four Spartan *obai*.²⁴ There is also Kynouria in eastern Lakonia, and closer to his own name Mt Kynortion near Epidauros. The stem, perhaps pre-Greek, seems indigenous to the southeast Peloponnese.

Conflict between Tyndareos and his brothers or half-brothers is a constant theme of their mythology, a conflict that extends to their sons.²⁵ Tyndareos and his sons the Dioskouroi of course must win, if with tragic consequences for the latter in their conflict with the Apharetidai. After being ousted by Hippokoon, Tyndareos was restored to power by none other than Herakles, who kills Hippokoon and his sons (a story used by Dorians to justify the rule of the Herakleidai; → §9.1). As far as myth is concerned, the Hippokoontidai seem to exist only to create the circumstances for Tyndareos' triumphant return; but several of them had a cult (Paus. 3.14.6–7, 3.15.1). The Apharetidai exist basically to fight with the Dioskouroi over the daughters of Leukippos and/or cattle, though the mythology was slightly more elaborate and we know that they too were honoured in cult (Paus. 3.11.11, 3.13.1). One can suspect that these stories were aetiological in many ways, possibly changing over time; in Alkman's first *Partheneion* it is the Hippokoontidai, not the Apharetidai, with whom the Dioskouroi are fighting, apparently over brides.²⁶ The abduction of the Leukippides has long been related to the Spartan custom of abducting brides, and the girls had a cult.²⁷ Other ritual links have been advanced with more or less conviction.²⁸

Ikarios is not really part of these fights. It is of course true that Apollodoros says he was exiled along with Tyndareos, as we have already remarked, but other sources say he collaborated with Hippokoon to throw Tyndareos out.²⁹ He is clearly not an organic part of the story, and his future, or rather that of his progeny, lies elsewhere. Links between Aitolian and Lakedaimonian myth are rare (cf. §4.3); indeed, not every source

Pherekydean genealogy cited alongside the Hellanikean main version, but the assumption that Hellanikos is the main source is suspect, and finding a way to include *both* Perieres and Oibalos is the typical compromise of later mythography (cf. schol. Eur. *Or.* 457, schol. *Il.* 2.581). Robert, *GH* 333, thought the *variant* in Apollodoros to be Hellanikean. He would be more likely than Pherekydes to adopt artificial expedients, and he used the name Bateia in fr. 24 (albeit in a Trojan context).

²⁴ There is also Kynosouros son of Pelops, however (→ §14.3).

²⁵ For an overview of the stories see Gantz 180–1, 216–17, 323–8. Idas has a well-known, independent myth concerning his wife Marpessa (Robert, *GH* 311–13, Gantz 89–90, 196).

²⁶ See Robbins, 'Alkman's *Partheneion*'.

²⁷ Abduction: Plut. *Lyk.* 15.5; but contradicted, not supported, by Xen. *Lak.* 1.5–10 (see Gray's commentary). Cult: Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults* 64–9; Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece* 185–91. The *Kypria* said they were actually daughters of Apollo (fr. 15).

²⁸ R. Merkelbach, 'Der Anlass zu Pindars zehnter Nemea', in *Le Monde grec . . . hommages à C. Préaux* (Brussels, 1975) 94–101; N. Robertson, *Festivals and Legends* 166–75.

²⁹ Schol. *Il.* 2.581, schol. Eur. *Or.* 457, Paus. 3.1.4.

says that Tyndareos went to Aitolia in his exile (leaving one to wonder when he met Leda).³⁰ There is some evidence that Penelope, on the other hand, was a figure of Arkadian myth, who for whatever reason came to be Odysseus' husband.³¹

The stories of these combats are represented in our corpus by the merest of fragments. **Pher. fr. 127** informs us simply that Arene, the eponym of a polis, was mother of Idas and Lynkeus, the sons of Aphareus. We are not told what genealogy he gave for her, but she is elsewhere the daughter of Oibalos by the Perseid Gorgophone; since Aphareus is Perieres' son by the same mother, Aphareus has married his own half-sister (see the chart above).³² Furthermore, since the sister of Amyklas, Oibalos' grandfather, married Akrisios the father of Danae, Arene's parents Oibalos and Gorgophone are related. This double if not triple reinforcement creates an unusually strong tie between Sparta and Argos; if originally created in a mutually beneficial and honorific spirit, after the long enmity of the two cities its survival into the classical period is remarkable. The sense in which the Spartans understood 'Argos' at that point was probably the broad epic sense, and the genealogies might have been helpful in supporting the claim that Agamemnon's kingdom was actually in Lakonia (→ §14.4). 'Perseid', too, brings Herakles so quickly to mind that the genealogy could also have supported Herakleidai propaganda. Perhaps to avoid the incest, Peisandros gives Aphareus an altogether different wife Polydora; Theokritos said Laokoossa.³³

Pher. fr. 127A is a tatter of Philodemos reporting that Idas wounded Kastor with his javelin according to Pherekydes. The context in Philodemos is scandalous stories of gods being wounded or killed. This is enough to establish (i) that Pherekydes told the tale of their battle in some detail and (ii) that he regarded Kastor as immortal as well as Polydeukes, unless Philodemos has assumed this. The idea of the twins' alternating mortality is perhaps most famous from the moving end of Pindar's tenth *Nemean*. There, the heroes have different fathers, and Kastor is purely mortal. Zeus allows Polydeukes to share his immortality with his brother, and they spend equal times above and below earth. This might have been the scheme in the *Kypria* (fr. 9). In the *Odyssey* (11.298–304) they are also alternately dead and alive, even though they are both sons of Tyndareos. In the *Iliad*, in keeping with its general ethos, Kastor and Polydeukes are mortal (3.243–4); their father is not named. In the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, however (fr. 24),

³⁰ Nearby Pellana, where his half-brother Aphareus son of Perieres lived, was the destination according to Paus. 3.1.4, 3.21.2, Phrixos and Pellana according to schol. Eur. *Or.* 457 (corrupt? the historical Phrixos is in Triphylia). This Messenian exile might reflect the original Spartan myth and their conflict with that region; the exile in Aitolia forges rather a connection to pan-Hellenic saga.

³¹ Paus. 8.12.6 for her tomb at Mantinea; mother of Pan, Pind. fr. 100; Hdt. 2.145.4; Cic. *ND* 3.56; Hyg. *Fab.* 224.4; Apollod. *Epit.* 7.38. Some scholars regard the link between this Arkadian figure and Odysseus' wife as a secondary development (see Moggi and Osanno on Paus. loc. cit.).

³² Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.117; Tzetz. on Lykoph. *Alex.* 511; schol. *Il.* 2.581; Paus. 4.2.4; for the foundation of Arene cf. also Paus. 4.3.7; it was a ruin in his day (5.6.2).

³³ Peisandros *FGrHist* 16 F 2 (see Ceccarelli in *BNJ*); Theok. 22.206.

Zeus is father of both (cf. Alk. fr. 34, *Hymn. Hom.* 17, 33, Pind. *Pyth.* 11.62). Possibly earlier than any of these is an inscription from Thera, IG XII.3.359 = Schwyzler, *DGEE* 216.2, dated by some authorities to about 700 BC, in which they are called Dioskouroi.³⁴ Anyone who called them 'sons of Zeus' and accepted the idea of alternating life and death would have to blame the mortal mother for their predicament, but most probably in these cases they were simply gods. When facing imminent shipwreck one cannot pray to deities who might be off duty on the given day.³⁵

Pher. fr. 172A is a scholion to Alkman's first *Partheneion* and records that Pherekydes gave 'Areitos' rather than 'Areios' as the name of a son of Hippokoon. In l. 5 Calame reports that the papyrus has ἀρητος, which is an attested name like Aretades and Arete; Tsantsanoglou in his recent edition retains Blass's Ἀρήϊτον.³⁶ 'Areitos' is in fact unparalleled, but preserves the metre and accords with the scholiast's argument: 'Pherekydes makes Areitos one of Hippokoon's sons, so perhaps here also it should be written with the letter t; either that or Alkman called Areitos Areios.'³⁷ The poetic Ἀρητιάδης (*Od.* 16.395, *Scut.* 57; cf. the spring Aretias, Hellan. fr. 51), created *metri causa*, might produce a backform Aretios; it is all but unattested (cf. *Suda* α3856), but might be considered as an emendation here.

Two isolated fragments round out this section. The story in **Pher. fr. 164** is quite obscure. Plutarch, *De frat. amore* 11 p. 483c, refers to it very briefly ('Polydeukes struck and killed with his fist the man who was slandering his brother to him'); in ps.-Plut. *Prov.* 1.74 the name is given as Eurymnos.³⁸ Libanios, *Epist.* 386.12, has a different version ('Eurymos' slandered Polydeukes to Kastor, Kastor told Polydeukes, Polydeukes killed Eurymos with his bare hands). The Olenos whence he came might be the historical Achaian town, or the mythical Aitolian one (Hellan. fr. 118; → §4.2).

Epimen. fr. 18 supposedly said that the Dioskouroi were male and female, monad and dyad, aion and physis. If these Dioskouroi are Kastor and Polydeukes, we are dealing with one of the more bizarre allegorizations of myth one might expect to encounter. It is impossible to separate out Epimenides from the Neopythagorean appropriation in Lydus, who quotes the fragment. Epimenides' theogony was certainly adventurous, and built on Orphic and other pre-Socratic ideas (see §1.2.1). Perhaps the myth of their living alternately above and below ground suggested that they might be elevated to primary principles (heaven/earth, time, and nature), to which male and female might

³⁴ Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* 319, cautions that the date is not secure.

³⁵ For the Dioskouroi see e.g. Burkert, *GR* 212–13; Robbins, 'The Divine Twins in Early Greek Poetry'; Scheer, *BNP* s.v. Dioscuri; Dasen, *Jumeaux, jumelles* 105–23; West, *IEPM* 186–91.

³⁶ K. Tsantsanoglou, *Hellenika* 56 (2006) 7–30 at p. 10. Correct my apparatus: the papyrus in l. 3 has ἀρηϊτον.

³⁷ Translation after D. Campbell in his Loeb edition, p. 371.

³⁸ Zen. Ath. 3.105 (p. 373 Miller) gives Εὐρυμνος. Eurymos is father of the seer Telemos in *Od.* 9.509 and schol., *Etym. Magn.* 397.6, Hyg. *Fab.* 125.3, 128.

then be assimilated. Another possibility is that this statement is somehow related to Philolaos' statement (*Vors.* 44 A 14) that, as other geometric figures are sacred to various gods, the semicircle was sacred to the Dioskouroi. The reason is that it encompasses half the zodiac: one alternates with the other, as they did in their lives above and below earth.³⁹ Heaven has two halves, corresponding to night and day: are these the feminine and masculine Dioskouroi?

³⁹ Burkert, *Lore and Science* 349–50.

PELOPIDAI

§14.1 Pelops (Epimen. fr. 17; Pher. fr. 37, 40)

PHER. fr. 40 is quoted by a scholion giving variant names of Pelops' mother, which as usual were freely invented. Pherekydes said Klytia daughter of Amphidamas; someone else in the same scholion (Hellanikos? see below, §14.2) said Euryanassa, daughter of the Lydian river Paktolos (also schol. Eur. *Or.* 4, schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 52); a third source in the same scholion says Eurythemiste daughter of Xanthos (presumably the Trojan river). Pherekydes' Amphidamas is otherwise unknown, but it is interesting that he has chosen a more ordinary, quasi-historical name than that of a river-god.

Pelops is almost invariably a son of Tantalos.¹ Only in two places has he a different father. One is the Towneleian scholion on *Il.* 2.104b, where Homer relates the history of Agamemnon's sceptre: from Zeus to Hermes to Pelops to Atreus to Thyestes to Agamemnon; the scholion says Pelops was son of Hermes and Kalyke. The other is the very obscure historian Autesion quoted only by schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1.37a and 9.15a (*FGrHist* 298 F 1), who oddly said that Pelops was an Achaian from Olenos. These two genealogies were probably meant to cancel Pelops' foreign origins; the first is transparently derived from the passage upon which the scholiast is commenting.

Pelops' arrival from abroad was firmly established in Greek myth from an early stage, like those of Danaos and Kadmos. As in those cases, the main point of the story for its historical audience was the arrival of the foundational hero Pelops in Greece, not the place of his departure. The link between Pelops' name and the Peloponnesos shows that the roots in Greece were deep.² Greece and Anatolia had interrelations reaching back into the remotest pre-history, which would have taken many forms. Strong and simplistic conclusions about historical migrations far exceed the evidence.³ It is of interest that the Greeks could not decide *which* part of Anatolia Pelops had come from. The earliest sources strongly favour Phrygia, except that Pindar says Lydia, as the link

¹ In early texts Tyrt. fr. 12.7, *Kypria* fr. 16.4, Simon. fr. 11.36, Pind. *Ol.* 1.36.

² Tyrt. fr. 2.15, Alk. fr. 34.1, *Kypria* fr. 16.3, *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 250, 259, 419, 430, 432, Bacchyl. 1.13, 12.38, perhaps Hes. fr. 189.

³ J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* 91; cf. §§7.1.3, 10.1.

to Mt Sipylos implies;⁴ Thucydides (1.9.2) says simply 'from Asia'; Istros added Paphlagonia (*FGrHist* 334 F 74); others then said that Pelops sported two or more nationalities.⁵

One way in which Pelops differed from Kadmos and Danaos was that he was proverbial for his wealth. This motif first appears in Thucydides (1.9.2), but may go back at least to the sixth century and the wealth of Lydia, home of Kroisos, if not before given the gold of Paktolos.⁶ The dichotomy of East vs. West, rich vs. poor was sharpened by the experience of the Persian Wars, but existed before. Lydian fashion is famous already in Sappho (fr. 39) and Alkman (*PMGF* 1.67–8); the luxurious ways were Anakreon's delight (*PMG* 481), and Xenophanes' despair (fr. 3). For the contrast of native and barbarian, implying an 'oppositional' construct of ethnicity in Jonathan Hall's term, Hekataios (fr. 119) should be given full weight. Though we cannot know how many of the particulars in Strabo's report are his own elaboration, Hekataios' sweeping statement that all Greece was once non-Hellenic must have been supported along Strabo's lines, by an appeal to Pelops, Danaos, and others (→§2.1).⁷

Another difference is the weakness of Pelopid ethnicity. The dynasty founder loses his firstborn son and curses his two most famous ones. These flee from Pisa and embark on a power struggle unequalled in Greek myth for ferocity and savagery. Atreus acquires the throne at Mykenai only by the accident of Eurystheus' death.⁸ The Pelopidai temporarily eclipse the Perseidai, whose last sons marry three of Pelops' daughters (Pher. fr. 68; →§7.1.1, §8.2); but one of them will be father of Alkmene, whose son by Zeus will found the historical clan that in turn eclipsed the Pelopidai. Menelaos has no sons to speak of (→§18.2.2), and Orestes (or his son) go into exile. Only their line survives, in far-off Aiolia—purely owing to the desire of those living in that region to see themselves as his descendants (→§19.4).

In the Peloponnese, one could perhaps find in this or that town the idea that some Pelopidai had survived the disaster, for instance in Pisa, if those are right who see the myth of Pelops' chariot race as an invention of Pisatans to strengthen their stake in the Olympic Games; they might well have thought his descendants still lived among

⁴ Phrygian: Hek. fr. 119, Bacchyl. 8.31, Hellan. fr. 76 (→§10.6), Aisch. fr. 158, 162, Hdt. 7.87.1, 7.11.4, Soph. *Ai.* 1292, *Ant.* 824–5, Eur. fr. 223.101–2 (Antiope) etc.; cf. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.15a, schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 150. Lydian: Pind. *Ol.* 1.24, 9.9.

⁵ See further Euphor. fr. 106, Diod. Sic. 4.74.1, Athen. 14.21, schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.357–9c, schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 158.

⁶ The same point in Strabo 14.5.28, Tac. *Ann.* 4.55, ps.-Nonn. on Greg. Naz. 43.1.

⁷ Hekataios may have spoken only of Pelasgians not barbarians as Strabo says, but it is possible that he used the term. At any rate the previous inhabitants were not Hellenic. Cf. E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* 10 n. 34, 171.

⁸ Explaining the transition was a problem. Apollod. *Epit.* 2.11 says an oracle told the Mycenaeans to choose a Pelopid, so they sent for Atreus and Thyestes; the story of the golden lamb ensued. At *Bibl.* 2.56, we learn that Sthenelos had already settled Atreus and Thyestes in Midea.

them.⁹ The course of events at the end of Hellan. fr. 157 might reflect this interest (after Pelops died, Atreus returned to claim his inheritance at Pisa). As various towns in the Peloponnese desired to express their relationship, Pelops acquired other sons: Alkathoos at Megara, Kleonymos at Kleonai, Argeios at Amyklai, Pittheus at Troizen, Thyestes at Kythera and so on.¹⁰ This situation suggests that 'Pelopid' is a proxy for 'Peloponnesian', which group did indeed feel a sense of community in some circumstances, but not in a strong ethnic sense. 'Pelops' and 'Pelopidas' occur occasionally as proper names, but throughout Greece, and with no obvious concentration in the Peloponnese (*LGPN*). A slightly different sense of 'Pelopidai', but still not an ethnic one, emerges from literature: in all genres throughout the classical period the term refers exclusively to the sons of Atreus and Thyestes, principally of the former. It is thus shorthand for 'the leaders of the Greeks against Troy/the Trojan War period of Greek history'. In Herodotos, for instance, Syagros exclaims that the 'Pelopid Agamemnon would groan to see the Spartans deprived of the command by Gelon and his Syracusans' (7.159); the envoy appeals to former glory, as Greeks often did in their arguments about privilege and status. But everyone knew that the efflorescence of Mykenai was as brief as it was spectacular; as violent as it was doomed. The Pelopidai symbolize that disaster; indeed, they created it: the archaeological evidence does not come remotely close to supporting such an apocalyptic account of the fall of Mykenai. This is how later Greeks chose to see the matter, and the story of the Pelopidai encapsulates their feeling. The Pelopidai did not survive even in their homeland, because they never were an ethnos; their function was to be displaced by true ethne like the Dorians, or survived by the Achaioi and the Arkades. Only a rump lived on in a new country overseas.

Pelops left his homeland to seek the hand of Hippodameia; in answer to the question, why did he leave such a rich country to go to Greece, the early tradition seems to be that Tantalos' city had been utterly destroyed as part of his punishment (Pher. fr. 38), whereas later historians—possibly already Hellanikos—gave the answer that his father had been defeated in war by Ilos of Troy.¹¹ His future father-in-law Oinomaos was son of Ares and Harpine, a daughter of Asopos and eponym of a town near Pisa (Pher. fr. 37a; Diod. Sic. 4.73.1; Paus. 5.22.6, 6.21.8); also attested as his mother is Sterope daughter of Atlas.¹²

⁹ The claim would have to postdate the introduction of the event, according to ancient chronology in 680 BC (Paus. 5.8.7); the target on this theory was the Eleians, with their myth of Herakles as founder (→§8.4.5; Mallwitz, 'Cult and Competition Locations at Olympia' 103; Valavanis, 'Thoughts on the Historical Origins of the Olympic Games'). For Eleian/Pisan competition see Scott, *Delphi and Olympia* 32–5, 158–60, 183–6. But note also Möller's strong revival of Niese's case that the rivalry is a creation of the 4th c. and has no basis in archaic history ('Elis, Olympia und das Jahr 580 v. Chr.'; in 580 two agonothetes were appointed, Paus. 5.9.4); see also Funke, 'Elis' 30–8, and Giangulio, 'The Emergence of Pisatis'.

¹⁰ Cf. West, *HCW* 109–10. See further below §14.3.

¹¹ Diod. Sic. 4.74.4; Nik. Dam. *FGH* 90 F 10; ps.-Nonn. on Greg. Naz. *Or.* 43.1. Pausanias 2.22.3 says Ilos attacked Pelops rather than his father. See §10.6.

¹² Hellan. fr. 19a (→§13.1); Hyg. *Fab.* 84.1, 159; schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 149, 219 (which also oddly give one Hyperochos as his father).

Daughters of both of these figures were useful not only for explaining Greece's prehistoric landscape, but for providing families for interlopers like Pelops, especially if their descendants had no place in the Deukalionid stemmata. Sterope is named as Oinomaos' wife rather than mother by Paus. 5.10.6 (describing the pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia) and Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.110, taking the place of Eurythoe daughter of Danaos in Pherekydes (cf. Tzetz. on Lykoph. *Alex.* 157); Hyginus gives Euarete daughter of Akrisios (*Fab.* 84.1). The number of suitors who preceded Pelops is said to be 13 by Epimen. fr. 17 in agreement with Hesiod (fr. 259a) and Pindar (*Ol.* 1.79, fr. 135); the total in various sources ranges from 6 to 18.¹³ As unsuccessful and therefore dead suitors, these are by definition nobodies, bearing arbitrarily invented names; few appear on more than one list. For details see Robert, *GH* 211 n. 4.

Each telling of the story introduces its own variants:¹⁴ an oracle told Oinomaos his son-in-law would kill him/Oinomaos was in love with his own daughter so did not wish her to marry another; Hippodameia fell in love with Pelops and suborned the charioteer Myrtilos to help/Myrtilos was in love with Hippodameia and so was happy to help/Pelops suborned Myrtilos to help (promising half the kingdom/a night with Hippodameia); Oinomaos killed himself/Pelops killed Oinomaos; Myrtilos assaulted Hippodameia, so was killed by Pelops (Pher. fr. 37b)/Hippodameia, rebuffed by Myrtilos, accused him of assaulting her/Pelops killed Myrtilos because he thought he would claim credit for winning the race.

The involvement of Myrtilos is first attested in Pherekydes, then in Soph. *El.* 505–15, Eur. *Or.* 988–96, 1548 and (probably) *IT* 192–8; he was probably depicted on the pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, whose subject is the chariot-race, but interpretation of the various figures in that composition is controversial.¹⁵ The scanty remains of the lost plays *Oinomaos* by Sophokles and Euripides are unrevealing in this respect. Pherekydes says that Myrtilos omitted to put the linchpin in the wheel so that it eventually fell off; the principal variant is that he used a linchpin of wax, which was not long in wearing away. This is the only detail for which the scholion names Pherekydes, so we cannot know how much of the rest of the report is his, but fr. 37b confirms that he involved Myrtilos. In Euripides, Myrtilos curses Pelops as he dies, which leads directly to the story of the golden lamb; Sophokles too probably alludes to this when he says that

¹³ Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1.127b–d; Paus. 6.21.10; Apollod. *Epit.* 2.5; ps.-Luc. *Charid.* 19; Tzetz. on Lykoph. *Alex.* 157.

¹⁴ Details in Robert, *GH* 210–17; Frazer on Apollod. *Epit.* 2.3–9; Gantz 540–3. Apart from the sources named elsewhere in this section see Ap. Rhod. 1.752–8, Lykoph. *Alex.* 156–67, Hyg. *Fab.* 253.1, Serv. on Verg. *Georg.* 3.7, Myth. Vat. I 1.21, II 169 (146). For the type, Hansen, *AT* 56–61.

¹⁵ A. Patay-Horváth, *MDAI(A)* 122 (2007) 161–206, though advancing a completely different reading of the scene, reviews the literature and arguments. For the art see also M. C. Miller, 'Barbarian Lineage', who notes that Pelops more than Danaos and Kadmos is made to look obviously barbarian in 5th-c. vases; she suggests this is related to his blatant perfidy (he is shown taking the oath of fair play even while the broken wheel is depicted in the scene).

since Myrtilos was cast into the sea the family has seen no end of woe. As Pelops' winged horses, gift of Poseidon, ought to have been enough to win the race, one may wonder whether Myrtilos was introduced precisely in order to start off an ancestral curse (see next section on Chrysippos). The curse might well have been in Pherekydes.¹⁶

Pher. fr. 37b, a verbatim quotation, says that after Pelops won his contest he turned back towards the Peloponnese with the winged horses and Myrtilos. Pausanias saw these horses depicted already on the chest of Kypselos (5.17.7), and Pindar (*Ol.* 1.87) mentions them as well (but not Myrtilos). The magical horses, like the magical gifts Perseus received from the gods on his quest, enabled Pelops to defeat the formidable Oinomaos and his own horses, gift of Ares, themselves wonderfully swift.¹⁷ Sober scholars have wondered how the horses and Myrtilos consort with each other as agents of victory, and perhaps they were different accounts to begin with as we have just suggested; but Pherekydes has combined them, over-motivating his narrative as he sometimes does (cf. §7.2.4).

The geography of this fragment has also caused some confusion. The route of the race was of suitably heroic proportions, from the river Kladeos at Olympia to the Isthmos; the itinerary marks out the boundaries of Pelops' future realm.¹⁸ From the Isthmos one could easily be said to turn back towards the Peloponnese. During this return journey Pelops caught Myrtilos attempting to kiss Hippodameia, and so hurled him into the sea. In Euripides' *Orestes* (993), Myrtilos is said to have met his death at Geraistos, the southern tip of Euboia. A scholion on this passage (990) even says Oinomaos was a king in Lesbos. Pelops himself came from Lydia, and we know that Myrtilos or rather Myrsilos bears the name of several historical Lesbians, and of Hittite kings on the mainland. Accepting Euboia as the site of Myrtilos' demise, Jacoby and others argued that the race in Pherekydes must have happened in Lesbos. From there, after the contest, Pelops, Hippodameia, and Myrtilos headed back across the Aegean 'with the winged horses'; Myrtilos was ejected over Euboia; the other two continued on to Pisa. On this hypothesis Pherekydes presumably put the race just before Pelops' emigration; with his bride he set out for his new home in Pisa. Obviously the whole construct presupposes that Pelops is really at home in Pisa in the first place, but Pherekydes might have heard an earlier story set on Lesbos, and combined his sources in this manner. The strongest indication that the Lesbian setting might be old is Myrtilos' name, but there are many foreign names in Greek myth that do not justify the inference that the story originated in the country in question.

¹⁶ M. L. West, 'Ancestral Curses' 38. It only seemingly makes against this that Myrtilos was a son of Hermes, yet Pherekydes supposedly said that the golden lamb was introduced because of Artemis' anger: below, p. 436.

¹⁷ Gift of Ares: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5. The names of the horses Psylla and Harpinna recur at Lykoph. *Alex.* 166–7 and schol. Eur. *Or.* 990; Harpinna makes one think of the swift Harpyiai, as Lykophron suggests. Psylla denotes a flea or a type of poisonous spider (*LSJ*): hard to catch.

¹⁸ Pher. fr. 37a, Diod. Sic. 4.73.3, Apollod. *Epit.* 2.5, schol. Eur. *Or.* 990, Ov. *Her.* 8.69–70; stables and tomb of Oinomaos at this spot in Olympia, Paus. 6.21.3.

Euripides may be the innovator here. The key is the name and extent of the Myrtoan sea. A line extended southward from the tip of Euboia could be thought to define its somewhat vague eastern boundary, but its main body was the triangle formed by Crete, Attica, and the Argolid.¹⁹ There was a small island Myrto lying just offshore from Geraistos. Perhaps thinking about this island, Euripides speculated that this is where Myrtilos died. His own conception of the itinerary is not clear, but his account influenced subsequent mythography and armchair geography.

Various sources say that the Myrtoan sea was named because of the incident at Euboia, but few are those who explicitly refer to or imply a race in Lesbos. Those like Apollodoros who accepted the association with Euboia, but know nothing of Lesbos, had some difficulty explaining the journey. Pausanias, sensing the difficulty, says that Pelops went nowhere near Euboia, and that the Euboians say the sea was named after a woman Myrto (8.14.12); he says nothing of a Lesbian starting-point, which would have solved the problem. Had there been an old tradition, known to and reflected in Pherekydes, of a race in Lesbos, it ought to have left clearer traces. Analysis of the mythographical tradition on this point supports the view that Pherekydes knew nothing of Lesbos.²⁰ Accordingly, we should understand him to mean that Pelops 'turned back towards the Peloponnese' from the Isthmus.

Also reported in Pher. fr. 37a is the genealogy of Myrtilos: son of Hermes and Phaethousa, a daughter of Danaos; others say his mother was Klymene; others again the Amazon Myrto. The first two of these choices recur in identical words at schol. Eur. *Or.* 998 except that after *ἐκ Κλυμένης* they add *καὶ Διός*; Hyg. *Astron.* 2.13.2 says Hermes and Klytie; schol. Eur. *Or.* 990 and Tzetz. on Lykoph. *Alex.* 157 say he was son of Hermes and Kleoboule ('Theoboule' in Hyg. *Fab.* 224.4) daughter of Aiolos or Aipolos. Euripides, loc. cit., implies that his father was Hermes. Apollodoros and others do not identify the mother, saying simply 'son of Hermes' (also schol. Soph. *El.* 508). Pausanias (8.14.10–11) records his cult in Pheneos, and indeed as a son of Hermes he would be particularly at home in Arkadia.

Apollodoros, *Epit.* 2.9, Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 157 and schol. Eur. *Or.* 990, all end their account by saying that Pelops went to Okeanos, where he was purified by Hephaistos (whether of the murder of Oinomaos, or Myrtilos, or both, is not stated). Jacoby and others have speculated that this detail might have been in Pherekydes; its extravagance would suit him. Strabo 8.4.4, 8.5.5 records Pelops' subsequent conquest of Lakonia; Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.159) his conquest of Arkadia.

¹⁹ Strabo 2.5.21, 7.7.4, 8.6.4; Burr, *Nostrum Mare* 6–7. These sources follow Euripides in associating Myrtilos with Euboia: his own scholia on Il. 982, 987, 989, 990, 992; Dionys. Per. 132–3; Apollod. *Epit.* 2.8; schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 162, Tzetz. on 157; schol. Il. 2.104; Eust. Il. 281.7 (but at 184.7 he says the sea is *κατὰ τῶας* around Aigina and Eleusis). On the problem see Weizsäcker in Roscher, *Lex. s.v.* Oinomaos col. 771–2; Scherling, *RE* 16.1.1153–5; Fiehn, *RE* 17.2.2247.

²⁰ See Part B on Pher. fr. 37. Cf. Sommerstein and Talbot, *Sophocles: Selected Fragmentary Plays* 2.80 n. 24.

§14.2 Chrysippos, Atreus, and Thyestes

§14.2.1 CHRYSIPPOS (Hellan. fr. 157)

There are two quite different stories about Chrysippos and the curse associated with him. The first is that Laios, Oidipous' father, abducted the boy, who committed suicide in shame; Pelops then cursed Laios. The other story is found in **Hellan. fr. 157**. Here we learn that Chrysippos was a son by a previous marriage. When Pelops married Hippodameia, she was jealous and fearful that Chrysippos would inherit power ahead of her sons Atreus and Thyestes, and so suborned them to murder him. Pelops discovered the truth, and cursed both sons and their progeny.

The stories of curses on the great houses of Mykenai and Thebes have the purpose of explaining the catastrophic collapse of what we now call Bronze Age Greece. Between the Theban and the Trojan Wars, all the great families were consumed. The two dynasties responsible for the disaster display fundamental similarities: incest on one side (Oidipous) and the symbolically equivalent cannibalism on the other (the feast of Thyestes);²¹ internecine strife and slaughter; parent-killing; impiety; hybris. In one sense this was clearly an accursed age, and it tells us something about archaic Greek mentality that they analysed the causes of the cataclysm in such terms. It is, however, difficult to show that actual curses on these families were blamed in archaic literature—specifically, that a curse in the first generation, such as that on Laios or on Pelops, worked its destructive way through to the last. Oidipous did curse his sons in the *Thebais*, but we do not know whether that was the first and only curse, or the next instantiation of the curse laid upon his father Laios. That the concept of an inherited curse was available is suggested by the role of the Erinyes in Homer's brief account of the Theban tragedy at *Od.* 11.271–80 (→§12.2.3). The situation in the Lille Stesichoros (*PMGF* 222b) is unfortunately not quite clear, but Teiresias' prophecy suggests that a cross-generational perspective and the role of fate were exploited. The hypotheses to Aischylos' *Seven against Thebes* and Euripides' *Phoinissai* say that Pelops prayed that Laios should be killed by his own son; a scholion on l. 60 of the latter play says that he prayed for the suffering to be extended also to Laios' progeny, i.e. into the next generation. They cite no authority. Much debated is the scholion to *Phoinissai* 1760, where Laios' crime is linked to his death. The scholion, which has obviously been put together from various sources (and suffered further disturbance), cites one Peisandros as its authority (*FGrHist* 16 F 10). This is surely not the archaic poet but the Hellenistic mythographer, who would indeed have drawn on various authorities; by his time, tragedy could be among them. Possible though it is that he drew directly or indirectly

²¹ But incest here too, as Aigisthos was the son of Thyestes by union with his daughter Pelopia. On the equivalence of cannibalism and incest, see Bremmer, 'Oedipus' 50–1.

on archaic epics like the *Thebais* or the *Oidipodeia*, we cannot be absolutely sure of this for any one detail in his account.²²

In the fifth century the idea of the ancestral curse really gains purchase. The prime witness is the second stasimon of the *Seven Against Thebes*, which is a powerful description of such a curse. It seriously misreads the ode to suggest that Laios is not part of the process.²³ The theological vision is that of the author of the *Oresteia*, who causes Kalchas to intone *μίμνει γὰρ φοβερὰ παλινόρτος / οἰκονόμος δολία μνάμων μῆνις τεκνόποιος* when he foresees the imminent death of Iphigeneia (*Agam.* 154–5). The hypotheses to the *Septem* and Euripides' *Phoinissai*, mentioned above, may well reflect the situation in archaic literature, that Pelops cursed only Laios, not his children; but Aischylos has extended this, and tied the beginning and the end of the story together in one sovereign pattern.²⁴ Whether this was a personal innovation, or a forceful articulation of views gaining general currency, cannot be said; but it is highly interesting that not long before him Pindar, in his second *Olympian* of 476 BC, described the fate of Laios in language that resembles not only the stasimon of the *Septem* but the parodos of the *Agamemnon*: *οὕτω δὲ Μοῖρα . . . ἐπὶ τι καὶ πῆμ' ἄγει, παλιντράπελον ἄλλω χρόνῳ / ἐξ οὐπερ ἔκτεινε Λῆον μόριμος υἱός / συναντόμενος, ἐν δὲ Πυθῶνι χρησθέν / παλαίφατον τέλεσσε*. Pherekydes, in whom Myrtilos may have cursed the house of Pelops (above, p. 430), belongs to the same generation as Pindar and Aischylos. Perhaps it is not fanciful to suggest that a growing interest in the larger forces of the cosmos and the workings of human history, such as we see in contemporary philosophy, is here reflected in the mythological thinking of the age's best minds.

Against this background we may consider Hellan. fr. 157. The fragment is a *historia* attached to *Il.* 2.105, and ascribed to him. One has to ask, as usual, how much of it can really be accredited to him, in particular the curse of Pelops on his sons. The murder of Chrysippos at least is attested in other early sources. Thucydides (1.9.2) says that Atreus was in exile at Mykenai because of this murder when Eurystheus invaded Attica, and Plato (*Krat.* 395b) also mentions the crime, but neither one mentions a curse (similarly Paus. 6.20.7).²⁵ Plato has no need to refer to it, and it is the sort of thing Thucydides

²² Lloyd-Jones, 'Curses and Divine Anger', argues against West, 'Ancestral Curses', that the scholion does preserve elements of archaic epic. See further Mastronarde, *Euripides: Phoinissae* 31–8; Sewell-Rutter, *Guilt by Descent* 49–77; Ceccarelli in *BNJ* on Peisandros.

²³ The transgression in 744 is Laios' abduction of Chrysippos, and the swift retribution is Apollo's grim oracle: no children, or the city dies. Cf. Gantz 490; Sewell-Rutter, *Guilt by Descent* 28–9. The curse would have been mentioned in the first play of the trilogy. The next time the crime and death of Laios are linked in our evidence, most scholars agree, is Euripides' *Chrysippos* (Collard and Cropp 2.459–71). The rape is briefly mentioned also at Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.44; Athen. 13 p. 602f (first homosexuality amongst humans); Ael. *HA* 6.15, *VH* 13.5 (ditto). Praxilla *PMG* 751 curiously claimed that Chrysippos had been abducted by Zeus.

²⁴ The echo *πέφρικα . . . Ἐρινὺν τελέσαι ~ τρέω μὴ τελέσῃ Ἐρινὺς* between the beginning and end of the ode reflects the overarching process it describes: inexorable, closed, and complete.

²⁵ In the next century Dieuchidas *FGrHist* 485 F 10 says that Alkathoos of Megara, son of Pelops, was also involved in the murder. Dositheos *FGrHist* 54 F 1, Hyg. *Fab.* 85, and Tzetz. *Chil.* 1.420–5 artificially combine the two stories of Laios and Hippodameia.

would omit, but the fact remains that the only other place the curse is mentioned is a scholion on Eur. *Or.* 4. This scholion has sometimes been ascribed to Hellanikos (see EGM 1.215), partly because the name of Pelops' mother, Euryanassa, is found also in the schol. on l. 11 = Pher. fr. 40 (where Robert supplied <Ελλάνικος>), and again in Dositheos *FGrHist* 54 F 1 (which incorporates and modifies the Hellanikean story), and schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 52 (a brief notice only). Can we accept this ascription?

Non liquet, is the somewhat predictable answer. The story in the scholion to *Orestes* is not incompatible in any serious way with Hellan. fr. 157: it says that Chrysippos was an illegitimate child by one Axioche,²⁶ whereas Hellan. fr. 157 implies he was the legitimate child of a previous wife; but another scholion on *Il.* 2.105 says he was illegitimate, and its wording shows it is copied from the same source as gives us the fragment of Hellanikos. This is a detail that can vary with any transcription. The *Orestes* scholion goes on to describe the subsequent careers of Atreus and Thyestes and their progeny in a manner that would not be out of place in Hellanikos and contradicts nothing else that we know he said on this subject (see next section). However, it ends with the mysterious statement that when the Herakleidai took possession of the Peloponnese, an oracle decreed that they should leave Lakeldaimon and the Pelopidai should reign. One hardly knows what to make of this; it would make sense if the order were reversed: that when the Pelopidai took possession (after the demise of Eurystheus, and Hyllos' unsuccessful assault), an oracle decreed that the Herakleidai should leave Lakeldaimon. That would be consistent with Thucydides' account (above), which explains how a Pelopid took over the rule of Mykenai after Eurystheus was killed; but it is hard to reconcile with the last sentence of Hellan. fr. 157. Scholars have thought that Thucydides draws on Hellanikos, but the story could have been known from elsewhere.²⁷

Jacoby thought the curse in fr. 157 unlikely to be from Hellanikos, citing fr. 98; but Hellanikos' story there is by no means incompatible with it (→ §12.3.1). Jacoby also noted that the descendants of Pelops rule in the Peloponnese until the return of the Herakleidai (cf. fr. 155), but that is because the curse was ended with the trial of Orestes. His final point, that Hellanikos tends to eliminate things like curses in favour of a realistic treatment of myth, has more force. Hellanikos is certainly unlikely to have *invented* the curse. It was probably invented by a tragedian, who was replicating in an earlier part of the story the internecine bloodshed that characterized this family down to the final release of Orestes. For tragic pathos the murder of a brother easily outdid the demise of a lovesick charioteer.

§14.2.2 THE GOLDEN LAMB (Andr. fr. 11; Herod. fr. 57; Pher. fr. 133)

Tradition required that the Trojan War be conducted under the auspices of the Pelopidai, but if poets could find a way to introduce Pelops into Greece without too much difficulty, explaining how his sons and grandsons acquired power was less easy (above, p. 427). Hellan. fr. 157 says that after the murder of Chrysippos Atreus returned at the head of a large force to take control of Pisa; the scholion on Eur. *Or.* 4, which as we saw in the last section might derive from Hellanikos, says the brothers had first gone to Makiston in Triphylia, quite close to Pisa but in the fifth century a dependent community of Elis (*IACP* no. 307); perhaps this story of the Pelopid's triumphant return was intended in an anti-Eleian spirit. The scholion goes on to say that Atreus married Kleola daughter of Dias, another son of Pelops, and fathered Pleisthenes, who had a weak constitution; Pleisthenes married Eriphyle (unknown) and had Agamemnon, Menelaos, and a daughter Anaxibia; when Pleisthenes died the children reverted to Atreus' care.²⁸ Thyestes married Laodameia (unknown) and had three children Orchomenos, Kalaos, and Aglaos, who exist of course only to be eaten by their father; the only son of Thyestes to survive is Aigisthos.²⁹ None of this helps us to know how Hellanikos might have filled in the gap between the death of Chrysippos and the accession of Menelaos and Agamemnon to their respective thrones.

Two items of information on this subject are offered by Apollodoros (above, n. 8). In addition Andr. fr. 11 said that Thyestes was ensconced in Kythera. This is preserved by a scholion on *Od.* 4.517, where Homer says that Agamemnon, just as he was about to reach Cape Malea, was blown off course to the place ἀγροῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατίην where Thyestes used to live, but Aigisthos now lived; but from there the winds changed again and he was able to get home to Argos. This passage presents more than one problem, among them where precisely Aigisthos is supposed to have lived.³⁰ Andron's Kythera, just offshore from Malea, is not consistent with what Homer says about the storm, but it is a reasonable geographical interpretation of ἀγροῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατίην with respect to the Argolid. Perhaps, however, Andron does not offer an interpretation of the Homeric passage, but depends on some other tradition. Kythera is Thyestes' home also in Apollod. *Epit.* 2.15 (from Tzetzes, *Chil.* 1.459–63); the context there is that Tyndareos has driven Thyestes from power and restored Agamemnon and Menelaos.

Apart from Andron the only fragments in our corpus touching on this part of the story are Pher. fr. 133 and Herod. fr. 57, on the golden lamb. Herodorus said it was not a lamb, but a silver phiale with a golden lamb depicted in its centre.³¹ The usual story is

²⁸ Cf. Hes. fr. 194, schol. *Il.* 2.249. The story above is a typical attempt to accommodate the shadowy Pleisthenes (below, n. 44).

²⁹ Cf. schol. rec. Eur. *Or.* 812 = Soph. *Atreus* p. 162 Radt.

³⁰ See S. R. West ad loc., and the series of papers in *Aevum Antiquum* n.s. 5 (2005) 5–113.

³¹ For such artefacts see Blakely on this fr. in *BNJ*. Herodorus also rationalized the ram of the Argonautic story (fr. 38A; → §6.1.1).

²⁶ Cf. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1.144d. Dositheos says a *vaîs* *νύμφη* (according to Robert's emendation of ps.-Plut. *Parallela min.* 33A p. 313d; *Δαναΐδος* codd.).

²⁷ Porciani, *Prime forme* 117–24; Hornblower on Thuc. 1.9.2.

that Thyestes, having seduced Atreus' wife, was able to produce this marvellous lamb, for she had stolen it for him from Atreus' flocks. Possession of the portentous animal was to have secured the throne for Thyestes, but Zeus then made the sun go backwards for Atreus, which was an even greater portent and settled the matter.³² Exactly how the phiale, however wonderfully made, could have performed the same role as the lamb, is hard to see; perhaps it was an ancient talisman, a gift of the gods. If Herodotos rationalized the first part of this story about the lamb, he doubtless also found a way to explain away the second about the sun.

About Pherekydes' version we are told only that the lamb was placed in the flocks because of the anger of Artemis, not Hermes as in Euripides (*Or.* 997) and the *Alkmeon* (fr. 6). We saw above (p. 430) that Pherekydes might have included the curse of Myrtilos in his account of the Pelopidai. Myrtilos is usually a son of Hermes; this is not certainly attested for Pherekydes, but we know of no other father for him. Moreover, he is called Hermes' son by the scholion that quotes fr. 37a, and by the scholia that quote fr. 37b in a note on l. 508 of the same play, i.e. four lines later. In cursing Pelops Myrtilos would reasonably have appealed to his father, just as Polyphemos appealed to his in *Odyssey* 9. So it makes sense that Hermes, god of shepherds, would cause the golden lamb to be born in Atreus' flocks.

As it stands, then, it appears that in Pherekydes, oddly, Myrtilos' curse played out not through his father's agency, but through Artemis'. Perhaps then the conjecture is wrong after all that Myrtilos' curse was in Pherekydes. But if we consider Apollodoros' account we can see how the story might have gone (*Epit.* 2.10–1; cf. schol. *D Il.* 2.106). He explains that Atreus had promised to sacrifice the finest of his flocks to Artemis, but when the golden lamb appeared he could not bring himself to do so; instead, he killed the lamb and put it in a chest in his house.³³ So we may surmise that when Atreus made his vow, Hermes saw his chance: he caused the golden lamb to be born precisely so that Atreus would break his vow, with predictably ugly results.³⁴ Yet why introduce Artemis at all? Was there another epic in which Artemis was involved, and the mythographer has put Hermes/Myrtilos and Artemis together, in the context of a curse (perhaps his own inspiration)? These questions cannot be answered.

§14.3 Other Sons of Pelops (Akous. fr. 3; Pher. fr. 23, 132)

The position of the Pelopidai vis-à-vis the other great genealogies has been outlined above (p. 427). The daughters provided a mechanism for the Perseidai to be absorbed,

whereas the sons fanned out across the Peloponnese. The most comprehensive list of the latter is found in a scholion to Euripides' *Orestes*, l. 4; next longest are the scholia to Pindar, *Ol.* 1.144c–e (Pindar himself says 'six sons' without naming them). We can surmise that some sons were named in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (West, *HCW* 110). Atreus and Thyestes are a given since *Iliad* 2.105–6; although the relationship is not specified there, there is no hint anywhere else of their not being brothers, and we may assume that they were for Homer as well. Chrysippos is also invariable. Apart from these three, the list is:

Hes. <i>Cat.</i>	Apollod.	Schol. Eur. <i>Or.</i> 4	Schol. Pind. <i>Ol.</i> 1.144c–e	Hyg. <i>Fab.</i> 84.6
Dias		Dias	Dias	
		Kynosouros		
		Korinthos		
		Hippalkmos	Hippalkmos	Hippalcus
		Hippasos		
		Kleonos		
		Argeios		
		Alkathoos	Alkathoos ³⁵	
	Alkathoos (<i>Bibl.</i> 3.162)			
		Eleios ³⁶		
Pittheus	Pittheus 'and others' (<i>Epit.</i> 2.10, <i>Bibl.</i> 3.208)	Pittheus	Pittheus ³⁷	
		Troizen		
			Pelops the younger	
			Pleisthenes ('by another woman')	
	Skeiron (<i>Epit.</i> 1.2)			

In addition we are informed that Ibykos made Sikyon a son of Pelops (*PMGF* 308); Pausanias records also Epidauros (2.26.2) and Letreus (eponym of Letrinon, 6.22.8); Tryphon fr. 87 Velsen ap. Steph. Byz. δ144 records Dyspontos, eponym of Dysponton in Pisatis. Finally, Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.76) says that Kopreus son of Pelops τοῦ Ἡλείου killed one Iphitos and took refuge with Eurystheus, whose herald he became (cf. schol. *T Il.* 15.639a). This is usually translated 'Pelops the Eleian', but one asks why so familiar a figure as Pelops would need to be explained as 'the Eleian', both in Apollodoros and in the Iliadic scholion. It seems very likely that this is Pelops son of Eleios son of Pelops, i.e. the 'younger Pelops' referred to by the Pindaric scholion. This is chronologically more suitable and saves a son of the great Pelops the ignominy of servitude, and a name like Kopreus.³⁸

³² For sources and variants see Robert, *GH* 294–7; Frazer, *Apollod.* 2.164 n. 1; Gantz 545–50.

³³ This action makes it look very much like a talisman (Bremmer, *GRC* 315–16); cf. §6.1.3.

³⁴ Euripides, *El.* 699–706, says Pan planted the animal in the flocks. Willink tentatively deleted *Or.* 997, which would remove the reference to Hermes. Accius in his *Atreus*, 37–41 Dangel = 209–13 Ribbeck², says the lamb was sent by Zeus.

³⁵ First in Thgn. 774 (480 BC); then Pind. *Isthm.* 8.67 (478 BC).

³⁶ Reading Ἡλείος: Robert, *GH* 218 n. 3.

³⁷ First in Eur. *Med.* 683–4, *Hkld.* 207.

³⁸ That Eleios should be a son of Pelops suggests Pisatan chauvinism. His son Pelops serves Herakles' arch-enemy. Another son of Pelops, Hippasos, is father of Aktor, father of the Molionidai, also fierce opponents of Herakles. Cf. §8.4.5.

Two of the sons occur in our corpus. In **Pher. fr. 132** Argeios son of Pelops goes to Amyklai, where he marries Amyklas' daughter Hegesandre; they have three sons Melanion, Alektor, and Boethoos; Boethoos' son is Eteoneus.³⁹ The relationship of the last two is given by *Od.* 4.31, 15.95. Alektor's unnamed daughter is marrying Menelaos' illegitimate son Megapenthes at the beginning of *Od.* 4 (→§18.2.2). Amyklas is son of Lakedaimon and Sparte; the relationship with Argeios and the others in this fragment is unattested elsewhere. Melanion looks like an invention to give Argeios three sons, a respectable number; the whole thing could be Pherekydes' doing, including 'Argeios', which looks like a filler-name (he cannot be the eponym of Argos).

In **Akous. fr. 3** and **Pher. fr. 20** we meet 'Kleonymos', as the scholiast reports the name, eponym of Kleonai, where Pherekydes says he was set up by Atreus (who must already somehow have secured his own power).⁴⁰ His son was Anchises, and his son was Echepolos; this man took up residence in Sikyon, where he acquired great riches and escaped going to Troy by buying off his overlord Agamemnon with a fine horse (*Il.* 23.296–9, where Anchises is also named). In heroic terms, an undistinguished career to say the least; Aristotle aptly commented that Agamemnon was right to prefer such a horse to such a man (*fr.* 165).⁴¹

It is notable that the parentage of many of the eponyms in this list was disputed, or different eponyms were offered, suggesting that they were more a matter of antiquarian invention and debate than of deep-rooted local belief. This tends to confirm the weakness of Pelopid ethnicity (above, p. 427). Many Corinthians (but no one else, according to Paus. 2.1.1) thought that Korinthos was son of Zeus; but this may be a reinterpretation of the phrase *Διὸς Κόρινθος* which meant rather 'Corinth is Zeus's country' (Pind. *Nem.* 7.105 with scholia, *Ar. Ran.* 439 with Dover). Korinthos was a son of Marathon according to Eumelos *fr.* 1 ap. Paus. *ibid.* (→§17.3); Eumelos also said that Sikyon was a son of Marathon, and the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (*fr.* 224) said he was a son of Erechtheus. Pausanias notes different views about Kleonai (2.15.1; cf. Diod. *Sic.* 4.72.1), Sikyon (2.6.5) and Epidauros (2.26.2). If Eleios is meant to be the eponym of Elis, the Eleioi would not have agreed (→§4.2). Troizen sits oddly with his brother Pittheus, and the two of them sit uncomfortably alongside the native king Aetios, with whom they formed a triarchy (Paus. 2.30.8; cf. Strab. 8.6.14). Apollodoros reports also that Skeiron, associated with Megarian topography, was a son of Poseidon according to some.⁴²

³⁹ For the text of this fragment see Part B.

⁴⁰ 'Kleonos' in schol. Eur. and Tzetzes *Exeg. in Il.* p. 68.26 Hermann, 'Kleones' in Paus. 2.15.1. Since *Pher. fr.* 20 is cited from Book 3, the context could be Herakles' encounter with the Molionidai (*fr.* 79a; cf. Part B, 'The Structure of Pherekydes' Book').

⁴¹ Kassel notes also Plut. *Ages.* 9.7.

⁴² Kynosouros might be the eponym of the Lakonian village Kynosoura (schol. Kallim. *Hymn.* 3.94, Paus. 3.16.9; *RE* 12.1.37, *BNP* s.v. Cynosura 3) or of the district Kynouria across Mt Parion. Dias was a place in Lycia, but this is hardly relevant. Some of these localities are quite obscure, and the collection of eponyms gives a quite random impression; there will have been more, but if they were more significant, we should probably know about it.

Of those sons who were not eponyms, Alkathoos and Pittheus are always said to be sons of Pelops, and had other stories attached to them; Alkathoos married the daughter of Megareus, and perhaps Pittheus married the previous king's daughter at Troizen. So these figures have more colour. There was probably some mythology attached to Hippalkimos, which would explain why he alone earns mention in Hyginus. Like Alkathoos, Pherekydes' Argeios (also not an eponym) marries an eponym's daughter, in this case of the very ancient Amyklai.⁴³

Whether disputed eponym or immigrant son-in-law of ancient eponymous heroes, the foothold of these Pelopidai is clearly precarious. The position of Atreus and Thyestes in this general scenario is somewhat different; they are creatures of the core Pelopid story leading up to the Trojan War, and as we have seen, the sources are not at all certain how to fit them into the larger mythological stream of events (above, n. 8). Genealogically, matters are complicated by the unknown position of the baffling Pleisthenes, but it is interesting that Aerope, either his wife or Atreus' (then Thyestes'), came from completely outside the usual frame of reference (daughter of Katreus son of Minos).⁴⁴

§14.4 Orestes (*Herod. fr.* 11; *Pher. fr.* 134)

The *Odyssey* says that Aigisthos ruled for seven years, and in the eighth Orestes returned (*Od.* 3.305–8). As he was born before the war (*Il.* 9.142) he was at least 18 years old at the time of his revenge; an ephebe, and a model for Telemachos and other young men. The tradition of his exile and return was universal; the variants concern how old he was when he was spirited away, and who was involved.⁴⁵ Pindar, *Pyth.* 11.17–22, says that Orestes' nurse Arsinoia removed the boy from danger when Agamemnon was murdered. Stesichoros (*PMGF* 218) also employed a nurse, whom he called Laodameia; we know nothing else, but the nurse was doubtless instrumental in the rescue. The shade of Agamemnon in the *Odyssey* says he was murdered before he had a chance to embrace his son (11.452); it need be only his surmise that the lad was still in Argos, but it seems probable. The timing is the same in Sophokles (*El.* 11, 1352), who introduces the innovation that Elektra herself rescued her brother, and handed him over to the family paidagogos.⁴⁶ Euripides (*El.* 16–18, 416) then picks up the paidagogos, but says he performed

⁴³ Cf. Burkert, *Kl. Schr.* 6.35.

⁴⁴ On Pleisthenes see the overview in Gantz 552–6; for his position in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, West, *HCW* 111. He may have been a son of Pelops in some sources, followed it would seem by Aischylos (West, *ibid.* 109 n. 183); but the Pleisthenes who is an illegitimate son of Pelops in schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1.144d is hardly this one. Compare the 'younger Pelops' in schol. 1.144e; this is an invention of someone trying to reconcile competing accounts.

⁴⁵ Full details in Robert, *GH* 1305–8.

⁴⁶ Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 117.2, Apollod. *Epit.* 6.24, Sen. *Agam.* 910–46, [Sen.] *Oct.* 63–4, Serv. Dan. ad Verg. *Aen.* 4.471, all of whom, however, say that Elektra delivered Orestes directly to Strophios (eliding the paidagogos).

the rescue himself. He links it to the imminent attack of Aigisthos; though he does not actually say when this happened, it was doubtless the murder of Agamemnon that raised the alarm. Nikolaos of Damaskos (*FGrHist* 90 F 25) also says Orestes was saved at this time, but credits the herald Talthybios with the kidnapping, now returned from Troy with Agamemnon. Several scholars have thought that Hellanikos may be Nikolaos' source, because the fragment ends with Orestes' going to Athens, where he was fourth to be tried on the Areiopagos as in Hellan. fr. 169 (→§16.1.1); the fragment also includes the rationalistic comment, which would not be out of place in Hellanikos, that Orestes was chased into exile by the family of Aigisthos 'not, as most people say, the Erinyes'.⁴⁷ Aischylos is unique in having Klytaimestra send Orestes off for his own good (*Agam.* 877–86, *Cho.* 913–14); it is part of his complex portrait of the queen.

Pherekydes (fr. 134), like Stesichoros, named the nurse Laodameia, but elaborates the tale; Aigisthos killed her child in the mistaken belief that it was Orestes. Gantz (p. 675) suggests that, had we the full tale, we might learn that she deliberately made the substitution, though the idea of killing the wrong baby by simple error is paralleled (e.g. Aedon, Pher. fr. 124; →§10.5).⁴⁸ We do not know, unfortunately, where Pherekydes placed the action. Stesichoros and Simonides said Agamemnon's palace was in Lakedaimon (*PMGF* 216, *PMG* 549), and Pindar put the vengeance in Amyklai (*Pyth.* 11.32); Pherekydes' mention of Amyklai in fr. 132 in connection with Menelaos (see last section) tells us nothing about where he domiciled Agamemnon. There are some indications that the two Atreidai were once more at home in Lakonia than Argos, before epic, with its ambivalent 'Argos', had the effect of moving Agamemnon eastwards; apart from the three lyric passages just mentioned, Agamemnon's tomb was at Amyklai (Paus. 3.19.6).⁴⁹ Andron fr. 11, discussed above §14.2.2, may be cited in this connection, as the role of Tyndareos suggests that the primary locus of the saga is Lakedaimon. The Spartan envoy in Herodotos 7.159 may also have thought Agamemnon was one of his (above, p. 428).

Herodoros (fr. 11), unusually, said that Orestes was three years old when he was stolen away. There is no need to emend the number; like Aischylos, he has sent the boy off for fear of potential rather than actual harm. Klytaimestra therefore took up with Aigisthos no later than three years after Agamemnon's departure.

Pher. fr. 135 treats Orestes' flight and pursuit by the Erinyes. Several different cities in the Peloponnese claimed to be the place where Orestes had been cured from his madness

⁴⁷ Cf. Diktys 6.2 (where, however, Talthybios hands Orestes over to Idomeneus); as Jacoby on Nik. Dam. says, the coincidence of Dikt. and Nik. 'eher für, als gegen Hellanikos als letzte quelle spricht'. See also his comment on *FGrHist* 323a F 22 n. 11.

⁴⁸ Aischylos gave Orestes' nurse the slave-name Kilissa, in keeping with his dramatic purposes; cf. Robbins, 'Pindar's Oresteia' 6.

⁴⁹ J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* 91–2, with other evidence; id., 'Politics and Greek Myth'; A. Lesky, *WS* 80 (1967) 12–14.

and/or purified, at sanctuaries of Artemis or the Erinyes.⁵⁰ Aischylos has the initial purification at Delphi (*Cho.* 1059–60, *Eum.* 282–3), followed by a period of exile, and the trial at Athens. In the *IT* of Euripides, Erinyes continued to hound Orestes even after the trial, and to gain final release from pursuit he must fetch the image of Artemis amongst the Tauroi (77–92, 968–78). The claim of Oresthasion as a refuge for Orestes might seem strong because of its name; the variations in form (Oresthasion, Orestheion, Oresteion) would not have been considered an impediment to the popular etymology. It is worth noting, however, that there was a competing eponym, of uncertain antiquity, in the person of Orestheus son of Lykaon (Paus. 8.3.1–2), and the appropriation of Orestes for this purpose could be arbitrary.⁵¹ Orestes' associations with Arkadia in the archaic period are indicated by the story of the Spartan retrieval of his bones (Hdt. 1.67–8), and Pherekydes too will have had older authority.⁵² His death in Arkadia is recorded by Asklepiades *FGrHist* 13 F 25, Strabo 13.1.3, and Apollodoros *Epit.* 6.28.⁵³ Euripides also recognizes the role of Arkadia in Orestes' wanderings, but gives two different accounts: at *Or.* 1644–60, he says Orestes must first spend a year in exile in Parrhasion, then go to Athens for the trial, and return to rule in Argos; at *El.* 1250–75, he goes to Arkadia to make his new home after the trial in Athens.⁵⁴ In both passages mention is made of the city that will be named after him. Hellanikos (fr. 32) and the Aioliens of Asia Minor had a different view about the ultimate fate of Orestes; see §19.4.

⁵⁰ Details in Robert, *GH* 1318–20; Lesky, *RE* 18.1.990. On the purification of Orestes see especially R. Parker, *Miasma* 136–7, 386–8.

⁵¹ Lacroix, 'Traditions locales et légendes étiologiques' 96. The polis is no. 287 in *IACP*. See also Hornblower on Thuc. 5.64.3, where Thucydides says it is part of Mainalia, not Parrhasion; but in heroic geography the latter term would have greater reach than it did in historical times. The MSS there and in Herodotos 9.11.2 offer variants Orestheion/Oresteion. For the supplement <ἐν τῇ Παρρασίῳ> in l. 1, see Part B.

⁵² Lesky, *RE* 18.1.966, 1008.

⁵³ For other traditions, related to the Aiolian migration, see §19.

⁵⁴ Cf. Paus. 8.34.4, who says the Arkadians agree with the first account. See also §16.1.1 n. 22.

§15

ASOPIDES

§15.1 The Group¹

THE *Asopides* do not appear as a corporation in our texts, except by implication in Hellanikos' book the *Asopis*, from which only one fragment is cited (fr. 22; →§16.3.1). But then they hardly so appear anywhere else. It was not even agreed whether the river Asopos was the one in Sikyon, Aigina, or Boiotia, and there was one close to Achilleus' territory, near Trachis, which might have been relevant at some point in the legend's history.² In this respect they differ from the Atlantides, whose more conspicuous group character may derive from choral performances and/or their life as a constellation (→§13.1). The justification for treating the *Asopides* as a group at all is that this is how they were regarded in the mythographic tradition, as visible in Hellanikos' *Asopis*, Diod. Sic. 4.72, and Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.156–85), the latter reflecting the structure of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (West, *HCW* 101). Apart from supplying daughters who give birth to foundation-figures, the usefulness of Asopos for mythography is that through his most famous daughter Aigina the otherwise free-floating Thessalian saga of Peleus and Achilleus can find its place in the encyclopaedia. Yet this only reflected the feeling on the ground, since the genealogy that linked Aigina and Thessaly, however created, was universally accepted. If it did not resonate with contemporary perceptions it would not have become so deeply rooted. The sort of feeling, and the sort of reasons, that kept these genealogies alive is best illustrated from Pindar, who uses them to such powerful effect in his Aiginetan odes, and felt the connection in a deeply personal way (*Isthm.* 8.17). Such ties of kinship could have direct political and military consequences, as when Thebes and Aigina jointly attacked Athens in the late sixth century (Hdt. 5.80): that the eponymous nymphs were sisters was the key to the oracle that the Thebans should seek help from 'those nearest them'. The Aiginetan–Thessalian Aiakid construct too was accepted in spite of its patent artificiality. The difficulties into which poets and

mythographers fell by putting these Aiginetan and Thessalian traditions together are visible when they try to explain how Peleus moved back north again, or how Patroklos fitted in (see below, and §18.3.5).

Lists of Asopos' offspring are found at schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6.144d (mother Metope; daughters Kerkyra, Aigina, Salamis, Thebe, Arpinna, Nemea, Kleone); Diodoros 4.72 (mother Metope; previous list minus Arpinna and Nemea, plus Peirene, Tanagra, Thespeia, Asopis, Sinope, Ornia, Chalkis, and brothers Pelasgos and Ismenos); the very fragmentary Korinna *PMG* 654 ii 12 ff. (Aigina, Korkyra, Salamis, Sinope, Thespeia, and four other daughters); Pausanias 5.22.6, cf. 2.5.2 (Nemea, Aigina, Harpina, Korkyra, Thebe). Bacchylides (9.53ff.) identifies Thebe, Aigina, Peirene, and others in lacunae (probably including Kerkyra). Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.156) gives Metope as the mother, Ismenos and Pelasgon as sons, and says there were twelve daughters (*sic*; see Papathomopoulos' apparatus) of whom he mentions Aigina in this passage (cf. 1.85), Ismene at 2.5–6 and Salamis at 3.161.³

It is worth listing here places in our corpus where Asopos or his daughters appear, but which we have discussed in other sections. In Akous. fr. 21 Asopos' own parentage is mentioned (→§1.9.3). Before quoting Akous. fr. 26, Apollodoros mentions a daughter Ismene whose son was Iasos, father of Io (cf. Paus. 2.16.1, schol. Eur. *Or.* 932; →§7.1.2 n. 17). Eumelos (fr. 1a and 3) tells us that Asopia was the former name of Sikyon (cf. Eur. *Hypsip.* fr. 752h.27, Strab. 8.6.24; →§17.3). Sinope, eponym of the Black Sea polis, appears in Eumelos fr. 5 and Hekataios fr. 34, or rather his quoting source (→§6.4.5); Kerkyra, eponym of the island, in Hellanikos fr. 77 (→§18.5.7).⁴ The source quoting Pherekydes fr. 37a names Oinomaos' mother Harpine; competing with her is the Atlantid Sterope (→§13.1, §14.1). Akesandros, quoted with Pher. fr. 57, said that Hypseus was a son of the Asopid Philyra (→§4.5), and Amphion, quoted with Hellan. fr. 201A, said Thespeia was mother of Parthenos, eponym of the constellation (→§20). Aigina's rape is mentioned at the beginning of the *historia* about Sisyphe in Pher. fr. 119 (→§5.3.5); here she is daughter of the Sikyonian river, and taken to Oinone as it was then called, renamed Aigina after her.⁵ Finally, in Hellanikos fr. 137 Rhode, wife of Helios, is named as a daughter of Asopos by schol. *Od.* 17.208 (where the tragedians are cited as the source of the *historia*); but other authorities named other parents, and the offspring in the scholion do not match those in the fragment of Hellanikos (→§17.8, §19.3).

³ For some other stray daughters see Wagner in *RE* 2.2.1707–8; Wilisch in Roscher, *Lex.* s.v. Asopos; Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides, erster Teil* 2.145. The variability in number and names is another point of contrast with the Atlantides.

⁴ This genealogy could derive from Eumelos as a piece of Corinthian propaganda (Bowra, 'The Daughters of Asopos').

⁵ Pind. *Nem.* 4.75, 5.16, 8.7, *Isthm.* 5.34, Hdt. 8.46.1, Eur. *IA* 699, Lykoph. *Alex.* 175 with schol., Strab. 8.6.16, Paus. 2.5.2, 2.29.2, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.157.

¹ On the *Asopides* generally see Bowra, 'The Daughters of Asopos'; West, *HCW* 100–3, 162–4; Gantz 219–22.

² For the last see Hdt. 7.199–200, Strab. 8.6.24 (who records another one on Paros), 9.4.14; West, *HCW* 100. Paus. 2.5.2 notes the argument about Asopoi.

§15.2 Peleus (Hellan. fr. 136; Pher. fr. 1, 61–2)

Pher. fr. 61 is transmitted by several scholia to *Il.* 16.175, where mention is made of Menesthios, one of Achilleus' captains; this man was son of the river Spercheios (nominally son of Boros, son of Perieres), and—somewhat suprisingly—Polydora, daughter of Peleus, who ought then to be Achilleus' sister. Homer does not say who her mother was, so the usual game began of filling the gap; these scholia record a few suggestions. Some ancient scholars thought that another Peleus must be meant, or Homer would have given some indication of the relationship; but we know of no other Peleus, and the argument is plainly unsound. Others in antiquity (recorded in the same scholia) retorted that Homer also mentions Odysseus' sister only once (*Od.* 15.363). Polydora daughter of Peleus was known also to the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 213).

Pherekydes' own candidate for Polydora's mother was Antigone daughter of Eurytion. She is also Peleus' wife in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.163, where the story is that after Telamon and Peleus murdered their half-brother Phokos, Peleus fled to Phthia and obtained purification from Eurytion son of Aktor, and married his daughter. Tzetzes, in quoting Pher. fr. 1, tells us the same thing (except that he says 'Eurytos' son of Aktor).⁶ Peleus then accidentally killed Eurytion in the Kalydonian Boarhunt, so required purification again; he obtained this from Akastos at Iolkos. Here Akastos' wife Astydameia fell in love with him, but when her feelings were not reciprocated accused him to her husband of attempted seduction.⁷ She also told Antigone that Peleus was about to abandon her, Jason-like, for Akastos' daughter Sterope, whereupon Antigone hanged herself. Her suicide is also in Tzetzes' preamble to fr. 1. Some device was needed to get Antigone out of the way so that Peleus could wed Thetis, which is the context of fr. 1. So the suicide might have been in Pherekydes.

Staphylos, quoted with Pherekydes, said Peleus' wife was Eurydike daughter of Aktor, while Soudas said Laodameia daughter of Alkmaion. Pindar in his *Hymns* (fr. 48) said she was Polymele daughter of Aktor (and that Eurytion, whom Peleus killed, was son of Iros son of Aktor; so Polymele was his aunt).⁸ The name Polymele recurs as a daughter of Peleus and mother of Patroklos in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.176 (quoting Philokrates *FGrHist* 601 F 1). This is a curious and perhaps entirely coincidental parallel to a similar alternation nearby in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.163 and 3.168: in the former passage, Polydora is Peleus' daughter as we know her from the *Iliad*, but in the latter passage she is his second wife, between Antigone and Thetis. This second wife is a daughter of Perieres; the first, Iliadic

⁶ 'Eurytos son of Aktor' also in schol. Ar. *Nub.* 1063a. Diod. Sic. 4.72.6 says he was purified by Aktor, who was childless; Ovid *Met.* 11.409 says he was purified by Akastos.

⁷ 'Hippolyte' is the wife's name in Pindar, *Nem.* 4.57, 5.27 ('Kretheis' is patronymic; Robert, *GH* 71 n. 5). The story was in the *Catalogue*, apparently told in salacious detail (fr. 208).

⁸ The same in Anton. Lib. 38 = Nik. fr. 42; Tzet. on Lykoph. *Alex.* 175; Eust. *Il.* 321.5. Eurytion is son of Iros son of Aktor also in Ap. Rhod. 1.72, Hyg. *Fab.* 14.7.

one was a daughter-in-law of Perieres. Menesthios is said by Apollodoros to be the son of Peleus by this second wife (but actually son of the river Spercheios, as in Homer). Most scholars have taken this to be a simple confusion on Apollodoros' part, though Dräger in his commentary thinks Apollodoros (Pherekydes) has corrected Homer on chronological grounds by making Menesthios a son rather than a grandson of Peleus (Peleus being an Argonaut, notionally one generation before the Trojan War). Pherekydes was not so punctilious in such matters, and the precise distance between the various sagas (Kalydon, Thebes, Argonautica) and Troy was impossible to determine or preserve exactly. Yet there could be some confusion or variation in a tradition honestly recorded here by Apollodoros. In addition to the slippage we have already noted between the two Polydorai and the two Polymelai, one may note that *Philomele* is named as the mother of Patroklos by some authorities, and as a wife of Peleus by others, in place of Thetis (a rationalizing tradition).⁹ It looks as if poets and mythographers rung the changes on a limited number of names inherited from Thessalian epic concerning these events; their treatment of Aktor was similar (→§18.3.5). In both cases, poets had to find a way to move the story back north from Aigina to Phthia, after the Aiginetan appropriation of these Thessalian figures.

In Apollodoros, after Astydameia's slander, there follows Akastos' unsuccessful attempt to arrange Peleus' death, then the wedding of Peleus and Thetis and the birth of Achilleus.¹⁰ Only then does Peleus return to sack Iolkos, his principal exploit. In Hesiod (fr. 211) he took his revenge as soon as he survived the murder attempt, and in Pindar, who has the same order of events, he performs the feat single-handedly (*Nem.* 3.34, 4.54–65). The scholiast who quotes **Pher. fr. 62** thinks that Pindar is gratifying his Aiginetan patrons by revising the myth, since in Pherekydes Peleus brought along Jason and the Tyndaridai. In Apollodoros it is a whole army. Jacoby reasonably wondered whether the change in the order of events and the mustering of an army, which made the whole thing look like an ordinary campaign, was a rationalization already to be found in Pherekydes;¹¹ but it is a mild rationalization, if it is one (heroes can lead armies too), and perhaps in Pherekydes no host mustered, only these few doughty companions, Jason being out for vengeance against Akastos and the Dioskouroi being good friends of Peleus from the Kalydonian Boarhunt and the Argo (cf. Nik. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 55). This might have been the archaic tradition, which Pindar modified; his emphatic words *ὅς καὶ Ἰαολκὸν εἴλε μόνος ἄνευ στρατιάς* could be read as signalling a revision.

⁹ Mother of Patroklos: Hyg. *Fab.* 97.2, schol. *Od.* 4.343, 17.134, Eust. *Od.* 1498.53–6, Tzet. *Proleg. ad Alleg.* II. 430, 525, schol. Tzet. ad loc., *Anecd. Ox.* 3.378.3; wife of Peleus: *Zitatennest* in schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.558 = Lysimachos *FGrHist* 382 F 8. Polydora daughter of Danaos weds Spercheios and gives birth to Dryops in Pher. fr. 8 (→§2.3)!

¹⁰ For the details and variants of these episodes see Robert, *GH* 65–79, Gantz 225–31.

¹¹ Cf. Diod. Sic. 4.53.7 *τοὺς δὲ ποιητὰς διὰ τὴν συνήθη τερατολογίαν μυθολογῆσαι μόνον τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ γυμνὸν ὄπλων τελέσαι τοὺς τεθρυλημένους ἄθλους*.

The traditional site of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis was Mt Pelion,¹² which is also the site of the attempted murder; Peleus was rescued from the Centaurs, mountain creatures *par excellence*, by Cheiron, who also gave him the famous ashen spear, *Πηλιάς μελίη*, as a wedding-present. These associations were embedded in epic formulae and lie at the core of Peleus' ancient legend, even if modern scholars can show the etymology to be false.¹³ We may assume that Pherekydes, like Apollodoros, put the wedding on Mt Pelion. Apollodoros also identifies for us 'these horses' in fr. 1: they are Balios and Xanthos, Poseidon's wedding-gift, immortal and driven by Achilles at Troy (*Il.* 16.149, 381, 867, 17.443, 19.400, 23.277–8).

With Thetis and the horses, Peleus proceeds to Thetideion (**Pher. fr. 1**), where they set up house. The place is also mentioned in **Hell. fr. 136**, presumably in the same context.¹⁴ The procession and arrival are depicted on several archaic and classical vases (*LIMC* Peleus nos. 205–12); in general, the large number of illustrations of Peleus' mythology, in contrast, say, with Orestes', is one example among many of the differences between surviving artistic and literary traditions. The legend was clearly popular.

Both Pherekydes and Hellanikos, as transmitted, identify Thetideion as a polis.¹⁵ This is perhaps the strongest case in our corpus for the mythographers' assigning polis-status to a mythological location *honoris causa*. There is no good evidence for Thetideion as a substantial urban or political entity, and modern scholars are agreed that it was simply a shrine, however venerable. A small community might have been attached. Euripides also perpetrated the idea that it was a polis (*Andr.* 16–20), but admits that it was not populous.¹⁶

¹² *Kypria* fr. 4, Pind. *Nem.* 5.23, Eur. *IA* 705, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.170, Philostr. *Her.* 19.1, Quint. Smyrn. 4.133, 5.75–6, Tzetz. on Lykoph. *Alex.* 178; cf. also Pind. *Isthm.* 8.41, Quint. Smyrn. 4.143 (specifying the cave of Cheiron).

¹³ Peleus/Pelion/the spear: *Il.* 16.143–4, 19.390–1; Eust. *Il.* 10.43.4. On the etymology of Peleus see Robert, *GH* 65 n.1, Janko on *Il.* 16.33–5. Catullus 64.37 puts the wedding at Pharsalos.

¹⁴ Steph. Byz. cites Hellanikos for the form without sigma, but in fact Stephanos is the only one to cite it with sigma ('Thetideion'). A corruption lies behind this lemma.

¹⁵ For the text in fr. 1 see Part B.

¹⁶ Also called a polis in schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4.81b citing Phylarchos *FGH* 81 F 81; schol. Eur. *Andr.* 17; *Etym. Gen.* p. 157 Miller. Designated as a sanctuary by schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4.81a, schol. Eur. *Andr.* 46, *Etym. Magn.* 278.35; simply τὸ Θεριδεῖον, but clearly not meaning a polis, by Polyb. 18.20.6, 18.2.1, Strabo 9.5.6, Plut. *Pelop.* 32.1. See Stählin, *RE* 6A 1.205–6; Béquignon, *RE* Suppl. 12.1048; Hammond, *JHS* 108 (1988) 71; Decourt, *La Vallée de l'Énipeus* 205–8; Hansen and Nielsen, 'The Use of the Word *Polis* in the Fragments of Some Historians' 148–9.

§16

ATTIC LEGEND

§16.1 Early History

§16.1.1 THE AREIOPAGOS AND THE ATTIC KINGS (Hell. fr. 38, 143, 169)

WHATEVER one might make of the shadowy early kings before Kekrops (→§3.3), by the time of Thucydides (2.15.1) Kekrops had become conceptually the first king of Athens. (Before him, Herodotos 8.44.2 may suggest a different scenario, implying that Kekrops was a king of the whole nation, but saying that the Athenians were not so called until the accession of Erechtheus.)¹ In the later vulgate, the list of Kekrops' successors down to Theseus was stable. The kings were never members of a connected family in any real sense, only in the constructs of mythographers; they were separate entities of great antiquity attached to holy places and festivals. As individuals they headed no historical lines of descent (and were thus available to be eponyms of the Kleisthenic tribes). As there was no living reason in family history or the competition of clans to rearrange the genealogies, the list was less liable than most to revision. The vulgate also had the merit of imposing order on the chaos of Attic legend, which one would unpick at one's peril.

It is commonly assumed that Hellanikos had much to do with this mythographic triumph, but one is hampered by the absence of evidence both for him and his fourth-century successors. The statement in **Hell. fr. 169** that the four trials on the Areiopagos were separated by intervals of three generations may throw some light on this thorny problem, since the trials were directly associated with individual kings. We may also learn something of Hellanikos' working methods from a close study of this fragment.

¹ Other references to kings in Herodotos: Erechtheus 7.189 (father of Oreithyia), 8.55 ('earthborn', as in *Il.* 2.548); Pandion 1.173.3, 7.92 (father of Lykos, eponym of the Lykioi; evicted from Athens by his brother Aigeus, contemporary with Sarpedon); Aigeus 1.173.3; Menestheus 7.161.3 (implied); Theseus 9.73 (invasion of the Dioskouroi, betrayal of Aphidnai); Melanthos and Kodros 1.147 (their descendants were kings in Ionia); 5.65.3 (their relation to the Peisistratidai); Kodros 5.76 (settlement of Megara); Neleus son of Kodros 9.97 (founds Miletos). A full study of Kekrops in Gourmelin, *Kékrops, le Roi-Serpent*.

The succession of kings according to the later vulgate is:² Kekrops I (earthborn; his son Erysichthon died childless);³ Kranaos (earthborn); Amphiktion (either earthborn, or son of Deukalion; evicted Kranaos); Erichthonios (son of Hephaistos and Earth; expelled Amphiktion); Pandion I son of Erichthonios; Erechtheus son of Pandion I; Kekrops II son or brother of Erechtheus;⁴ Pandion II son of Kekrops II; Aigeus son of Pandion II; Theseus son of Aigeus; Menestheus (son of Peteos son of Orneus son of Erechtheus: Plut. *Thes.* 32.1, Paus. 2.25.5–6, 10.35.8), who led the forces at Troy; Demophon son of Theseus. It is helpful to start with the list without the doublets Pandion II and Kekrops II (below), so as to lay bare the problems.

The trial of Orestes is one generation after Troy, in the time of Demophon. The trial of Daidalos must go with Aigeus. The trial of Kephalos goes with Erechtheus. Regarding the trial of Ares for the killing of Halirrhothios matters are less clear. Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.180) says Kekrops was king. Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328 F 3) speaks of Halirrhothios in the second book of his *Atthis*, so Jacoby thought possibly from the time of Kranaos; but the whole of the first book might have been taken up with events before Kekrops. The *Marmor Parium* (*FGrHist* 239 A 3) unambiguously puts the trial in Kranaos' time, perhaps (as Jacoby suggests) because Alkippe, the victim of the rape, was Kekrops' granddaughter. This might have been Hellanikos' view (see fr. 38), and there is a tidiness about putting the contest of Poseidon and Athena over the ownership of the city in the time of the first king (as one assumes Hellanikos did), and the founding of its most venerable institution in the time of the second. But let us assume Kekrops for the moment. The result is:

Gen. 1	Kekrops	Trial of Ares
Gen. 2	Kranaos	
Gen. 3	Amphiktion	
Gen. 4	Erichthonios	
Gen. 5	Erechtheus	Trial of Kephalos

² The *Marmor Parium*, *FGrHist* 239; Kastor, *FGrHist* 250 F 4; Paus. 1.2.6, 1.5.3–4; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.177 ff.; Georg. Synkell. pp. 78, 184, 188, 189, 202, 212; Tzetzes *Chil.* 1.173–87. The list in Hyg. *Fab.* 48 has suffered disturbance; in Justin 2.6 it is abbreviated.

³ The Erysichthonidai were a historical genos, first attested in the 1st c. BC (R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 289; 'Myths of Early Athens' 200); unless they changed the myth, the relationship with the founder was metaphorical, in the same way that all Athenians were 'Kekropidai' or 'Erechtheidai' (R. Parker, 'Myths of Early Athens' 194). That they chose a non-king from the king-list for this purpose tells us something about the latter.

⁴ Son: Paus. 1.5.3, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.204, schol. *Il.* 2.536–41; brother: Kastor *FGrHist* 250 F 4 (Georg. Synkell. p. 189.1 Mosshammer); but these writers say Erechtheus ruled 50 years, Kekrops for 40, which will not work for a brother; they also wrongly say that Pandion was son of Erechtheus not Kekrops (possible—cf. schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 854, and Herakleides' summary of Arist. *Ath. Pol.* p. 67.11 Chambers—but not in conjunction with Kekrops and these regnal periods). *Marm. Par.* has no occasion to mention Kekrops II, as he has no mythology, so cannot make an epoch.

Gen. 6	Pandion	
Gen. 7	Aigeus	Trial of Daidalos
Gen. 8	Theseus	
Gen. 9	Menestheus	
Gen. 10	Demophon	Trial of Orestes

Firm associations of different figures with their myths provided points of bearing, but at the same time created problems. For instance, Pandion is son of Erichthonios, but the tale of his four sons and their quarrels is a given, and one of those sons is father of Theseus (in other words, Pandion—Aigeus—Theseus is an unalterable sequence).⁵ But if you put Pandion after Erechtheus, Pandion has to wait a generation to succeed his father. At the root of this particular problem is the confusion of Erechtheus and Erichthonios, probably the same in origin, but with different names according to mythological and ritual usage, which resulted in their separation into different characters.⁶ Creating two Pandiones solved the problem of succession. The second one then needed a father, so Kekrops II was invented.⁷ He has no serious mythology (Paus. 1.5.3 and Hsch. ε2737 offer different accounts of his departure from Athens; that is all), so looks to be a creature of chronography. As a strategy for dealing with conflicting data one may compare, up to a point, the way Herodotos hypothesized two Herakleis (→§8.5.10), though in that case he was confronted by two similar yet different characters, each of them real in his own right, so he concluded they were two different people with the same name. This is not quite the same, however, as creating a cipher for the abstract reason that your genealogies do not line up, which is a rather different kind of problem and solution. The question is whether already Hellanikos was reaching for such devices.

Another problem in the received tradition is that the myth of Erichthonios involves the daughters of Kekrops; Erichthonios is clearly the original successor of Kekrops, as implied by Isokrates (12.126) and fifth-century vase-paintings in which Kekrops witnesses his birth (*LIMC* Kekrops nos. 6–11). Once Kranaos and Amphiktion were included, the problem could be eased, if not solved, by saying they were expelled from Attica, rather than reigning a whole generation each (19 years between them in Kastor). Again, we need to consider what Hellanikos might or might not have done with these two kings.

⁵ Pandion is father of Aigeus first in Bacchyl. 18.15. For the story of his daughter the swallow see §10.5.

⁶ Alternatively, two different characters with similar names, assimilated then differentiated. R. Parker, 'Myths of Early Athens' 200–1; Sourvinou-Inwood, *Athenian Myths and Festivals* 51–107. For further discussion and full bibliography see Kron, *LIMC* 4.1.923–51; Shear, *Polis and Panathenaia* 55–60. They are distinguished on a kylix of c. 440/430 BC (*LIMC* Erechtheus no. 7). A clearly pre-Greek (non-IE) name according to Beekes, *Etym. Dict.* s.v. 'Ερχθόνης (cf. *ibid.*, p. xxv).

⁷ Kastor, however, makes him son of Erechtheus, while still retaining a Kekrops II; a simple mistake on his part?

Hellanikos said that the last trial was nine generations after the first, the penultimate was six generations after the first, and the second was three generations after the first. The reckoning is exclusive ($3 \times 3 = 9$).⁸ Note too that in fr. 168 Hellanikos insists that Theseus was 50 years old when Helen was abducted. He was also a contemporary of Herakles. So Demophon is two generations after Theseus, even if he is his son. In **Hell. fr. 143** Hellanikos explains that he and his brother went to Troy to rescue their grandmother, and that while Menestheus ruled, they preferred to live in exile.⁹ Latecomers to the battlefield, they are in a way part of the Trojan generation, but Demophon's synchronism with Orestes puts him unambiguously one generation later. So Demophon is three generations, counted exclusively, after Aigeus.

To accommodate Hellanikos' statement in fr. 169 we need to find a way to make the trials in the table above equidistant, by losing a generation between Kekrops and Erechtheus, and adding one between Erechtheus and Aigeus. The whole investigation could admittedly be dispensed with if Hellanikos' statement was based on nothing more than a feeling that the trials *ought* to be equidistant. But he was the first chronographer, author of the *Priestesses of Hera in Argos*, and his tone here is that of someone touting a discovery. As Jacoby argued, this fragment may indeed come from that book; it probably did not come from the *Atthis*, since the three trials before Orestes would already have been treated, and would not have been recapitulated in this manner. So the assumption is that his symmetry was based on research. Our investigation must also assume that Hellanikos' scheme was broadly similar to the later vulgate; that is, we will not consider theoretically possible schemes whereby he had Kranaos but not Amphiktion, or Kekrops II but not Pandion II.

We may be confident that Hellanikos distinguished Erichthonios (fr. 39) from Erechtheus (fr. 40, 169). If Hellanikos included Kranaos and Amphiktion, his motive might have been to put Kekrops that much earlier in time, in the interests of synchronism with other stemmata. In the later *Atthis* tradition, Deukalion was synchronized with Kekrops. Jacoby (Introduction to *FGrHist* 323a n. 121 and on F 23) noted that in Hell. fr. 125 there are 13 generations from Deukalion to Medon (see the table below, p. 452), whereas the *Marmor Parium* makes the same interval 500 years, i.e. fifteen generations. He also noted that in later chronography there are about 370 years between Kekrops' first year and the end of the Trojan War, i.e. eleven generations. With Kranaos and Amphiktion included, but without Pandion II and Kekrops II, there are nine generations, and this would correspond to the account of the trials in fr. 169. On this

⁸ The numbers given are cardinal. 'When periods of time are reckoned in ordinal numbers, it is standard Greek practice to include both terminal years; with cardinal numbers it is usual to include the year in which a state of affairs began but not that in which it ended, but it is possible to include both terminal years': Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* 193; cf. *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 220–1.

⁹ Plut. *Thes.* 35 says Theseus himself sent the boys away: this would allow them to be that much younger.

reading, then, Hellanikos had Kranaos and Amphiktion, but not Pandion II and Kekrops II, who were added later. Not long after Hellanikos a stemma incorporating Kekrops II and Pandion II is (perhaps) implied by Andron fr. 13 (see below, p. 465).

But we still need to create equal space between the trials. An argument against including Kranaos and Amphiktion is their very insubstantial nature. Both figures had old roots, to be sure, but so did Ogygos, Aktaios, and others; it was an arbitrary choice of kings for this purpose on the part of whoever made it. Amphiktion may go back as far as the archaic period (→§4.4 n. 71), but Kranaos is a fairly empty figure, inferred from Athens' traditional epithet 'rocky' (*Kpavaá* means 'Acropolis' at Ar. *Lys.* 481, and *Kpavaaí* means 'Athens' at Ar. *Av.* 123, where see Dunbar). In Aischylos (*Eum.* 1011), the Athenians are called 'children of Kranaos', which helpfully shows that he was personified early;¹⁰ Herodotos, however, implies that Kranaos lived before Kekrops (8.44.2). If we omit Kranaos and Amphiktion, but accept Jacoby's argument above that the 300 years/nine generations go back to Hellanikos, we could make up the nine generations by inserting Pandion II and Kekrops II, which at the same time produces the equal distances between the trials, and allows Pandion I to succeed his father. This is Scheme A below. The figures who were added later, on this reconstruction, were not Pandion II and Kekrops II, but Kranaos and Amphiktion; they were in place by the time of Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328 F 5).

To have Hellanikos include *both* Kranaos/Amphiktion *and* Pandion II and Kekrops II is more difficult (Scheme B below). With all these characters in the stemma we have five generations between Kekrops I and Erechtheus to account for: Kekrops I, Kranaos, Amphiktion, Erichthonios, Pandion I, Erechtheus. We need to lose two of them: the only way to do that is to put the trial of Ares in the time of Kranaos, and suppose that Kranaos and Amphiktion count for only one generation between them. Later chronographers allot only nine years to Kranaos, twelve to Amphiktion. This seems less likely for Hellanikos, though not impossible.

The two schemes, then, are:

A	B
1 Kekrops, <i>Trial of Ares</i>	Kekrops I
2 Erichthonios	Kranaos/Amphiktion, <i>Trial of Ares</i>
3 Pandion I	Erichthonios
4 Erechtheus, <i>Trial of Kephalos</i>	Pandion I
5 Kekrops II	Erechtheus, <i>Trial of Kephalos</i>
6 Pandion II	Kekrops II
7 Aigeus, <i>Trial of Daidalos</i>	Pandion II

¹⁰ The genos of the Charidai had his priesthood, and Pausanias saw his tomb at Lamptrai (1.31.8); Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 179 (p. 147 for Amphiktion).

8	Theseus	Aigeus, <i>Trial of Daidalos</i>
9	Menestheus	Theseus
10	Demophon, <i>Trial of Orestes</i>	Menestheus
11		Demophon, <i>Trial of Orestes</i>

Both schemes need to extend the genealogy of Menestheus in a way not elsewhere attested, though as he straddles the generation of Theseus and his sons this is perhaps not too serious. Both schemes also require Hellanikos to think partly in terms of years, partly in terms of generations: in both, as we saw, Theseus is 50 years old and his son is two 'generations' after him; in addition, in B2 'generation' really means 'slot in my table'. The process of converting generations to years is visible already in Herodotos, *grosso modo*, but dealing in fractional generations of arbitrary lengths is something one associates rather with Hellenistic chronography.¹¹ On the other hand Hellanikos' undertaking in the *Hiereiai* certainly required him to resort to such devices to make his events and generations line up; indeed, in that work one is no longer dealing with generations but with succession of priesthoods.¹² In fr. 79b, for instance, he dates an event both to the third generation before Troy and to the twenty-sixth year of the priestess Alkyone's tenure.

A reason for preferring scheme A may emerge when one collates it with the genealogy of Kodros in fr. 125. Unfortunately fr. 125 is silent about affairs in Athens after Demophon and before Melanthos. In Kastor, *FGrHist* 250 F 4, Demophon is succeeded by Oxyntes, Apheidas, and Thymoites, who between them account for only 21 years before Melanthos shows up. Perhaps this was in Hellanikos too; Thymoites, at least, abdicates in favour of Melanthos in fr. 125.¹³ Apheidas son of Oxyntes ruled for only one year, his brother Thymoites for eight; but if Hellanikos is really counting generations, not years, father Oxyntes will count for one generation, his sons for another:

fr. 125	fr. 125	scheme A
0		Kekrops I
1	Deukalion	Erichthonios
2	Hellen	Pandion I
3	Aiolos	Erechtheus
4	Salmoneus	Kekrops II
	(<i>Aiolos</i> <i>Kretheus</i>)	

¹¹ The 22 Heraklid kings who ruled for 505 years at Hdt. 1.7 in all likelihood derives from a written list: Burkert, 'Lydia between East and West'.

¹² Jacoby (e.g. *Atthis* 348 nn. 28, 30) argued that it was Hellanikos who introduced the idea of ten-year archons into Athenian history, for chronographical reasons.

¹³ Paus. 2.18.8 gives Hellanikos' genealogy for the Neleidai (except that Boros and Penthilos are reversed) and concludes 'Melanthos deprived Thymoites son of Oxyntes of the kingship; Thymoites was the last of the Theseidai to rule the Athenians.' Thymoites was an illegitimate son who murdered his brother (Demon *FGrHist* 327 F 1).

5	Tyro	<i>Pheres</i>	Pandion II
6	Neleus	Admetos	Aigeus
7	Periklymenos	Eumelos	Theseus
8	Boros	Zeuxippos	Menestheus
9	Penthilos	Armenios	Demophon
10	Andropompos	= Henioche	(<i>Oxyntes</i> <i>Apheidas</i> /Thymoites)
11	Melanthos (<i>Return of the Herakleidai</i>)		Melanthos
12	Kodros		Kodros
13	Medon, Neleus (<i>Ionian Migration</i>)		Medon, Neleus

On this arrangement, the ancestry of Henioche in the middle column comes out about right, for Aiolos' son Xouthos married Erechtheus' daughter Kreousa. Normally, the husband would be in the previous generation, but there are lots of exceptions to this rule. However, the table does not synchronize Kekrops and Deukalion, and does not allow Amphiktion son of Deukalion to be king before Kekrops.

To align Kekrops with Deukalion, thus making Hellanikos conform to later Atthidogaphy, one would have to assume further that Oxyntes, his sons, and Melanthos account for only one generation between them. This is what Kastor did, as mentioned above. Dropping the right-hand column by one generation also restores Erechtheus' daughter to the generation after her husband. One could imagine some kind of story allowing Deukalion's son Amphiktion to squeeze in before Kekrops started the list proper. To make Scheme B line up we would need to lose yet another generation, which does not seem possible.

If Scheme A is Hellanikos', it means that he started by observing the link between the Aiolid and the Attic lines represented by the marriage of Xouthos and Kreousa. He might also have started with a belief that Kekrops was contemporary with Deukalion; or this might have resulted from his calculations. He then took the necessary steps to produce the alignments required elsewhere in the stemma by the stories. This meant inventing Pandion II and Kekrops II. He did not accept that Kranaos and Amphiktion were kings on equal footing with Kekrops and the others, any more than Ogygos or Aktaios. Having worked this out in the *Atthis* and the *Deukalionia*, when he came to write the *Hiereiai* he could produce the magnificent, rabbit-from-the-hat statement of fr. 169.¹⁴

¹⁴ Ledl, *Studien zur älteren athenischen Verfassungsgeschichte* 123–42, reached the same result. He argued further (126) that when Skamon (Hellanikos' son) *On Inventions*, *FGrHist* 476 F 3, made Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos daughters of Aktaion (Aktaios), a king before Kekrops, they could not have waited three or more generations to be involved with Erichthonios; that is, in his list Kranaos and Amphiktion also preceded Kekrops. Since Skamon's genealogy is wayward we cannot be sure about his version of the story (whether Erichthonios was even involved), but the suggestion is worth repeating.

Hellán. fr. 38 also treats the history of the Areiopagos; the second part of the name, according to Hellánikos, did not come from *πάγος* 'hill' but from the fact that Ares 'fixed' his spear there (*ἔπηξε*) during the trial; another example of this writer's fondness for etymology.¹⁵ The point comes from Attic (and perhaps other cities') legal procedure: a spear fixed on the grave indicated the family's belief that the death had been violent.¹⁶ The occasion of the trial of Ares is the same in all sources, his killing of Halirrhothios, son of Poseidon, for the rape of his daughter Alkippe (whose mother was 'Agrauros' daughter of Kekrops, says Hellánikos).¹⁷ Notoriously at variance with this is Aischylos' *Eumenides*, who makes Orestes' trial on the Areiopagos the first murder trial anywhere.¹⁸ Aischylos must therefore invent a new aition for the name of the hill, to do with the Amazons (*Eum.* 685–90). He also makes the Erinyes the prosecutors, whereas Hellánikos in fr. 169 has unnamed Lakedaimonians;¹⁹ and Aischylos has a jury of Athenians instead of gods, who are the jury in Eur. *Or.* 1650–2, Dem. 23.66, 74, Aristeid. *Panath.* 48. The question is which of these variants were in the tradition before Aischylos, and how Hellánikos then reacted to both. A human jury is a much better aition for Aischylos' purposes than a divine one; his trilogy justifies the radical reforms of the Areiopagos Council in 462, and his innovation is not that Orestes was tried on the Areiopagos but that he was tried by its Council. It seems less likely that the jury of gods in Euripides and others was the innovation, on top of Aischylos' innovation.²⁰ So the story before Aischylos involved a trial with a jury of gods; and if a jury of gods, on the Areiopagos and not the Delphinion, which historically was the court for justifiable homicide (but in any case is never said to be the location of Orestes' trial, even if in mythical time it

¹⁵ See Part B. Note that the first part of the explanation, which is repeated in Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 3, and attributed to Apollodoros (244 F 94), recurs exactly in Paus. 4.5.2.

¹⁶ Dem. 47.69; Harp. e81 quoting Dem., and Istros *FGrHist* 334 F 14; Pollux 8.45; Phot. δ722, ε1419; *Anecd. Bekk.* 1.188.14–15, 23730–2. Rohde, *Psyche* 1.325–6; Nilsson, *GGR* 1.100; MacDowell, *Athenian Homicide Law* 16.

¹⁷ Only 'Aglauros' is attested inscriptionally, including on vases: Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* 1.478, 2.754. In literature 'Agrauros' is favoured in Attidography (apart from Hellán. and, probably because of him, Androtion *FGrHist* 324 F 1, Philochoros 328 FF 105–6, 183, Amelesagoras 330 F 1) and mythography (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.180), but 'Aglauros' is the form given by editors of drama (Eur. *Ion* 23 [but v.l. Agraúl-], 496 [Agraúl- MS], Ar. *Thesm.* 533 [Agraúl- MS]), by historiography (Hdt. 8.53.1) and oratory (Dem. 19.303 [but v.l. Agraúl-], Lykourg. *Leok.* 77 = the epebes' oath, Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI* no. 88 [Agraúl- Poll. 8.105]). The form Agraúl- might have arisen by association with the deme Agryle of the tribe Erechtheis, often written Agraule (cf. Steph. Byz. 4.45), and there is a case for restoring Agrauros where it is better attested in MSS, as coming from living speech. Hellánikos' son Skamon in the *Π. ἐρημάτων*, *FGrHist* 476 F 3, gives (if reported correctly) 'Aglauros' daughter of Aktaion (→ §7.1.4).

¹⁸ Agreeing with Hellán. are Eur. *El.* 1258–64, *IT* 945–6, Dem. 23.66, Deinarch. 1.87, Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 3, *Marmor Parium*, *FGrHist* 239 A 3, Nik. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 FF 25, 48, *P.Oxy.* 4306 fr. 11, Luc. *Salt.* 39, Paus. 1.21.4, 1.28.5, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.180.

¹⁹ Cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 6.25 with Frazer. Eur. *Or.* 1650 and Dem. 23.66 have adopted Aischylos' version in this respect.

²⁰ Lesky, *RE* 18.1.981; Stephanopoulos, *Umgestaltung des Mythos durch Euripides* 151; Sommerstein, *Aeschylus: Eumenides* 5. On the history of the Areiopagos see the discussion and references given by P.J. Rhodes, *BNP* s.v. Areopagus, and his commentary on the *Ath. Pol.*

already existed, having been created for Theseus).²¹ We know too that another myth had Orestes come to Athens during his flight after the murder; this is the aition of the Choes, second day of the Anthesteria.²² The Erinyes were already chasing Orestes on that occasion, but Aischylos is probably also responsible for the remarkable role he assigns them in his play, where they are anthropomorphized and brought on stage as prosecutors. If the story of Orestes' trial predated Aischylos, the accusers would have been Klytaimestra's relatives, as in Hellánikos; religious purification did not in any way preclude legal proceedings, as in ordinary life. Hellánikos' version, then, owes to Aischylos only the human jury, which his narrative in fr. 169 implies; given that a period of negotiation about the court's jurisdiction preceded the trial, he can hardly have imagined that the Athenians then snapped their fingers to summon a divine jury.

We saw above that the tidy three-generation intervals fell serendipitously out of Hellánikos' reconstruction; the intervals did not determine the reconstruction. Yet he naturally drew attention to the symmetry which his methodology predisposed him to discover. In other accounts of the history of the Areiopagos, the defining moments are two only: the trial of Ares, and the trial of Orestes.²³ This was perhaps the ordinary popular conception.

§16.1.2 MOUNICHOS (Hellán. fr. 42)

Mounichos,²⁴ one would have thought, is straightforwardly the eponym of Mounichia (Eur. *Hipp.* 761), the founder there of the cult of Artemis Mounichia (*Suda* ε937). **Hellán.**

²¹ Wachsmuth, *RE* 4.2.2513, gives the references. No one but an antiquarian in Athens would have wondered how the *φόνος δίκαιοι* of Ares and Orestes, the *φόνος ἀκούσιος* of Kephalos, and the *φόνος ἐκ προνοίας* of Daidalos consorted with the other courts founded to hear such cases, and given their own aitia. For discussion see Jacoby on *FGrHist* 323a F 1; MacDowell, *Athenian Homicide Law and The Law in Classical Athens* 113–18; A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* 2.36–43; Rhodes on Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 57.2–3; Harding, *The Story of Athens* 206–7. Note incidentally Nünlist's point ('The Motif of the Exiled Killer' 639–40) that we are not justified in assuming that for Hellánikos in fr. 169 the killing of Prokris was unintentional.

²² The myth is first attested in Eur. *IT* 947–60, but is probably older; R. Parker, *Miasma* 386; id., *Polytheism and Society* 293; Humphreys, *The Strangeness of Gods* 249. It would have been tidy if Orestes had been purified by Demophon, but this was not the case (Pher. fr. 135:→§14.4). A mythographer accepting both stories would have had Orestes go from Athens to wherever he was purified, and return for the trial; otherwise Orestes would have been tried on the holy Areiopagos while still polluted, and unable to speak to or be spoken to by anybody (cf. Diktys *FGrHist* 49 F 2). The two stories might have arisen in tandem or separately as a result of some association of Orestes with Attica: in *Od.* 3.307 Orestes returns from Athens (rather than Phokis) to kill Aigisthos (we know nothing else about this). There is no obvious way to bring in the bogey Orestes, on whom see Dunbar on Ar. *Av.* 712.

²³ Eur., Dem., Deinarch., Paus. locc. citt. (n. 18). Mythographers (Nik. Dam., Apollod., *P.Oxy.* 4306) have all four. Diodoros mentions the trial of Daidalos (4.76.7). The trial of Kephalos might have figured in Sophokles' *Prokris* (fr. 533 *κολασταὶ κάπτιμνηται κακῶν*; so Pearson ad loc.). Pher. fr. 34 does not really tell us whether the trial of Kephalos was known to him; below, p. 462.

²⁴ On the spelling see Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* 1.264–5, 2.723, *NGSL* 1.40; the spelling with upsilon is 'very rare at all periods'. Wilamowitz's argument, *Aus Kydathen* 137 n. 62, that Mounitos is identical with Mounichos has found no agreement (see e.g. Lightfoot, *Parthenius* 480 n. 243; Jacoby on *FGrHist* 323a F 5 n. 10).

fr. 42, however, offers us an unusual story which implies that he was not living there, but (if we can trust the scholiast's wording in fr. 42b) in Athens. In §5.5 we conjectured that the Thracians who evicted the Minyan refugees (who were taken in by Mounichos, and named Mounichia after him in gratitude) were the same as those who evicted the Boiotoi, or their ancestors, from Boiotia. This could give a clue as to the date of this event, if we could be at all sure of Hellanikos' reconstruction of early Boiotian history (→ §5.4.1). If the Boiotoi were already so named when forced from their original home, and if they were named after Boiotos and not the cow who gave her name to Boiotia in Hellan. fr. 51, then we can produce a synchronism by way of the table on p. 452 above: Boiotos is either one or two generations after Aiolos (two for Hellanikos, it was argued in §5.4.1); if the original Boiotos was born in Thessaly, then we need a generation for the ἀποδασμός to migrate to Boiotia, and perhaps another for the Thracians to show up. That would place the Minyan arrival in Attica, and the 'reign' of Mounichos, in the time of Theseus. That in turn fits with a squat lekythos of c. 420 BC (*LIMC* Amazones no. 243), showing Mounichos together with Phaleros, Phylakos, Teithras and Theseus fighting Amazons.

All of this is of course totally uncertain, but perhaps one inference can be drawn: if Mounichos is to be an ancient king before Kekrops, then the Thracian invasion that evicted the Minyans would have to be earlier than Deukalion; and if Hellanikos was alive to these synchronisms, that seems a very unlikely result (see again the table on p. 452). So we should place Mounichos sometime *after* Kekrops, and inquire how his kingship sits with that of the canonical kings. We could suppose that in Hellanikos Mounichos' dominion was the whole of the Peiraieus (not Athens: thus the scholiast is speaking loosely when he says the Minyans went 'to Athens'), from which he allotted the eventual Mounichia to the refugee Minyans. Hellanikos calls him a βασιλεύς in the old, heroic sense; and note that before the synoecism the smaller centres were quasi-independent (Thuc. 2.15.1). When Thucydides calls the local rulers ἄρχοντες he nicely sidesteps the problem; if they had their own Boulai and declared war on each other they are tantamount to βασιλεῖς. (For another example of this ambivalence, see below on Kolainos.) Popular Attic tradition about Mounichos was doubtless straightforward: he was the eponym of Mounichia, full stop. It must have been the Minyans who led Hellanikos to introduce his refinement, but we have no idea what made him detect their presence there.

The fragment is cited from Book 2, which Jacoby was convinced treated the historical period; he argued therefore that the harbour came up in the context of the fall of the Peisistratidai (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 19.2). In this he has been followed by some eminent historians, who have built ingenious hypotheses on these foundations. The whole construction was elegantly demolished by Asheri,²⁵ who perhaps did not emphasize

²⁵ Asheri, 'Ellanico, Jacoby e la «tradizione alcmeonida»'.

enough that its premiss, that there were only two books in the *Atthis*, rests on an unnecessary emendation in fr. 46A (see Part B on fr. 46A and below, p. 484).

§16.1.3 ARTEMIS KOLAINIS (Hellan. fr. 163)

Artemis Kolainis was important in the life of the deme Myrrhinous (*IG* II² 1182), where she had a sanctuary, and was familiar enough to a wider audience to provide a point of reference for a joke at Ar. Av. 872, whose scholia quote **Hellan. fr. 163**. Pausanias saw her ξόανον (1.31.4) and adds that she was so named after Kolainos, a king before Kekrops ('or as the Myrrhinousians say, archon'). Jacoby (on *FGrHist* 325 F 3) thought that Kolainos was a mere scholar's invention, but would the invention have included the idea that he was a king before Kekrops? Pausanias knows further mythology about Kolainos at 4.34.8: he supposedly led a group of colonists to Kolonides in Messenia (cf. Kelainos son of Phlyos at 4.1.5; Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* 217).²⁶ Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 178, suggests that Kolainos might also have been the archetypal first priest of the goddess (we happen to know she had one and not a priestess).²⁷

§16.1.4 ERICHTHONIOS AND THE PANATHENAIA (Hellan. fr. 39)

That Erichthonios son of Hephaistos conducted the first Panathenaia was an item of belief not only for **Hellanikos (fr. 39)** but also for Androktion (*FGrHist* 324 F 2), Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328 FF 8–9) and the *Marmor Parium* (*FGrHist* 239 A10) in the Atthidographic tradition; the same tradition is reflected in Eratosth. *Katast.* 13 = Eur. fr. 925, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.190 and Hyg. *Astr.* 2.13 as well as sources that mention only his invention of the chariot (which inevitably goes with the Panathenaia): Verg. *Georg.* 3.113, Pliny *NH* 7.202, Ael. *VH* 3.38. Alongside this was a view that the 'Athenaia' were founded by Erichthonios, but the Panathenaia by Theseus at the time of the synoecism: Plut. *Thes.* 24.3; Paus. 8.2.1; Phot. s.v. Παναθήναια (*Suda* π151, schol. Pl. *Parm.* 127a); and doubtless this was Istros' intention (*FGrHist* 334 F 4, quoted with Hellanikos). Then there is Pherekydes fr. 2 (below, §16.3.1), which says clearly that the Panathenaia were established in the archonship of Hippokleides; and Eusebios (p. 102b 4–5 Helm), who dated the foundation of the Panathenaia to 566/5 (which could be the date of Hippokleides, though there is no independent evidence for that).²⁸ It is clear that the

²⁶ Artemis Kolainis was known also to Kallimachos fr. 200b; Agamemnon supposedly founded a cult to this goddess in Amarynthos near Eretria. Kerkhecker, *Callimachus' Book of Iambi* 211.

²⁷ Bremmer, 'Athenian Civic Priests' 224, notes that priests for goddesses are not abnormal (for priests of Artemis Kolainis see *IG* II² 4817, 5057, Metagenes fr. 1 K.–A.), so this does not in itself show that there must have been a founder-figure; but it is possible.

²⁸ R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 89 n. 89; see also his *Polytheism and Society* 254–6 for the aitia of the Panathenaia, including the puzzling one supposedly from Aristotle (fr. 637) that the festival was celebrated 'for the death of Aster, the Giant killed by Athena' (cf. *Meropis* SH 903A). A second scholion on Aristeid. 1.362 (3.323 Dindorf; the first quotes Aristotle) attributes the founding of the Great Panathenaia to Peisistratos, and the Lesser to Erichthonios.

Panathenaia were reorganized and aggrandized in the mid-sixth century, though much remains obscure about the previous form of the festival, and about how we are to map the Lesser and Greater Panathenaia onto this reform.²⁹ The mythographical question is what we do with the statement of Pherekydes: how does Hippokleides consort with Erichthonios or Theseus? One assumes that, whatever he did, Hippokleides appealed to mythical precedent; but there is no way of knowing whether the myth was modified or invented at this stage.³⁰ Erichthonios might already have been differentiated from Erechtheus and acknowledged as the founder of the pre-existing festival, whose aetiology was now modified; or, if the two figures were first separated at this time, Erechtheus too might have needed his mythology adapted. Early artistic representations do not help, as the figure is not labelled, and could be one or the other. The first mention of Erichthonios is in the *Danais* fr. 2, of uncertain date (allusion to the story of his birth), then Xenophanes *Vors.* 21 B 4 = fr. 4 Lesher (Erichthonios supposed to have invented coinage).

Theseus, whose efflorescence begins in the late sixth century, is the newcomer in this aetiology, but one can see why people would wish to find a place for him: the festival of all Athenians is inseparable from the idea of synoecism. These competing myths reveal a central dynamic about Athenian self-consciousness, paralleled in other cities but finding particularly acute expression in Athens because of the antiquity of continuous settlement.³¹ Myths of the relatively young synoecism had to absorb and adapt far older ones with deep roots in the regions. Although this process of adaptation was already well under way by the time our written evidence begins, the ongoing tension is visible and requires careful reading, whether the myth involves Eleusis vs. Athens (Eumolpos), regions vs. Athens (sons of Pandion), immemorial powers of earth and cult vs. the younger architects of civic order (Erechtheus/Erichthonios vs. Theseus). Rather than reading any of them in a straightforwardly historical sense, even where we can see that a diachronic development had its effect on the myths, one must ask why it made sense to retain the tension on the surface, rather than modifying the myths in such a way that it was effaced; the myth of Erechtheus could have been adapted to do the work that the Theseus myth did, for instance, or the Theseus myth might have eclipsed the other altogether. Instead, both survived to do their work separately and together. The conservatism of cult is only a partial explanation of this phenomenon. Rather, the myth of Erechtheus/Erichthonios expressed the idea of autochthony as a vital part of Athenian identity. By its nature it had to reach back to the very first generations of Athenian history, so in myth predated the synoecism; but it also continued to inform

the political consciousness of Athenians after the synoecism, as it was an essential difference (in the strongest sense) between them and other poleis. Theseus' association with the Panathenaia may not be particularly old, and the aetiology of the unreformed Panathenaia may be irrecoverable, but this particular tension between old and new, natural autochthony vs. the body politic, is itself as old as the synoecized polis.³²

§16.1.5 CROWS AND THE ACROPOLIS (Andr. fr. 19)

Regarding the first statement of **Andr. fr. 19**, the aition is known to us from Antigonos of Karystos *Mir.* 12, citing Amelesagoras *FGrHist* 330 F 1 (cf. Kallim. *Hek.* fr. 70 Hollis, *Hyg. Fab.* 166.5, *Lucr.* 6.749–52): while Athena was bringing a mountain to Athens to provide strategic defence, a crow met her and told her that the daughters of Kekrops had disobeyed her injunction about the chest; she dropped the rock where it now stands as Mt Lykabettos, and angrily forbade the *κακάγγελος* ever to approach the Acropolis. Andron of Halikarnassos in his wide-ranging *Συγγένειαι* certainly treated Athenian subjects, but this fragment is cited from a book *On Sacrifices* that was written as a polemic against one Philip; moreover, the provenance of the fragment in paradoxography, and the conjunction with another odd fact of the same kind, that no fly approaches the 'doorways' of Aphrodite in Paphos, suggests an altogether different kind of work. It is more prudent to attribute it to another Andron than to emend the name (Meineke tried Habron, cf. *FGrHist* 359). Lucretius, loc. cit., scorned the mythological explanations of poets, and said there was a natural explanation for the crow's absence from the acropolis; Aristotle (*HA* 9.1 p. 609a 8) helpfully says that owls and crows are natural enemies, but the facts are somewhat different (Arnott, *Birds in the Ancient World* 113). Further references to the phenomenon occur in the naturalists,³³ and Ovid remarks on Athena's hatred of the crow (*Am.* 2.6.35, cf. *Fast.* 2.89, *Met.* 564, 590); yet in some places relations between goddess and crow were different.³⁴ The aition was probably invented by Amelesagoras, adapting the tale of Apollo, Koronis, and the raven, and other stories in which animals are prohibited from entering sanctuaries

²⁹ See further Shear, *Polis and Panathenaia* 60–71. Rosivach, 'Autochthony and the Athenians', too sceptically argues that the Athenian myth of autochthony was a creation of the early 5th c.; he is followed by Blok, 'Gentrifying Genealogy'. Cf. Burkert, *Kl. Schr.* 1.9 n. 24 and Shapiro, 'Autochthony and the Visual Arts in Fifth-Century Athens'. *αὐτόχθονες* means 'very-earthlers'. They had always been one with their land; they had never immigrated. So where did they come from? The word *might* also mean that they were sprung physically from the earth, and this was sometimes claimed; but the myths are unsurprisingly vague on the point, fudging the transition from the literally earthborn *Urmenschen* like Erechtheus or Pelasgos to the first human inhabitants. The descent from Erechtheus can be considered metaphorical (like the Homeridae from Homer) without losing any force, as Blok well shows. For a rich study of the theme in Athenian culture see Loraux, *Born of the Earth*.

³³ Pliny *NH* 10.30, Ael. *HA* 3.9, 5.48; also Antig. *Mir.* 57; possibly Kallim. fr. 326, where Pfeiffer quotes these passages.

³⁴ Arnott, *Birds of the Ancient World* 115; Deacy, 'Athena in Boiotia' 97–8.

²⁹ R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 89–92; Shear, *Polis and Panathenaia* 507–15; Neils, 'Replicating Tradition'.

³⁰ Harding, for instance, is confident that Erichthonios is a new arrival: *The Story of Athens* 40; commentary on Androton (1994) 83–4.

³¹ See the excellent discussion in Kearns, *The Heroes of Athens* 110–19.

because of an offence (Jacoby on Amelesagoras; Hollis on Kallim. loc. cit.). Arnott collects other popular beliefs about crows; see also Gossen–Steier, *RE* 11.2.1565.

The ancient and venerable sanctuary of Aphrodite on Paphos was surrounded by an imposing wall; its doors might be those where the flies did not alight, so that this is another way of saying that they did not enter the sanctuary. But the doors could equally well be those of the temple (cf. *Il.* 14.169, *Hymn. Hom. Aphr.* 60 for splendid temple doors). For ancient attitudes to the insect see Hünemörder, *BNP* s.v. 'Fly'; Davies and Kathirithamby, *Greek Insects* 150–64 (151–2 on gods who keep flies away, and other devices for dealing with the pests, who were attracted to sacrifices for obvious reasons. Herakles sacrificed to Zeus Apomuios, hence flies kept away from the Olympics; Paus. 5.14.1, Aelian, *HN* 5.17.)

§16.2 Reign of Erechtheus

§16.2.1 OREITHYIA (Akous. fr. 30; Pher. fr. 145)

Herodotos (7.189) says that by general agreement Boreas' wife Oreithyia was Athenian, and as the mother of two Argonauts her place in Greek myth could be quite old; nevertheless, the only reference to her in archaic art is the Kypselos chest, Paus. 5.19.1 (*LIMC* Oreithyia I no. 14); in literature there is only **Akousilaos** (fr. 30).³⁵ During the Persian war Boreas had already lent decisive help at Athos in 492 (Hdt. 6.44.2); then in 480 the famous oracle advised the Athenians to seek help from their son-in-law (Hdt. 7.189 = no. 96 Parke–Wormell, Q148 Fontenrose). After Boreas obliged the Athenians with a killing wind at Artemision, the story became very popular in art. In literature, Simonides honoured the Boreadae in his poem on the battle of Artemision (*IEG*² fr. 3; *PMG* 534), and Aischylos' play *Oreithyia* would not have been wanting in patriotic fervour.³⁶ There is disagreement among the sources as to the place where the abduction occurred. This is noteworthy for two reasons: it shows that the story was not firmly attached to a cult (an inference supported by the dearth of archaic references); and it shows that, in making suggestions, people felt there ought to be a location. The second observation justifies those who seek aetiological associations for local myths, while the first cautions against confidence in finding them. Given the type of story it is, one would say that Oreithyia, 'Mountainrusher', was a good name for the unmarried, untamed, nubile girl who attracts the erotic gaze.³⁷ Akousilaos' story that this daughter of Erechtheus was acting as a kanephoros for Athena Polias, processing to the acropolis when she was carried off, is thoroughly credible. (His remark, if faithfully reflected in the scholion,

³⁵ Homer gives the name to one of his Nereids, *Il.* 18.48.

³⁶ Fr. 281; cf. Simon, 'Boreas und Oreithyia', Radt ad loc., and Fraenkel, *Aeschylus: Agamemnon* 2.116 n. 1.

³⁷ The eroticism is heightened by the name's maenadic associations. For young women as maenads cf. Bremmer, *ZPE* 55 (1984) 283.

that he carried her off 'undetected by spectators or guardians' charmingly suggests the astonishment that must have seized them when she suddenly vanished.) Apollonios of Rhodes (1.215) says she was dancing in a chorus when seized. The favourite location is the sanctuary of Boreas by the Ilissos (Pl. *Phdr.* 229b, Ap. Rhod. 1.215, Paus. 1.19.5, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.199); perhaps Apollonios follows Pherekydes in this view (**Pher. fr. 145**). Simonides (*PMG* 534) says Brilessos, i.e. Mt Pentelikon, and others in Plato say the Areiopagos. Choirilos (*SH* 321) says the springs of the Kephisos, i.e. near Pentelikon; she was picking flowers, the most dangerous activity for maidens in Greek mythology. The proverbial violence of Boreas is well depicted by Ovid in his version, *Met.* 6.682–721; cf. e.g. *Od.* 9.67–75, Hes. *Op.* 506–18, Aisch. fr. 281.

Apollonios agreed with Simonides and Pherekydes that she was carried off to the Cape Sarpedon, the promontory by the mouth of the Hebros.³⁸ If Pherekydes really said it was near Mt Haimos, his geography was somewhat vague, as the mountain lies some way inland. He probably knew that the eponym of the mountain was a son of Oreithyia and Boreas; whether he also knew the story of his sister Rhodope cannot be said.³⁹ Apollonios' river Erginos is usually taken to be identical with the Agrianes, a tributary of the Hebros, though this is slightly inconsistent with Pliny *NH* 4.47; see Corcella on Hdt. 4.90–1.

§16.2.2 KEPHALOS AND PROKRIS; KEPHALLENIA (Andr. fr. 15; Hellan. fr. 144; Pher. fr. 34, 139)

'Kephalos' is a name attached to two figures who were probably distinct in origin: the son of Hermes who was abducted by Eos (e.g. Hes. *Th.* 986, Eur. *Hipp.* 455); and the son of Deion(eus) whose marriage to Prokris came to a tragic end (**Pher. fr. 34**).⁴⁰ Their entanglement with each other could, however, have begun at a quite early date, given their similarities: hunting, women, and natural phenomena figure in the stories of both. The entanglement extends to Kephalos' sister Philonis (Pher. fr. 120; → §5.3.7). Kephalos, Prokris, and Philonis all receive offerings in the fifth-century sacred calendar of Thorikos, so these are characters with deep roots in Attic soil.⁴¹

Several features of the myth as presented by Pherekydes attract attention: the under-motivated narrative (why does Kephalos decide to test his wife? why the eight years' absence? how can the story move from dramatic proof of infidelity to reconciliation in

³⁸ Hdt. 7.58.2; Aisch. *Supp.* 870; Soph. fr. 46, 637; Ap. Rhod. 1.216; Strabo 7 fr. 21a; Zenob. 5.86; Oberhammer, *RE* s.v. Sarpedon 6; D. Müller, *Topographischer Bildkommentar* 2.925.

³⁹ Ov. *Met.* 6.87, Luc. *De salt.* 51, [Plut.] *De fluv.* 11.3, Steph. Byz. a.131, Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 1.317, schol. Ov. *Ibis* 561, [Lact.] *Narr. Ov.* 6.1.

⁴⁰ So most recently Gantz 238, 246. For more detailed discussion of Pher. fr. 34 see my 'The Myth of Kephalos' (add Wilamowitz, *Die Heimkehr des Odysseus* 186 n. 1, 188–9 to the works cited); Davidson, 'Antoninus Liberalis and the Story of Prokris' reviews the whole mythographic tradition and comments on the various motifs at play in the story.

⁴¹ *NGSL*² 1.16, 44, 54.

the space of a heartbeat, then in the next breath to Prokris' suspicions?); the specific details of bridal chamber and precious ornament (*κόσμος*); the archaic form *νεφέλα*, ritualistically repeated on the mountaintop.⁴² For some or even all of these one can find plausible explanations: suspicions of infidelity, hardly rare, may require no special justification; perhaps Pherekydes did motivate them in the part of his book before this excerpt;⁴³ eight years is simply an arbitrary or typical number (the Great Year); being left at the very bridal chamber heightens the pathos (cf. *Il.* 11.227 *γῆμας ἐκ θαλάμοιο μετὰ κλέος ἔκετ' Ἀχαιῶν*, *Il.* 17.36 *χηρώσας δὲ γυναῖκα μυχῶ θαλάμοιο νέοιο*); a gift is necessary for the seduction; the archaic formula is necessarily mysterious so as to lead to the fatal misunderstanding. Yet the impression abides of a non-narrative agenda informing Pherekydes' tale, whose bumps and sudden turns, like the tale of Demeter in the Homeric Hymn, arise from the need to accommodate the *δρώμενα* of ritual. The story is quite easily read aetiologically. Kephalos' repeated summoning of a cloud is especially suggestive: unless Prokris is right that Nephela is his mistress (and she is not), there is no motivation within the story for Kephalos' behaviour. He really is summoning a cloud.⁴⁴ The coming of the groom in disguise with a gift is well paralleled by the Amphitryon story (→§8.2); in the background is a sacred marriage. Without independent evidence, such observations do not allow one to deduce or reconstruct such a ritual in Thorikos, and (as in the case of the many myths with initiatory motifs) the default assessment must be that such stories are not the direct aition of a specific ritual; but the route from local aetiology to reworked narrative for broader consumption seems shorter than usual in this case, given that the narrator's attention is not wholly focused on the narrative as such. Some motivations and realistic touches are naturally introduced even with minimal reworking: the interrogation of the slave, the tragic mishap, the lavish burial. (The latter, incidentally, does not at all rule out Erechtheus' subsequent civil proceedings against Kephalos, as in *Hell. fr.* 169; there are no grounds for inferring here that the trial was or was not known to Pherekydes.)

Later writers remove the bumps and embellish the tale yet more, taking Prokris off to Crete, where, revealing her Medea side, she heals Minos of a sexual disease, and acquires the hound that never fails of its prey, and the spear that never misses its target. Prokris herself in some writers takes on some of the characteristics of Artemis, and the

⁴² At *ZPE* 97 (1993) 34 n. 15 the objection about the digamma is misplaced, so *κοῦρα* is indeed a parallel. Dolcetti in her commentary on this passage (p. 250 n. C) suggests that the source of the unusual form might have been lyric poetry.

⁴³ In Ovid, *Met.* 7.694–862 and other later writers, by whose time the two Kephaloi are one, a spurned Eos plants the doubts in Kephalos' mind.

⁴⁴ Ovid, *Met.* 7.813, 837, *Ars Am.* 3.701, 715 and Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 6.445 make it more realistic by substituting Breeze, a reasonable thing for a hunter to wish for; this variant might already be in the Mythographus Homericus, *Pher. fr.* 34b.

familiar motif of the wild woman unsuitable for marriage begins to colour the story. In those who have it, she is predictably killed by the infallible spear.⁴⁵

As an appendix to the story of Kephalos we may consider Kephallenia, since Kephalos was taken to be the eponym of the island and its people. For the Homeric scholar the problem was the identification of Homer's Doulichion (*Il.* 2.625–30; *Od.* 1.246 ≈ 9.24, 16.123, 19.131; *Od.* 14.335; 14.397; 16.247; 16.396; 19.292), an obsolete name by historical times. The Odyssean formulae indicate that Doulichion, Same, and Zakynthos lay close to each other and to Ithake. One may naturally identify Ithake and Zakynthos with the islands still so named (ignoring the controversy surrounding the former), but the location of the other two exercised grammarians and geographers like Strabo who quotes *Andr. fr.* 15, *Hell. fr.* 144, and *Pher. fr.* 139.⁴⁶ One solution was and is to identify both of them with parts or all of Kephallenia. Pherekydes said that Paleis (the western peninsula) used to be Doulichion (cf. Paus. 6.15.7 *Παλεῖς ἐκαλοῦντο Δουλιχίεις τὰ ἀρχαιότερα*); Andron said that Doulichion was a part of Kephallenia (which part, if this is to be different from Pherekydes?); Hellanikos said the whole of Kephallenia was Doulichion; others lumped Taphos, Taphians, Kephallenes, and Teleboans together. Strabo insists that in Homer Doulichion and the Echinades were ruled by Meges, whereas the Kephallenes were ruled by Odysseus and the Taphians by Mentos. In his view the biggest mistake is committed by those who, like Hellanikos, say that Doulichion was the whole of Kephallenia, for Same contributed 24 suitors to Doulichion's 52: how could one of the four cities account for nearly half the total? and how can one explain the formulaic line 'Doulichion and Same and wooded Zakynthos'? If Hellanikos had good answers to these questions, Strabo, who had a low opinion of him, did not bother to pass them on. Strabo's own solution (10.2.10, 19) was that Same was identical with Kephallenia, and Doulichion was one of the Echinades, still called Dolicha in his day. The trouble with this is that Doulichion needs to be big enough to accommodate its epithets *πολύπορος* and *ποιήεις*, and to supply by far the largest number of suitors. An alternative, also mooted in ancient times, is that Leukas was Doulichion; the difficulty there, as Strabo also points out (10.2.8), is that Leukas was only a peninsula in Homer's day. But the link

⁴⁵ Ovid treats the story, with slightly different emphasis, also in *Ars Am.* 3.685–746; see further Anton. Lib. 41 (Prokris on her return from Crete seduces her husband in the guise of a youthful male hunter); Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.197–8 (Prokris is a straightforward adulteress, not victim of a ruse); Hyg. *Fab.* 189 (the male disguise again; Prokris daughter of Pandion); 241 (Prokris daughter of Pandion; 'Cephalus Deionis sive Mercurii filius'; at 270 he is son of Pandion); 253.2 (Prokris daughter of Erechtheus, and sleeps with him); Serv. loc. cit. (no Cretan sojourn; spear and hound are gifts of Aurora); Myth. Vat. I 1.44, II 260 (216) (after Servius). For the hound see also *Epigoni* fr. 3; Euboulos fr. 89; Paus. 9.19.1; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.58; Pollux 5.39 = Nikander *FGrHist* 271–272 F 37; hound and spear at Palaiphatos 2 (Prokris daughter of Pandion), Eratosth. *Katast.* 33; spear alone at *Suda* π2484, Eust. *Od.* 1688.29. The story of Leukone, Parthen. *Amat. Narr.* 10, is similar (where see Lightfoot); compare also [Plut.] *Parall. min.* 21B p. 310f. For Prokris as hunter cf. Xen. *Kyneg.* 13.18, Kallim. *Hymn.* 3.209–10.

⁴⁶ See West on *Od.* 1.246–7 and Introduction to Book I, p. 63; Hoekstra on *Od.* 14.335; Gehrke, 'Strabon und Akarnanien'; E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 579–88.

to the mainland was low and marshy, and this solution would seem to present the fewest difficulties.

The standard myth was that Kephalos had helped Amphitryon in his campaign against the Teleboans; as a reward he was given the island.⁴⁷ His sons were eponyms of the four principalities Pronnoi, Same, Paleis, and Kranioi (Thuc. 2.30.2; IACP nos 135, 136, 125, 132). The four sons are found only in the late sources Steph. Byz. s.v. *Κράνιοι* and the *Etym. Gen. (Etym. Magn. 507.27)*, but the latter quotes Epaphroditos fr. 46 Braswell-Billerbeck in his commentary on the *Odyssey*; Strabo used a similar source. If the grammarians turned to the mythographers for information, it may suggest both that there was more mythology about the island than we can now recover, and that the mythographers were alive to problems of Homeric nomenclature. This is not the only place where Pherekydes implicitly or explicitly addressed such matters (→§18.3.9; Part B). One may wonder, perhaps idly, if the Attic appropriation of the island's eponym was original or old; it was almost inevitable that the Kephallenes would have an eponym Kephalos, who might not have been the Athenian one. His head was on coins of Kranioi from the fifth century on (see IACP). Strabo (10.2.9) says that according to those who have dug deeper into ancient history (οἱ ἀρχαιολογικώτεροι) Kephalos was the first to leap from the White Rock (on the southern end of Leukas) for love of Pterelas (for whom see Akous. fr. 43; →§18.5.9). The weird story in Aristotle (fr. 504) could be a myth indigenous to the region: Kephalos, longtime resident of Kephallenia, wanted a son and on an oracle's instruction mated with a she-bear; the result was Arkeisios, father of Odysseus.⁴⁸ On the other hand the story, with its pun *Ἀρκεΐσιος/ἄρκ(τ)ος*, might be some fourth-century local historian's fancy. The island was won over to Athens by Tolmides in 456 (Diod. Sic. 11.84.7), and Pherekydes' discussion of its mythology might have found an interested audience in that context.

§16.2.3 EUMOLPOS (Andron fr. 13; Hellan. fr. 41, 45)

The story of the Eleusinians' assault on Athens with their Thracian ally Eumolpos forms the plot of Euripides' *Erechtheus*. The tradition of a war with Eleusis (Thuc. 2.15.1) presented certain problems for Athenian self-image; the solution was to make Eumolpos a foreigner. This was made easier by the close association of the Thracian Orpheus

⁴⁷ There is some variance as to whether this assistance was rendered before or after his exile for killing Prokris. See Strabo 10.2.14 (quoting our fr.); Paus. 1.37.6; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.59–60 (Eleios and Taphios are given the 'Taphian' islands, which sidesteps the issue, given their uncertain identification: →§8.2), 3.198; Anton. Lib. 41; Eust. *Il.* 308.14. Arist. fr. 504 and Herakleid. *Lemb. Exc. Pol.* 45 (p. 29 Dilts) also note Kephalos as eponym.

⁴⁸ Cf. Eust. *Il.* 197.23, schol. *Il.* 2.173b and Hyg. *Fab.* 189.10. Yet the genealogy (Kephalos father of Arkeisios) could be old, and there are grounds for thinking it stood in Hellanikos: see §18.5.10 on Hellan. fr. 156, and Jacoby on *FGrHist* 323a F 24 n. 6.

with Eleusis; in some accounts too Mousaios was Thracian.⁴⁹ Thus the usual account; an alternative reading, recently advanced by Maurizio Sonnino, notes that if Strabo's remark about Eumolpos and his Thracians when he quotes Hekataios fr. 119 also comes from Hekataios, the tradition of his invasion is as old as the sixth century. That Ion helped the Athenians in a war, and for that reason they became Ionians, is recorded by Herodotos (8.44); he does not specify the war, but elsewhere it is this one against the Thracians (see especially Strabo 8.7.1). However, the tradition of Eumolpos as first hierophant is also archaic, so Sonnino argues that these two Eumolpoi originally had nothing to do with each other; simple homonyms. During the fifth century, Erechtheus, the model Athenian, was substituted for Ion as the hero who defeated Eumolpos, an ideological move explicable in the context of the Athenian Empire.⁵⁰ This argument has its attractions, since otherwise one has to believe that the modification described above—Eumolpos, king of Eleusis who fights a war with Athens, turned into a Thracian—was effected already in the archaic period. That is not impossible, however, and might be thought less improbable than the scenario with homonyms. In view of the flexibility of Eleusinian myth (below), one might more safely posit a variety of competing schemata from an early period (in particular, Eumolpos as Eleusinian founder *cum/vs* Eumolpos as Eleusinian king who leads war against Athens *cum/vs* Eumolpos as Thracian who leads war against Athens).

The link with Thrace created a new problem, which the scholion quoting **Andron fr. 13** attempts to answer: *ζητεῖται τί δήποτε οἱ Εὐμολπίδαι τῶν τελετῶν ἐξάρχουσι ξένοι ὄντες*. This sort of conundrum led frequently to characters being doubled, and perhaps it was simple exuberance that caused Andron to posit not two but three Eumolpoi; but chronology might have had something to do with it. The five generations would line up thus:

Eumolpos I	—	Erechtheus
Keryx	—	Kekrops II
Eumolpos II	—	Pandion II
Antiphemos	—	Aigeus
Mousaios	—	Theseus/Menestheus
Eumolpos III	—	Menestheus/Demophon

⁴⁹ Notably on a vase by the Meidias painter of c. 400 BC (*LIMC* Eumolpos no. 1); in literary sources e.g. Aristoxenos fr. 91 Wehrli, Strabo 10.3.17. He is Athenian in Eur. *Rhes.* 945–6, Paus. 1.25.8, 10.12.11; Eleusinian in Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.122, Harp. *μ*40 (Phot. *μ*558, *Suda* *μ*1294) and particularly Pindar fr. 346 (see Lloyd-Jones, *Academic Papers* 1.167–87). Cf. Richardson, *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 198 and R. Parker, 'Myths of Early Athens' 203, after Toepffer and Hiller von Gaertringen; E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* 105–7; Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 114; Graf, *Eleusis* 18; Sourvinou-Inwood, *Athenian Myths and Festivals* 111–23.

⁵⁰ Sonnino, *Euripidis Erechthei quae extant* 45–77.

The reckoning is exclusive. The scheme implies that the longer king-list already existed, having been extended for some other reason; surely it was not created to accommodate the three Eumolpoi. That is not to say that it was not Andron himself who extended the king-list, only that he did so for the sake of a different synchronism; but his innovation, if it was his, gave him a way to solve the Eleusinian puzzle too. The unusual title of his work, *Συγγένειαι* or *Συγγενικά*, as opposed to *Γενεαλογίαι*, may suggest that its emphasis was precisely on how the various genealogies related to each other; he took Hellanikos' project a step further.

There is a problem with this scheme, however, in that it does not allow Eumolpos III, the first hierophant, to initiate Herakles, who is an older contemporary of Theseus. Of course Andron, not being Athenian, might have ignored this story, but it was a well-known fact, celebrated for instance by Pindar. Also, there is still no obvious reason in this scheme for Eumolpos II to exist. Perhaps Andron was simply repeating the grandfather's name, as per ordinary Greek practice; thereafter, he must insert Mousaios, whose father Antiphemos came from tradition ('Antiphemos' in the original Orphic poem).⁵¹ There is, however, another possibility, given that the scholion does not actually say that the war took place under Eumolpos I, only that the hierophant came five generations after him.⁵² The war in other words could have been in the time of Eumolpos II:

Eumolpos I	—	Kekrops
Keryx	—	Erichthonios
Eumolpos II	—	Erechtheus
Antiphemos	—	Pandion
Mousaios	—	Aigeus
Eumolpos III	—	Theseus

This is the shorter king-list A (above, p. 451), which as we saw was probably Hellanikos'. The advantage of this arrangement is that Herakles can now be initiated by Eumolpos III. There is also a parallel for its lower part in schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 854, which says there were *four* generations between the two (and only two) Eumolpoi, explicitly aligned with the kings from Erechtheus to Theseus as above; Jacoby on Hellan. fr. 40 thought this scholion could be drawn from Hellanikos, and in the light of our

⁵¹ Mousaios test. 1 Bernabé (Antiphemos and Selene), Phld. *De Piet. P.Herc.* 243 VI (see Henrichs, 'Zur Genealogie des Musaios'; Antiphemos and Pandia), P.Cornell 55 (Antiphemos), Paus. 10.5.6, 10.12.11 (Antiphemos), *Orph. Argon.* 308 (Antiphemos), *Suda* μ1294 (Antiphemos). Mousaios is son of Eumolpos and Selene in Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 208; son of Eumolpos in Diog. Laert. 1.3 = *AP* 7.615 and Georg. Synkell. p. 183.24 Mosshammer; son of Orpheus in Diod. Sic. 4.25.1, Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 6.667.

⁵² This is, however, explicit for Akestodoros, although the excerpt as preserved does not illustrate the reason for which he was quoted.

discussion above this now seems probable. This is also a very likely context for Hellan. fr. 45, which is explicitly about the *γένος* of the hierophants; Harpocration in the same breath quotes Deinarchos (fr. 84.2 Conomis) about the first one. The alternative arrangement above for Andron requires us, however, to invent a reason for the creation of Eumolpos I, grandfather of the Eleusinian ally. It could be to accommodate Keryx; this is a genealogy the Kerykes were naturally concerned to deny, but which was obviously current.⁵³ But in this case both Eumolpos I and Keryx must be Thracian. On balance the first arrangement presents fewer problems.

One may mention also Alkidamas, who put the war with Eumolpos in the time of Menestheus (*Od.* 23). Alkidamas there credits Menestheus with the invention of battle-field formations, and Jacoby shrewdly guessed (*Das Marmor Parium* 73) that this was spun out of *Il.* 2.553–4, where Menestheus is said to have no equal in marshalling men and horses in the field; the verb *κοσμήσαι* is common to both passages. It remained only for Alkidamas, who has quietly changed 'having no equal in marshalling' to 'being the first to marshall', to suggest the occasion on which Menestheus introduced his new invention: this must have been the war with Eumolpos. The freedom to change or ignore a seemingly firm datum like the initiation of Herakles is remarkable, and allows one to be less concerned about such negligence in the case of Andron. Other variations then fail to surprise: the Thracian may be frankly accepted as the founder of the Mysteries;⁵⁴ Triptolemos or Mousaios may initiate Herakles, not Eumolpos;⁵⁵ Eumolpos son of Mousaios founded the Mysteries in the time of Erechtheus;⁵⁶ Eumolpos the Thracian is the first *foreigner* to be initiated.⁵⁷ These variations may result from insouciance or a hazy memory; references to a second Erechtheus (schol. Eur. *Phoin.*), on the other hand, or Mousaios in the time of Kekrops II (*Suda*), hint at yet more recondite chronographical schemes beyond our ability to assess.⁵⁸ The parentage of Eumolpos, at least, is reasonably stable: he is son of Mousaios, and where his mother is named she is Deiope daughter of Triptolemos.⁵⁹ The Thracian Eumolpos is usually son of Poseidon and

⁵³ Paus. 1.38.3 (rather a son of Hermes and Aglauros); cf. Androtion *FGrHist* 324 F 1, schol. Aischin. 3.18, Pollux 8.103 (son of Hermes and Pandrosos), Phot. κ673 (*Suda* κ1542) (Hermes, no mother given); Marcellus of Side in *IG XIV* 1389 (Hermes and Herse).

⁵⁴ Plut. *De exil.* 17 p. 607b, Luc. *Demon.* 34, schol. Soph. *OC* 1053, Phot. ε2252 (*Suda* ε3584), *Etym. Magn.* p. 393.28 (*Etym. Gen.* p. 134 Miller; see Theodoridis on Phot.).

⁵⁵ Xen. *HG* 6.3.6 (Triptolemos), Diod. Sic. 4.25.1 (Mousaios).

⁵⁶ *Marm. Par.* *FGrHist* 239 A15.

⁵⁷ Schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 854 (simply confused? later in the scholion 'first to be initiated' *tout court* i.e. 'founded').

⁵⁸ Perhaps the older Erechtheus is simply Erichthonios, as in Nonn. 13.171.

⁵⁹ Deiope: the Meidias vase (above, n. 49); Arist. *Mir.* 843b 1–5; Istros *FGrHist* 334 F 22 (quoted with Andron); Paus. 1.41.1 (Deiope is part of the mythology he cannot reveal); Phot. ε2251. Photios also records a unique variant, son of Apollo and Astykome. For Mousaios as father of Eumolpos see testt. 17–18 Bernabé. In Photios ε2252 we read that Eumolpos is ἀπὸ δευτέρου πέμπτος, which is nonsense; the obvious correction ἀπὸ α' (for ἀπὸ β') was made long before Gaisford (*Etym. Magn.* p. 393.30), but continues to be overlooked.

Chione, daughter of Boreas and Oreithyia (which retains in the end a link to Attica).⁶⁰ Originally there was but one Eumolpos, the melodious hierophant of Eleusis, one of the Eleusinian βασιλεῖς (*Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 154, 475). It is a long time since scholars have interpreted this war historically; the symbolic point is the unity of the Athenian nation in defence of its most sacred, and most Hellenic rites, against the barbarians (→§1.3.2).

Hell. fr. 41 mentions Mount Haimon; one possible context is the Thracian war. But there are others: the battle with Typhon (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.43–4); Io's journey (ibid. 2.7); the progeny of Boreas and Oreithyia, whose son Haimos was (see §16.2.1 on Pher. fr. 145); and the Amazons must have passed it *en route* to Attica (Hell. fr. 167, who gives realistic details).

§16.3 Theseus

Given the prominence of Athens in Greek culture and the importance of Theseus to Athens it is surprising that he is relatively underrepresented in our corpus. The reason is perhaps not far to seek, if we may take Plutarch in his *Life* as a guide: his principal sources are the Atthidographers and Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians*; Hellanikos is the first Atthidographer, of course, and is cited five times, but Plutarch's first port of call seems to be later Atthidographers, along with Aristotle and his school and Hellenistic historians. Pherekydes as an old Athenian source is cited twice, but no more. The episodes in Theseus' life which occur in our fragments are: the Minotaur (Hell. fr. 164, Pher. fr. 148–50); his foundation of the Isthmian games (Andr. fr. 6, Hell. fr. 165); the Amazon expedition (Hell. fr. 40, 166, 167, Pher. fr. 151–2); his relations with Herakles (Herod. fr. 26–7); the abduction of Helen (Hell. fr. 168, Herod. fr. 25); his wives (Pher. fr. 153).

§16.3.1 THESEUS, ARIADNE, AND THE MINOTAUR; THE PHILAIIDAI

(Epimen. fr. 3; Hell. fr. 22, 164; Pher. fr. 2, 60, 85, 146, 148–50, 153)

The role of Crete in the story of Ariadne and Dionysos, and the antiquity of Dionysos as a god in the Aegean, suggest that the story of their union could be very old indeed, perhaps even with Minoan antecedents.⁶¹ One might then be tempted to conclude

⁶⁰ Isok. *Paneg.* 68, Lykourg. *Leok.* 98, Philoch. *FGHist* 328 F 13, Paus. 1.38.2, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.201 (appending a novellistic tale about Eumolpos' early career evidently taken from Euripides' *Erechtheus*, fr. 349), Hyg. *Fab.* 157.4, schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 854. Theokritos *Id.* 19.110 makes him son of the Thracian bard Philammon.

⁶¹ Dionysos may have been worshipped on Keos since the Bronze Age: e.g. Burkert, *GR* 31. Ariadne, whose name may mean 'most holy' (Hsch. α1159, ἄδνός Cretan for ἄγνός; Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults* 48, Edwards on *Il.* 18.590–2; but Latte, *Kl. Schr.* 664, regards it as a grammarian's invention precisely to explain her name), received cult in various locations including Naxos (Farnell, loc. cit. and *CGS* 2.631–4). They wed in Hesiod *Th.* 947–9, where she is made immortal. At *Il.* 18.590–2 Homer imagines a dancing-ground on Achilles' shield, 'like the one that Daïdalos once made for fair-tressed Ariadne in broad Knossos'; Linear B reveals a

that Theseus was an intruder in the myth; in support, one could point to the difficulty mythographers had in explaining just what happened on Naxos, and the antagonism the god evinces towards Theseus in some tellings. But it is an obvious guess that a sacred marriage lies somewhere in the background, in which god and man trade places, as in the case of Zeus and Amphitryon (→§8.2); the story insists that Theseus abandoned Ariadne while she slept.⁶² Theseus is in the tale as soon as our evidence begins, so any disaggregated version would have little interpretative value; we should treat the story as a unity, and attempt to understand how it works in its various contexts. Pherekydes, for instance, writing precisely at the time when Kimon was putting the myth to powerful political use in contemporary Athens, was unlikely as a friend of Kimon to portray Theseus in a negative light. The divinely ordained manner in which Theseus gives way to Dionysos, seen also on contemporary vases (*LIMC* Ariadne nos. 93–4), suggests concord between men and gods, and magnifies the glory of the Attic hero who has secured his bride for the god.⁶³ It would be an easy story to dramatize: at the moment of highest tension—Minos in hot pursuit, an angry Artemis poised to strike—Athena appears *ex machina* to reveal Ariadne's destiny and Theseus' glory.⁶⁴ Stressing the god's anger, by contrast, might make one think rather of myths like those of Iphigeneia or Kallisto, myths of initiation in which the heroine's offence and punishment are compensated in posthumous cult; Theseus the questing hero and his bride both share this risk. Or the motive might be straightforwardly anti-Athenian, depicting Theseus as a cad who abandoned Ariadne, a juvenile rapist: after all, he also carried off Helen. In reporting Hellanikos' statement (fr. 168) that Theseus was fifty years of age at the time of this incident, Plutarch says that some writers rose to his defence against this 'the most

Daïdaleion (*da-da-re-jo-de*) and a Mistress of the Labyrinth at Knossos (Burkert, *GR* 23; Warren, *BSA* 79 (1984) 307–23; S. P. Morris, *Daïdalos* 186), and the Homeric passage may evoke the myth of the Minotaur and the crane-dance (below, p. 477). The stress on the god's epiphany in Pher. fr. 148 (surviving even in the rationalized Diod. Sic. 4.61.5) could make one think of epiphany in Minoan ritual. The children of Dionysos and Ariadne were ancient Cycladic figures like Oinopion; but Ion of Chios felt able to substitute Theseus for Dionysos (→§19.2.2). The name of Theseus also occurs in Linear B (PY En 74, Eo 276). Ieranò, *Arianna* provides an exhaustive study.

⁶² Avagianou, *Sacred Marriage* 181, regards the myth as reflecting the union of the Basilinea and Dionysos at the Antheateria. As Hansen notes, *AT* 157, the story-type normally involves the youth's abandonment of the maiden; from that point of view, Dionysos is the intruder, or an addendum.

⁶³ Cf. S. P. Morris, *Daïdalos* 356–7.

⁶⁴ Cf. Euripides' *Theseus*, Collard and Cropp 1.415–27: Athena probably appeared and resolved matters already in Knossos, perhaps for dramaturgic reasons (changes of scene being avoided). *LIMC* Ariadne no. 94 depicts Theseus boarding his ship, Athena crowning him, and Dionysos claiming Ariadne. Sophokles may also have treated the subject (*P.Oxy.* 2452 = fr. 730); plays entitled *Theseus* are also attested for Achaïos (*TrGF* 20 FF 18–18a) and Her[akleides] (37). Other episodes of his life furnished plots for Aischylos' *Eleusinioi*; Sophokles' *Aigeus*, *Theseus*, *Phaidra*, OC; Euripides' *HF*, *Supp.*, *Aigeus*, *Alope*, and the two *Hippolytoi*; and Kritias' *Peirithoos*. Theseus' adventures appealed also to the comedians, but little is known of their plots (*Theseus* by Anaxandrides, Aristonymos, Diphilos, Theopompos; *Skiron* already by Epicharmos, then Alexis; Theseus was a character in Kratinos' *Drapetides*, fr. 53). Apart from Euripides' *Skiron* (Collard and Cropp 2.148–57) there is little of Theseus in surviving satyr-plays (*Das griech. Satyrspiel*, index s.v. Theseus).

serious of the charges against him' by saying she was actually placed with him for safe-keeping. The Hesiodic *Kerkops* is another example of a hostile view; according to it, Theseus dumped Ariadne for a girl named Aigle (Hes. fr. 298). Peisistratos is said to have expunged the verse from the poem. As always the myth is available for multiple reapplications; as a hero of national unity Theseus would serve tyrant, aristocrat, and democrat equally well. Scholars have tracked, in a series of illuminating and detailed studies,⁶⁵ the myth's changing tenor even within a relatively brief span of Athenian history from late sixth to mid-fourth centuries, when we are favoured with more than usually detailed evidence. Inevitably, however, some obscurities remain even within this frame of space and time, and multiply when we move outside it.

There are at least good indications that key parts of the legend were well known throughout the Greek world from an early date. In the *Nekyia* (Od. 11.321–5), Odysseus sees Ariadne, daughter of Minos, in the Underworld, 'whom Theseus once sought to bring from Crete to sacred Athens' high plain; but he had no joy of her, for Artemis slew her on sea-girt Dia,⁶⁶ on Dionysos' indictment'. The story of the Minotaur is doubtless implied by this passage, whatever else we might make of its details. The beast is depicted in art already in the eighth century, unambiguously with Theseus from the seventh. Homer also knows of Theseus' mother Aithra at Troy (Il. 3.144), which implies the abduction of Helen, and he knows about Theseus and Peirithoos, their battle with the Centaurs and descent to the Underworld (Il. 1.263–8, Od. 11.631).⁶⁷ Servius

⁶⁵ Herter, *RE* Suppl. 13 (1973) 1045–1238; Ward *et al.*, *The Quest for Theseus*; Sourvinou-Inwood, *Theseus as Son and Stepson*; Boardman, 'Herakles, Theseus and Amazons'; Brommer, *Theseus*; Davie, 'Theseus the King'; Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants* 143–9; id., 'Theseus: Aspects of the Hero in Archaic Greece'; Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 117–24; Calame, *Thésée et l'imaginaire athénien*; Walker, *Theseus and Athens*; Mills, *Theseus, Tragedy, and the Athenian Empire*; Waldner, *Geburt und Hochzeit des Kriegers* 102–221; Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens* 100–29. See also Radermacher, *Mythos und Sage* 241–303; Tausend, 'Theseus und der delisch-attische Seebund'; Calame, *The Craft of Poetic Speech* 186–201; Graf, *Greek Mythology* 136–40; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 85–6, 168–70; Goušchin, 'Athenian Synoikism'; Loraux, *The Invention of Athens*, index s.v. Theseus; Kowalzig, *Singing for the Gods* 88–94; J. M. Hall, 'Politics and Greek Myth'. On the iconography see Neils and Woodford in *LIMC* 7.922–51; Brommer, *Theseus*; Neils, *The Youthful Deeds of Theseus*; Schefold, *Die Urkönige* 230–93. Gantz 114–16, 264–70 offers his usual lucid and detailed overview of both literary and artistic sources; see further Stenger and Bähler, *BNP* s.v. Theseus; Robert, *GH* 676–756; Harding, *The Story of Athens* 52–72. Yet more references in Walker, *RhMus*² 138 (1995) 1 n. 1; Neils, *LIMC* 7.1.922; Daszewski, *LIMC* 3.1.1050.

⁶⁶ Often taken to be Naxos (e.g. Diod. Sic. 4.61.5), but probably the small island offshore from Knossos, forgotten and then re-identified. Schol. Theok. 2.45–6b offers six choices.

⁶⁷ Peirithoos and the Centaurs alone at Od. 21.295–304. The *Iliad* lines were probably interpolated during the late 6th-c. Athenian propaganda blitz; the lines from the *Nekyia* have also been impugned, less convincingly ('unzweifelhaft echt' says Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.116). The tale of Aithra was, however, known to other epic poets (*Kypria* fr. 12*, *Ilias Parva* fr. 17, *Iliupersis* argum. 4, fr. 6, the *Minyas* fr. 1 and the Hesiodic *Descent of Peirithoos*, fr. 280) and to lyric (Alkm. *PMGF* 21, Stesich. *PMGF* 191). Il. 1.265, where Theseus is 'son of Aigeus', which only special pleading would deny means 'Athenian', is repeated in *Scut.* 182, and in the papyrus ascribed to the *Descent of Peirithoos* Theseus is addressed as Ἀθηναίων βουλευφόρε (fr. 280.26). Ariadne and Theseus, and the Dioskouroi rescuing Helen were depicted on the Kypselos chest of the mid-6th c. (Paus. 5.19.1.3). The lost archaic epic *Theseis* is usually placed in the later 6th c.

says that Sappho (fr. 206) mentioned the seven boys and seven girls *quos liberavit secum Theseus*.⁶⁸

Scholars have sometimes claimed that there is nothing especially Attic in these early traces, noting instead Theseus' credentials as an Ionian hero: he is son of, and often worshipped with, Poseidon, the Ionian ethnic deity (and son of Aigeus, a hypostasis of the ancient Aegean sea-god); his crane-dance was performed not on Naxos but Delos, headquarters of the predominantly Ionian league.⁶⁹ Xouthos, father of Ion and Achaïos, founded the Marathonian tetrapolis (→§4.4); the slaying of the Marathonian bull is one of the earliest feats of Theseus depicted in art, before the expansion of the catalogue in the late sixth century (*LIMC* Theseus nos. 176–218; cf. *ibid.*, p. 949). In his famous poem (17) Bacchylides describes the youths dispatched to Crete as κοῦροι Ἰαόνων. Troizen, where Theseus grew up, had an Ionian element in its population (Hall, *Ethnic Identity* 101). His adventures in Thessaly with Peirithoos have also been read as evidence of roots there. Yet the synoecism of Attica, implied by the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* (Il. 2.546–56), was complete by 700 at the latest,⁷⁰ and it is a remarkable fact that Theseus' cult was confined to Athens and its harbour.⁷¹ If Theseus appeared at the battle of Marathon (Plut. *Thes.* 35.8), this was because it was the great victory of the Panathenians; and the monument commemorating the killing of the Marathonian bull was dedicated by the demesmen not in Marathon but on the Acropolis (Paus. 1.27.10). The bull itself was sacrificed to Apollo Delphinios,⁷² whose shrine in Athens is where Theseus arrived in Athens and proved his manhood with the famous bull-throw; the aetiology links directly to the rituals of Athenian ephebes and their citizenship.⁷³ Theseus' whole existence, in other words, is bound up with the synoecized Attica. It is hard to believe that the Athenians waited until the late sixth century to find him. Ionian links were certainly congenial to them as and when they sought to stress their primacy in the ethnos (a process that began early; →§19.2.1), but there is no warrant for denying a primarily Athenian home for Theseus from the start. When in the late sixth century, whether at Peisistratid or other agency, he began to be vigorously promoted as the national hero, the image was not created from nothing.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ Other references in lyric: Stesich. *PMGF* 191; Simon. *PMG* 550; Bacchyl. 18; Thgn. 1233.

⁶⁹ H. Herter, *RhMus*² 85 (1936) 177–239; K. Tausend, *RhMus*² 132 (1989) 227–8; cf. Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.117–20. See Walker, 'The Early Development of the Theseus Myth', for rebuttal.

⁷⁰ Hansen, *IACP* pp. 624–5; Parker, *Athenian Religion* 11–17.

⁷¹ Eur. *HF* 1324–33 (cf. Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 18) shows that the Athenians themselves remarked this peculiarity, and claimed that Theseus had magnanimously given over his shrines to Herakles. Though some of his mythology is sited in NE Attica, there was never a cult in the regions. Cf. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 168–9.

⁷² Plut. *Thes.* 14.1; Pausanias 1.27.10, however, says to Athena on the Acropolis.

⁷³ e.g. Graf, *Apollo* 109–10; R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 436; N. Robertson, *Festivals and Legends* 5–9, 131–3.

⁷⁴ Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants* 143–9, who stresses the importance of the François vase. Certainly Theseus was a latecomer to Trojan epic (Cingano, 'Teseo e i Teseidi'). The Troizen argument proves nothing: heroes often come from outside (Walker, 'The Early Development' 10–11), and Bremmer cites this as his first example among many of fosterage by a maternal relative ('Fosterage' 1).

Pher. fr. 148 is the oldest complete narrative of the Ariadne story. However we understand the *Odyssey's* brief account, it is incompatible with Pherekydes'; the lines towards the end of the scholion quoting Pherekydes ('they say she was killed by Artemis for abandoning her virginity') are clearly an insertion by someone with his eye on the lines to which the *historia* is appended (cf. schol. 11.326, where someone guesses that Dionysos is angry because Theseus and Ariadne had sexual relations in his precinct; Eustathios ad loc. says Artemis'). Several story-lines are consistent with the brief indications given by the *Odyssey*, including a Koronis-type in which Ariadne threw Dionysos over for a human husband (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.32, where Artemis kills Koronis on behalf of Apollo).⁷⁵

Entering a lightless underground labyrinth, there to meet a gory death at the jaws of a half-human carnivore, offspring of perversion who demands the blood of the sexually innocent, is a nightmare vision ready-made for psychoanalytical interpretation.⁷⁶ Such readings may be more or less adventurous even on their own terms, and are apt to be dismissed by staid classicists, but there is little doubt that the darker recesses of the psyche are in play in this myth, which may account for its being one of the most widely known in the world today. Another reason may be the satisfying elegance of the solution to the impossible puzzle: the simple ball of thread. It is a constant in ancient tellings, and in art from the late sixth century; owing to abbreviation it is missing from **Epimen. fr. 3**—which, however, supplies the solution to another part of the problem, how to see in the dark. The folktale motif of the princess who falls for the handsome foreigner has its usual appeal. For the rest, the hero must rely on his strong right arm: but now he has a fighting chance, and can only blame himself if he fails. The nightmare is tamed and fantasy-identification takes over.

Epimenides' crown-as-torch, however, seems to be an innovation. In earlier texts it features in a variety of ways: in Pherekydes it is a gift from Dionysos to Ariadne on Dia; in Bacchylides, Theseus under the sea receives a garland of roses for his hair, which Amphitrite got as a wedding gift from 'crafty Aphrodite'—Hyginus (*Astr.* 2.5.4) says he then gave it to Ariadne. Theseus is depicted receiving the wreath underwater on several vases (*LIMC* Theseus nos. 219–22), and Pausanias mentions it while describing a painting by Mikon (1.17.3; it is not clear what was in the painting itself). Ariadne had a *στέφανος* on the Kypselos chest (Paus. 5.19.1), and it features in several preserved representations, the earliest from the mid-sixth century (*LIMC* Ariadne nos. 28–34, 47a–49).

⁷⁵ Plut. *Thes.* 20 comments on the variety of tales on offer; of those he mentions, one is an elaborate aition taken from Hellenistic local history of Cyprus (Paion of Amathous, *FGrHist* 757 F 2); another is also derivative (the 'Naxians', *FGrHist* 501 F 1, say there were two Ariadnai, one whom Dionysos wed, the other the one abandoned by Theseus); a third, in which Ariadne hanged herself for shame, is not necessarily post-classical (e.g. Eur. *Hel.* 299, with Allan).

⁷⁶ Caldwell, *The Origins of the Gods* 31; P. E. Slater, *The Glory of Hera* 388–96. Psychoanalytical readings are compatible with, indeed in some ways reinforce, the initiatory motifs scholars have often identified in the myth.

It is a fixture also for Hellenistic poets (Arat. *Phaen.* 71–2, Kallim. fr. 110.59 ff., Ap. Rhod. 3.1002–4, Timachidas *SH* 770) and in Latin poetry (e.g. Hor. *Od.* 2.19.13 with Nisbet and Hubbard, Prop. 3.17.7–8 with Fedeli, Ov. *Fasti* 3.459–516). The idea that it was a gift survives in Epimenides himself, when he says that Dionysos used it to seduce Ariadne.⁷⁷ In the first part of his fragment the different view is reported that Ariadne wore it at her wedding, a gift from the Horai and Aphrodite. This is surely the original idea, as the texts above confirm; the wreath would be appropriate either in the context of a sacred marriage or in the rituals of human marriage. The statue of Aphrodite on Delos, dedicated by Theseus and given to him by Ariadne herself according to Plutarch (*Thes.* 21.1), groaned under the weight of its garlands, says Kallimachos (*Hymn. Del.* 307).

Pherekydes, even if only approximately reported, gave a lively and realistic account of the adventure.⁷⁸ Apart from the ball of thread there are details such as the vignette of Ariadne as tutor; the vow to Apollo Oulios and Artemis Oulia (Pher. fr. 149; see below); the expressed hope that Theseus might find the Minotaur asleep; the symbolic sacrifice to Poseidon;⁷⁹ the lucky youths and maidens still on board the ship (normally they would all have been committed at once; black-figure vases typically show a group in the labyrinth); the measures taken to prevent pursuit (**Pher. fr. 150**); and the involvement of no fewer than three gods on Dia.

Pherekydes also, perhaps surprisingly, says that Theseus was among the youths chosen by lot. It is an attractive guess that this reflects the democratic ethos of the city, although it is not necessarily anachronistic as heroes in Homer also draw lots.⁸⁰ Others, eager to praise the hero's virtue, say that he volunteered (Isok. *Hel.* 27; Plut. *Thes.* 17.2; Apollod. *Epit.* 1.7; Hyg. *Fab.* 41.2). The traditional number of twice seven sometimes includes Theseus, but sometimes in both literature and archaic art he is supernumerary (see Maehler on Bacchyl. 17.2), which may imply his volunteering.⁸¹ **Hellän. fr. 164** tries to have it both ways by saying that Minos came himself to make the selection (cf. Bacchyl. 17, Diod. 4.61.3, Paus. 1.17.3) but chose Theseus first of all. For his part, Hellanikos' account may have been even more realistic than Pherekydes', if as Jacoby suspected

⁷⁷ A rationalized version, this, as if Dionysos could not otherwise get his way; in the sequel we do not learn if a monstrous being was in the labyrinth. When Ariadne subsequently gave the crown to Theseus, it implies a choice like Koronis'; indeed this must be the meaning of *αἰρεσις* in l. 13 (it is not a synonym of *ἀπαγωγή*). So also Pämias and Geus ad loc. Ariadne has close associations with Aphrodite: Waldner, *Geburt und Hochzeit* 218–21. The children of Ariadne and Dionysos were Oinopion, Staphylos, and others; see the references at §19.2.2 n. 77.

⁷⁸ Not 'rationalized' as Jacoby says. For rationalized versions see Arist. fr. 485, Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 17a, Kleidemos *FGrHist* 323 F 17, Demon *FGrHist* 327 F 5, Palaiphatos 2.

⁷⁹ Tradition varied on how the Minotaur was killed (with sword, stone, club, or bare hands), and some depictions even show him being led out alive; see Gantz 264, 266–8. If Plutarch's detail (Hellän. fr. 164) that the youths were unarmed comes from Hellanikos, Theseus in his version would not have used a sword unless Ariadne gave him one. The detail recurs in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.213, schol. Plato *Min.* 321a.

⁸⁰ Cf. Harding, *The Story of Athens* 59.

⁸¹ Bremmer (pers. comm.) points out that the arrangement could reflect his being the *χορηγός*.

(on Hellan. fr. 164 and *FGrHist* 323a F 14) the treaty-like terms that led to the imposition of the tribute sprang from him (cf. Hellan. fr. 15, 31 c. 47.4; for Minos' terms see Diod. Sic. 4.61.3, Plut. *Thes.* 15.1, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.213, Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 6.14). Hellanikos has also thought to include in the treaty the provision that the Athenians had to provide the transport; this of course links directly to the theoric ship to Delos for which this myth was the aition (Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 81). Pace Jacoby, however, Plutarch's wording does not compel us to believe that in Hellanikos there was only one *δασμός*. Those who specify typically say it was the third (Ov. *Met.* 8.169–71, Plut. *Thes.* 15.1, 17.1, Apollod. *Epit.* 1.7; second by confusion in Diod. Sic. 4.61.3) and every 'nine' years (i.e., eight reckoned inclusively; Ov. and Plut. locc. cit., Diod. Sic. 4.61.3; annual in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.215, Hyg. *Fab.* 41.1). The most likely reason for specifying the third round of 'nine' years is to make Theseus 16 years old when he undertook this task, that is to say the age at which a young Athenian was first received into the phratry: a budding ephebe.

Pher. fr. 149 says that Theseus made a vow of sacrifice to Apollo Oulios and Artemis Oulia against his safe return. This is generally and rightly linked to the Oulios in his stemma of the Philaidai (**Pher. fr. 2**), since Oulios was the name of one of Kimon's sons; not only that, the name occurs nowhere else.⁸² As presented by the MSS Pherekydes' genealogy is a simple succession of fathers and sons:

Aias → Philaios → Aiklos → Epilykos → Akestor → Agenor → Oulios → Lykes → †Tophon → Philaios → Agamestor → Teisandros in whose archonship < > → Miltiades → Hippokleides, in whose archonship the Panathenaia were established → Miltiades, who colonized the Chersonese

This is transmitted by Marcellinus in his *Life of Thucydides*, drawing on Didymos, whose purpose was to show that Thucydides was related to 'Miltiades the στρατηγός', and Miltiades for his part to Aiakos son of Zeus, Aias' grandfather. The στρατηγός is of course the victor of Marathon (conventionally 'Miltiades IV'), but the quotation stops at the earlier Miltiades, who colonized the Chersonese in the time of the Peisistratidai ('Miltiades III', the oikist). Since the link to Thucydides was the younger Miltiades' marriage to the daughter of the Thracian king Oloros (whence the name of Thucydides' father), it is strange that the genealogy, if it continued to the time of Marathon, was not quoted in full. Of course, if Herodotos is right (see below), the link between the Miltiades III and IV was not direct; we cannot know if Pherekydes would have agreed with this reconstruction, but if he connected the two Miltiadai in a direct line, it is even stranger that Didymos did not complete the quotation. If the quotation did continue along Herodotean lines, Didymos ought to have noticed that it lends only qualified support to

⁸² e.g. Barron, 'Bakchylides, Theseus and a Woolly Cloak' (noting οὔλιος in Bacchyl. 18.53, where see also Maehler; doubts in R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 168 n. 54); id., 'Chios'; Tausend, 'Theseus und der delisch-attische Seebund'; Davies, *APF* 306–7; Capodicasa, 'Apollo Oulios'; Bertelli, 'C'era una volta un mito . . .'. He is probably mentioned at Ar. *Eq.* 407.

his thesis about Thucydides. Since he makes the mistake elsewhere of thinking that the fifth-century Kimon was directly descended from Miltiades the oikist (schol. Pind. *Nem.* 2.19 = Didym. p. 229 Schmidt), he probably made the same mistake here (Davies, *APF* 295 after Lewis, *Selected Papers* 81 n. 40). In that case we may believe that Pherekydes' account ended with the oikist. We shall return below to the question of why Pherekydes offered this genealogy at all, and then only so much of it. For the meantime we need to consider its reconstruction.

Herodotos (6.35.1) agrees with Didymos that the elder Miltiades was descended from Aiakos and his mother Aigina, who mated with Zeus; he explains that Philaios son of Aias was the first of this family to live in Athens. This echoes the opening words of Pherekydes ('Philaios son of Aias lived in Athens') and chimes with the information in Plutarch, *Solon* 10.3, that Philaios and Eurysakes, sons of Aias, moved to Attica and handed Salamis over to the Athenians.⁸³ Unlike Pherekydes, Herodotos does not give the complete list between Philaios and Miltiades, but in telling the famous story of Hippokleides, the suitor of Agariste, he calls him son of Teisandros (6.127.4), not as in Pherekydes son of (yet another) Miltiades; he also says that he was descended from the Kypselidai in Corinth, without telling us how (6.128.2). Moreover, Herodotos disagrees with Pherekydes about the father of the oikist. His tree is as shown in Fig. 1 (6.34–9, 103, 136). It is clear that the suitor Hippokleides was related in some way to the oikist; a persuasive suggestion holds that their fathers were brothers, and that Kypselos the father of the oikist was the Corinthian tyrant's grandson.⁸⁴

It has always been tempting to emend one or the other of these genealogies to bring them into line with each other, but this is more than unnecessary, it is a mistake. This is exactly the sort of variation we would expect in orally transmitted genealogies being used for different purposes.⁸⁵ Herodotos carefully explains the succession of rulers in

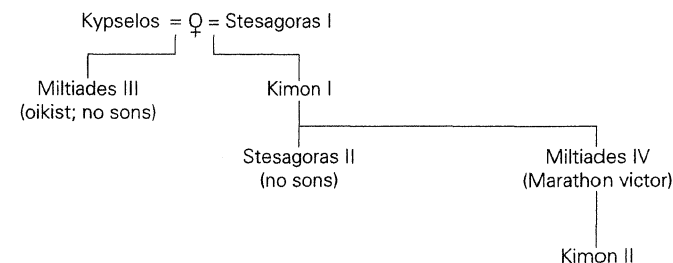


FIG. 16.1

⁸³ Philaios' mother according to Steph. Byz. s.v. Φιλαῖδαι was Lysidike daughter of Koronos the Lapith (son of Kaineus, *Il.* 2.746); the name is irrecoverable in schol. *Il.* 15.439.

⁸⁴ Davies, *APF* 295 after others.

⁸⁵ See R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record* 161–73, whose discussion is fundamental.

the Chersonese. He is treating a period much closer in time to his own than Pherekydes, and it is absolutely typical that genealogies in such circumstances become more complicated at the lower end, because still within reach of living memory, and because the implications of the relationships still mattered. It would be known that the claim of Kimon II to being Philaid was a qualified one: perhaps it was because Stesagoras II was adopted by Miltiades III, even if he died without issue; perhaps because Stesagoras I was Philaid too; and/or because his and Kypselos' wife was Philaid (in the same way that Perikles could count as an Alkmeonid because of his mother).⁸⁶ The precise relationship of these families to the Peisistratidai and the Kypselidai would have been a matter of keen political interest in fifth-century Athens. The segmentations in the tree afforded ample material for debate on these sensitive issues; they could be turned to advantage whichever side of the political fence you stood on, as one chose to underplay or overplay this or that half-link.

The genealogy in Pherekydes has a completely different shape, and the anthropological parallels suggest that the purpose of such catalogues of fathers succeeding sons without break is to legitimize the person at the bottom end.⁸⁷ This is a rare, and perhaps the only example in our corpus of a genealogy that comes down from mythical into historical times (the only comparable one being Hippokrates:→§1.9.2). This alone suggests that Pherekydes had a personal relationship with the Kimonidai, as also does his inclusion of Oulios in the genealogy. So his purpose was to glorify the family, and to this end he includes some of their memorable achievements—the Panathenaia, the settlement of the Chersonese, and whatever was in the lacuna (if there was one) for Teisandros⁸⁸—as well as omitting any hint of a connection to Kypselos or Peisistratos, and anything that Miltiades IV did while archon under Hippias.⁸⁹ The cult of Apollo Oulios was found predominantly in Ionic cities, and is well attested on Delos.⁹⁰ The

⁸⁶ At 6.103.4 Herodotos writes ὁ μὲν δὲ πρεσβύτερος τῶν παίδων τῷ Κίμωνι Στῆσαγόρης ἦν τηρικαῦτα παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ Μιλτιάδῃ τρεφόμενος. The last five words strongly suggest that the two branches regarded themselves as one family (in general see Bremmer, 'Fosterage', though this passage qualifies his observation, p. 2, that there are no examples of fosterage on the father's side). Herodotos goes on to say that Miltiades IV was named after Miltiades III which probably has the same import. Incidentally, Miltiades IV was eponymous archon in 524/3, so if his brother was a few years older he would have been born about 560 or a little before, and therefore with Miltiades III in the Chersonese in the mid-540s, which suits Davies's chronology well (APF 299, after others).

⁸⁷ Fowler, 'Genealogical Thinking' 3–4.

⁸⁸ I have followed Casaubon as the simplest solution. There is certainly no reason why Pherekydes could not have mentioned two archons' achievements. If only Hippokleides' achievement was mentioned, it probably implies a two-stage corruption: the phrase 'during whose archonship in Athens' was first duplicated at p. 277.1–2, then the words 'in Athens' were omitted in 277.3. If Teisandros is to be archon three generations before Miltiades III, it would put him in the mid-7th c., where there are plenty of gaps in the record (BNP Suppl. 1.149 for the list). That we do not know what Teisandros' special accomplishment was is neither here nor there. Granted, the text is corrupt on any reading, so nothing like certainty is possible. If dittography is diagnosed, it would be better to delete also the first τοῦ δὲ Μιλτιάδης.

⁸⁹ R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record* 169; Möller, 'Der Stammbaum der Philaiden' 25.

⁹⁰ Masson, 'Le culte ionien d'Apollon Oulios'; Graf, *Apollo* 84–5, and 'Gods in Greek Inscriptions' 73.

sacrifice to Apollo Oulios and Artemis Oulia was an innovation in the same spirit, replacing Apollo Delphinios and Artemis Delphinia.⁹¹ Theseus founded the games on Delos (Plut. *Thes.* 21.3), where his famous crane-dance was celebrated in commemoration of the Labyrinth.⁹² Kimon, of course, was the architect of the Delian League, and brilliantly exploited the myth and cult of Theseus to enhance his own standing in Athens, bringing the hero's very bones to the city from Skyros and establishing the Theseion in 476/5.

It has sometimes been asked, with respect to the inclusion of Oulios in the genealogy, which way the influence went, from Pherekydes to Kimon or vice versa. Given that the name is unique, it is surely from Kimon to the mythographer. Otherwise we should have to find some reason why Pherekydes invented this oddity, and changed the usual myth of Theseus' sacrifice; and we should have to suppose then that Kimon read his book, and thought this Oulios a rather nice name for his son, fitting as it did so conveniently with his political agenda. Put this way it seems obvious that Kimon named Oulios, as he did his brothers Lakedaimonios and Thettalos, as a reflection of that agenda, and Pherekydes flattered him by revising both genealogy and mythology. The approximate date of Pherekydes' activity is thus confirmed. But we should inquire further into why he departed from his normal procedure by including historical genealogy in his book, and why, if his purpose was to glorify Kimon, he stopped at Miltiades III the oikist. Answers are bound to be speculative. Regarding the second question, it might have been politically unwise to mention Miltiades IV after he was disgraced (unlikely: Kimon did everything he could to rehabilitate his father's reputation). It might have been better to conceal the fact that Miltiades III was not a direct ancestor, leaving the reader to think that in effect he was. Or, in a work devoted to the *spatium heroicum*, including live contemporaries was a step too far; but by the same token, the oikist and the other ancestors join the august company of the heroes in this narrative.

Regarding the first question we can perhaps get further by considering the context of this passage in the original book. This was of course Salamis. The island was awarded to Athens by arbitration perhaps in the late sixth century, though the event is backdated by Plutarch to the time of Solon (*Sol.* 10).⁹³ Mythological arguments were developed during the sixth century as the ownership dispute raged between Athens and Megara. The only Kleisthenic tribe not named after a mainland hero was Aiantis, which is an

⁹¹ Pl. *Phd.* 58b ('Apollo'), Plut. *Thes.* 18.1 (which speaks oddly of supplication to Apollo Delphinios rather than a vow), 22.2 ('gods'). On Delphinios/a see Pollux 8.119; Graf, *MH* 36 (1979) 2–22 (17 on the connection with the Cretan voyage); Waldner, *Geburt und Hochzeit* 178–9, 192–3.

⁹² For the controversy about the date at which the dance was moved from Crete to Delos, see R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 86 n. 79 and von den Hoff, *ThesCRA* 2.308.

⁹³ One of the arbitrators was Kleomenes who may have been the Spartan King. So e.g. Ferguson, 'The Salaminioi' 17 after Beloch and others; Andrewes, *CAH* 3.3.373, expresses caution, and Patterson, *Kinship Myth in Ancient Greece*, 165–9 strongly supports a date in the time of Peisistratos.

indication of the importance of the island to national pride. Plutarch says that Aias' sons Philaios and Eurysakes gave the island to the Athenians; Pausanias (1.35.2) says Philaios, but adds that he was son of Eurysakes son of Aias. Herodotos (6.35.1) mentions only Philaios. For Sophokles and for Athenians worshipping at the Eurysakeion, Eurysakes was son of Aias.⁹⁴ There seems to have been some debate about which Aiantid effected the transfer of ownership; Plutarch's 'Philaios and Eurysakes' looks like a fudge. If we consider again the usual purpose of linear genealogies, we may infer that Pherekydes is stressing the point that Kimon, after other grand members of the family, is the true heir of Philaios; there is no room for Eurysakes in his scheme.⁹⁵ It could not but have helped a leading politician to associate himself with the glory of that island's name. We happen to know that the *genos* of the significantly named Salaminioi had official charge not only of the cult of Eurysakes but of the *Oschophoria*, part of whose aetiology was the vow that Theseus made to Apollo Delphinios; it is precisely this aetiology that Pherekydes changed in fr. 149, as we have seen.⁹⁶ The argument about Philaios vs. Eurysakes could well go back to the sixth century, but Pherekydes' innovation suggests that rivalry between the Philaidai and the Salaminioi continued in Kimon's day. How intense the rivalry was, and with what political implications, we cannot say without knowing the names of contemporary Salaminioi,⁹⁷ or for that matter of more of Kimon's opponents. It has been speculated on somewhat uncertain grounds that Alkibiades was a Salaminios,⁹⁸ which might be relevant in view of his guardian Perikles' relationship to Kimon's archenemy Ephialtes.

Pher. fr. 60 adds a further twist, that Telamon was in fact Athenian, son of Aktaios and Glauke daughter of Kychreus; he was not Peleus' brother—but he was his friend. Aktaios was probably not the Attic king (who lived long before), but the name obviously evokes Attica, and he is linked through marriage to the first king of Salamis, Kychreus son of Poseidon.⁹⁹ Telamon must have gone to live in Salamis; his grandson then returned to Athens. The friendship of Peleus and Telamon may preserve a traditional association, as often happens when myths are altered; Huxley, however, argued that it would be unexpected before the cessation of hostilities between Athens and Aigina c.481, or after their resumption c. 460, which would fit Pherekydes' dates.¹⁰⁰ Both

⁹⁴ Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 81–2, 141–2.

⁹⁵ Cf. Ferguson, 'Salaminioi' 16.

⁹⁶ On the *genos* see Ferguson, 'Salaminioi'; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 308–16 and *Polytheism and Society at Athens* 214–15; Lambert, 'The Attic Genos Salaminioi'; Taylor, *Salamis and the Salaminioi*; L'Homme-Wéry, 'Les héros de Salamine en Attique'.

⁹⁷ The names known from later inscriptions yield no obvious points of contact with Kimon, assuming some of their ancestors bore the same names.

⁹⁸ R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 323 n. 94.

⁹⁹ Diod. Sic. 4.72.7 makes Glauke the daughter of Kychreus, and wife rather than mother of Telamon. Sim. Tzetzēs on Lykoph. *Alex.* 175.

¹⁰⁰ Huxley, 'The Date of Pherekydes' 139.

genealogy and continuing friendship might have been invented by him; or he might have added the friendship motif to a tendentious genealogy inherited from the quarrel of the preceding century. The pan-Hellenic genealogy made Telamon a son of Aiakos (*Alkmeonis* fr. 1, Pind. *Pyth.* 8.100, *Nem.* 5.12, Bacchyl. 13.98, etc.); if Herodotos knew Pherekydes' idea, he ignored it (6.35.1, 8.64). Hellanikos might have shared the general view (**Hellan. fr. 22**), if he is to support Didymos' contention that the Philaidai descended from Aiakos; but we have found reason to think Didymos unreliable. As usual, when author B is said to agree with author A, we can be sure of very little about B. Hellanikos' fragment is quoted from his *Asopis*, and like everybody else he would have said that Aigina was Asopos' daughter (Salamis too), but beyond that we can say nothing.

It is possible too that in Pherekydes Theseus, not Telamon, was Aias' father.¹⁰¹ **Pher. fr. 153** said that Phereboia was the name of one of Theseus' wives. In the same passage, Athenaios quoting Istros *FGrHist* 334 F 10 mentions Meliboia mother of Aias. Plutarch, *Thes.* 28–9, also catalogues the wives, drawing in all likelihood on the same passage of Istros; he expressly distinguishes Phereboia from 'Periboia mother of Aias', but it does look as if Meliboia, Periboia, Phereboia, and the gallantly defended Eriboia in Bacchylides' poem are variants of the same name.¹⁰² Her father was Alkathoos king of Megara (Xen. *Kyneg.* 1.19, Paus. 1.42, Apollod. loc. cit.). One can imagine a (completely unattested) story in which Eriboia gave up Theseus as dead while he was stuck in the Underworld with Peirithoos, and married Telamon;¹⁰³ but most simply the point is that Theseus has been made father of the great Homeric hero. With this, Pherekydes' making Telamon son rather than husband of Glauke may be connected; Glauke was his first wife, Eriboia his second, in the usual scenario. So both Telamon and Aias have been completely divorced from Megara. Again, it is an obvious guess that these manoeuvres date back to the sixth-century arguments over Salamis. If Pherekydes propagated the story that Theseus was the first ancestor of the Philaidai, this too would tie in perfectly with Kimon's programme.

Of the other names in Pher. fr. 2 there is not much to be said. Neither Daiklos (codd.) nor Daikles (Poppo) is attested as an Attic name (Daikles is attested in the Peloponnese, Mysia and Pontos: *LGPN* 3A, 5A); Aiklos (Casaubon) is attested in Strabo (7.7.1, 10.1.8) and others as the Attic son of Xouthos and founder of Eretria (Toepffer, *RE* 1.1.1008). Epilykos is an easy emendation for the impossible Epidykos; see Davies, *APF* 296–8. Akestor, Agenor, and Lykes are attested Attic names (see *LPGN* 2), and an Agenor father of Peisistratos is known from late sixth-century Miletos (therefore probably a Neleid;

¹⁰¹ Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* 271; cf. Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen* 244 n. 5; Kron, 'Zur Schale des Kodros-Malers in Basel' 301–2.

¹⁰² 'Epiboia' on the François vase. See also Pind. *Isthm.* 6.45, Soph. *Ai.* 569, fr. 730, Diod. Sic. 4.72.7, Paus. 1.17.3, 1.42.2, 4, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.162, schol. Pl. *Alk.* 1.121a, schol. *Il.* 16.14 = Philostephanos fr. 22 Capel Badino.

¹⁰³ Compare Phaidra in Sophokles fr. 686 (on one interpretation; see Radt).

cf. Pher. fr. 155, §19; Davies op. cit. 307). Akestor, like Oulios, is an epithet of Apollo.¹⁰⁴ In the chronographers (e.g. Eus. p. 84a 15–16 Helm, Anon. *FGrHist* 258) an Agamestor is eleventh in the list of life archons. For Hippokleides and the foundation of the Panathenaia, see above §16.1.4. The uncertainties of the career of Miltiades III and Athenian involvement in the Chersonese have been explored by many historians and need not detain us here.¹⁰⁵

It would be a mistake to think that Pherekydes had precise chronological considerations in mind when he composed this genealogy. He would have had a rough notion, by way of the Spartan king-list, of the distance between his day and Troy, and put in enough names to make it feel right. There is no point trying to convert his stemma to years.

Pher. fr. 146, a verbatim quotation, gives the genealogy of Daidalos (son of Metion and Iphinoe, daughter of Erechtheus), adding that he is eponym of the historical deme Daidalidai.¹⁰⁶ Since many demes existed before the Kleisthenic reforms this has no bearing on the date at which Pherekydes wrote his book. Competing with Metion for the name of Daidalos' father is Eupalamos;¹⁰⁷ Diodoros and Apollodoros combine them as father and son, though disagreeing about which is which.¹⁰⁸ Except for Menekrates in our corpus (fr. 5), who says the victim was a half-brother, everyone is agreed that Daidalos murdered his nephew. They disagree over his name, giving either Kalos, Talos, or Perdix, 'partridge'; sometimes Perdix is rather the name of Daidalos' sister.¹⁰⁹ Ovid naturally makes a metamorphosis story out of this (*Met.* 8.236–59), but one may be implied from the start. All sources who give a motive, including Hellanikos, say that Daidalos was jealous of his nephew's superior skill as an artisan; he threw the boy off the acropolis, and Pausanias saw his tomb (1.21.4; cf. Phot., *Suda* locc. cit.). It is a case of

fosterage by a maternal uncle gone badly wrong.¹¹⁰ Given Daidalos' roots in Attic genealogy, it is perhaps unsurprising that Toepffer found it 'incomprehensible' that anyone would think Daidalos originated in Crete (*Attische Genealogie* 166); but his Cretan connections may go back to Linear B, and his career in Athens was rather reprehensible. However, origins matter little; Daidalos is by the time we meet him a pan-Hellenic figure, and even a negative *exemplum* can form part of native mythology. In the same story, the figure of Talos, the name both of the bronze Cretan giant and the Athenian nephew, is another example of possible cross-fertilization; the links are explored by Buxton, 'The Myth of Talos' 95–6.

Pher. fr. 85 mentions Deukalion son of Minos; the context could be Iliadic (his son is Idomeneus, e.g. *Il.* 13.452); or it could be Attic, if Kleidemos' story (*FGrHist* 323 F 17), which Plutarch calls eccentric, about Deukalion waging war on Theseus to bring Daidalos to justice after his escape from Crete, had some predecessor.

§16.3.2 ISTHMIAN MATTERS (Andron fr. 6, 14; Hellan. fr. 43, 46A, 75, 78, 165; Pher. fr. 147)

Squeezed between powerful Athens on one side and Corinth on the other, and occupying a strategically important corridor, the people of Megara suffered more than most from the perpetual conflict between Greek city-states.¹¹¹ The entanglement of Athenian and Megarian genealogies, which we have already seen in relation to the Philaidai (above, p. 477), reflects the tensions between the two cities and competing attempts to own the past. In the absence of better evidence, particularly for the history of Megara, it is hazardous to identify specific points of contact between myth and history, or to attempt to trace the process of deformation in any detail. One can only make the general point.

Pandion, in the standard story, was expelled from Attica by the sons of Metion, went to Megara, married the king's daughter and became king in his stead.¹¹² Pandion's sons were Aigeus, Pallas, Lykos, and Nisos, who avenged their father by evicting the Metionidai. The first three then divided Attica between them,¹¹³ while Nisos ruled in Megara until betrayed to Minos by his daughter Skylla. Nisos is self-evidently at home

¹⁰⁴ Uniquely at Eur. *Andr.* 900; Capodicasa, 'Apollo Oulios' 180.

¹⁰⁵ See e.g. Davies, *APF* 8429 VI; Andrewes, *CAH* 3.3.404–5; Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* 198; Kinzl, *BNP* s.v. Miltiades (but note that his helpful bibliography is omitted in the English version).

¹⁰⁶ For the deme see Milchhöfer, *RE* 4.2 s.v.; Lohmann, *BNP* s.v.

¹⁰⁷ Bacchyl. 26.5–7; *P.Oxy.* 4036 (van Rossum-Steenbeek no. 69) fr. 11 (probably); Hyg. *Fab.* 39, 244, 274; Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 6.14; Tzetzes *Chil.* 1.493–500, 11.877; schol. Pl. *Rep.* 529e; Phot. s.v. Πέρδικος ἱερὸν, *Suda* π1042. Paus. 9.3.2 says 'Palamaon'.

¹⁰⁸ Metion son of Eupalamos son of Erechtheus, Diod. Sic. 4.76.1; Eupalamos son of Metion son of Erechtheus, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.196, 204, 214 (implied also by Paus. 7.4.5 with 9.3.2; stated also by schol. Pl. *Alk.* 1.121a. Sokrates was supposedly a descendant: Pl. *Euthphr.* 11b, *Alk.* 1.121a.) Plato *Ion* 533a names Metion as father. Sources sometimes speak of the Metionidai as a *genos*; they left no historical trace. Mothers: Iphinoe, Pher.; Merope daughter of Erechtheus (oddly), Plut. *Thes.* 19.9 = Kleidemos *FGrHist* 323 F 17; Phrasimede, schol. Pl. *Rep.* 529e; Metadioussa, Tzetzes *Chil.* 11.877 (in Apollod. she is daughter of Eupalamos and wife of Kekrops II).

¹⁰⁹ Kalos: Paus. 1.21.4, 1.26.4 (son of sister), Clem. Al. *Protr.* 473, Phot., *Suda* locc. cit. (son of Perdix, who hangs herself); Talos: Hellan. fr. 169, Diod. Sic. 4.76.4, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.214 (son of Perdix), Tzetzes *Chil.* 1.496 ('Attalos' son of Perdix); Perdix: Soph. fr. 323, Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 6.14, Serv. on *Georg.* 1.143, Hyg. *Fab.* 39, 244.

¹¹⁰ On this subject in Greek myth see Bremmer, 'Fosterage'.

¹¹¹ For brief orientation on the history of the polis see Legon in *IACP* no. 225; Freitag, *BNP* s.v. Megara.

¹¹² Strabo 9.1.6, Paus. 1.5.3–4. Succession by marrying the daughter follows a common pattern; see §4.2 n. 47, §5.3.3 n. 87.

¹¹³ 'But Aigeus had all the power' says Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.206, attempting to have it both ways; the *Atthis* can only have one king at a time, as Jacoby on Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 107 puts it. So too Soph. fr. 24, the oldest literary testimony to this story. Paus. (1.5.4, 1.39.4) says Aigeus was eldest. Sophokles and schol. *Ar. Lys.* 58 and *Vesp.* 1223 identify which part of Attica each son controlled, and scholars have tried to relate this distribution to the history of the Peisistratidai and their struggle with contemporary factions; Herodotos mentions Peisistratos' capture of Nisaia in the same breath (Hdt. 1.59). Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 116 shows the futility of such attempts. All one can say is that the story reflects the divisions of Attica in a general way.

in Nisaia (**Hell. fr. 75, 78**),¹¹⁴ and the story of exile and return of the other three brothers is a cack-handed attempt to make Megara Athenian. Were Pandion indisputably Athenian, it would help the case, but his tomb in the Megarid (Paus. 1.5.3, 1.39.4) tends to suggest that he too was Megarian. It is instructive to note how Pausanias, never for a moment doubting that Pandion is Athenian, takes his tomb in the Megarid as proof of Athenian claims. These were to be sure bolstered by his cult on the acropolis, old myths, and a link with the Pandia.¹¹⁵

Further examples of Athenian pretension are not hard to find. Quoting **Andron fr. 14** Strabo comments that all respectable Attidographers are agreed about the four sons of Pandion, but disagree about details of the story; he instances the disagreement over the extent of Nisos' realm. Andron said as far as Eleusis and the Thriasian plain, whereas Philochoros said to the Pythion; schol. Ar. *Lys.* 58 = *Suda* π391 mirrors this, saying that Aigeus' realm extended to the Pythion from the other side. Unfortunately we do not know the location of this shrine, but, as Jacoby on Philochoros notes, it would be odd if Philochoros put this east of the Thriasian plain, as that would concede to the Megarians a district won in the war with Eumolpos long before. According to Plutarch (*Thes.* 10), Megarian historians said precisely that Theseus had to reclaim the district of Eleusis.

It was on this occasion, adds Plutarch, that Megarians said Skiron¹¹⁶ was killed; they protested vigorously at the Athenian image of him as a thug, and trotted out his respectable family ties, including to figures such as Kychreus revered in Athens.¹¹⁷ Later on (25.4), Plutarch remarks that Theseus 'having secured Attic possession of the Megarid' (*προσκτησάμενος τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὴν Μεγαρικὴν βεβαίως*) set up the 'famous' (*θρυλουμένη*) stele proclaiming the boundary between the Peloponnese on one side and Ionia on the other. Strabo, just before citing Andron and Philochoros, also says that Ionians first dwelt in Megara, and mentions this stele. This will not have been the Megarian view of their prehistory. They would not have agreed either that after the demise of Nisos Theseus controlled Megara; they refused to acknowledge the Cretan war (Paus. 1.39.6, 1.41.5; → §2.2), and for them the eponymous Megareus son of Poseidon came next—who was not from Onchestos in Boiotia, as **Hell. fr. 78** and **Apollod. Bibl.** 3.210 say.¹¹⁸ After him came the Pelopid Alkathoos.

¹¹⁴ The location of the Homeric Nisa (*Il.* 2.508) is uncertain; probably not to be equated with Nisaia (E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 279–80).

¹¹⁵ Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 191–2; R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 477–8.

¹¹⁶ The proper old spelling (e.g. Bacchyl. 18.25); Pfeiffer on Kallim. fr. 296; Waser, *Roscher Lex.* s.v. Skiron 1004. For the story Gantz 252.

¹¹⁷ On this mythical manoeuvre see Wickersham, 'Myth and Identity in the Archaic Polis'.

¹¹⁸ Megareus is son of Poseidon also at Hyg. *Fab.* 157.2; from Onchestos and grandson of Poseidon in Ovid *Met.* 10.605–6; son of Hippomenes of Onchestos, **Apollod.** loc. cit.; son of Onchestos in Plut. *Qu. graec.* 16 p. 295a. For the story of Skylla, see Aisch. *Cho.* 613–22; Paus. 1.19.4, 2.34.7; Prop. 3.19.21–2, 4.4.39–40; Ov. *Met.* 8.6–151; [Verg.] *Ciris* 378–85; **Apollod. Bibl.** 3.210–11; Hyg. *Fab.* 198; Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 650; Schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 1200; Serv. on Verg. *Ecl.* 6.74; schol. Stat. *Theb.* 1.333, 7.261; Myth. Vat. I 1.3, II 146 (123); Gantz 257–8.

According to Plutarch the very next thing Theseus did was to establish the Isthmian games; here he quotes **Andr. fr. 6** and **Hell. fr. 165**. It seems that in these writers, as in Plutarch, the foundation was placed after his Cretan adventure, which ended Minos' power on the mainland. Theseus was perhaps in a position to extract favours from the Corinthians for Athenian visitors because he had 'purified' the Isthmus (Soph. fr. 905, Paus. 2.1.4, **Apollod. Bibl.** 2.133, Hypoth. Pind. *Isthm.* p. 195.3 Drachmann). Strictly speaking, he re-established the games; the Corinthian ones for Melikertes, according to this propaganda, were more like a nocturnal mystery rite than a panegyrismos. Plutarch notes in passing that the Megarians, obviously responding to the Athenian fiction (Melikertes being much the stronger tradition),¹¹⁹ say the games were (re-)established in honour of Skiron, as expiation for the murder, he being a relative of Theseus on his mother's side (yet more respectable genealogy for the hero). Here too must belong the doubts about Aigeus' parentage which surface in Plut. *Thes.* 13.1 and **Apollod. Bibl.** 3.206;¹²⁰ in the former passage, the Pallantidai fling it in his face that he is adopted, and in the latter passage he is son of an unknown 'Skyrios' according to some authorities. Heyne already suggested emending *Σκυρίου* to *Σκίρωνος*, and Robert improved this to *Σκίρου*;¹²¹ the emendation is hard to resist, since any advantage that might arise from a connection with Skyros, in the context of Kimon's programme, would be cancelled by Aigeus' illegitimacy. It is this well-known connection that gave rise to the corruption.¹²²

The Isthmian Games were probably a popular destination for Athenians, especially if some of them could claim front-row seats.¹²³ The tradition of special treatment need not be doubted, but its origins in the foundation by Theseus are of course an Athenian fiction, part of their attempt to make him equal to Herakles in all things (who founded

¹¹⁹ The variants are found principally in this passage of Plutarch and Hypoth. Pind. *Isthm.* vol. 3.192–5 Drachmann; for Theseus see also *Marm. Par. FGrHist* 239 A 20 (established for Sinis), Plin. *NH* 7.205 (no honorand named), Hyg. *Fab.* 273.8 (ditto). It is Sisyphos who established the games for Melikertes (e.g. Pind. fr. 5, **Apollod. Bibl.** 3.29; → §5.3.5). Whether Melikertes had a cult in the early period is uncertain; Instone, 'Origins of the Olympics' 76 n. 20. On the early Isthmia generally see Gebhard, 'The Early Stadium at Isthmia', 'The Beginnings of Pan-Hellenic Games at the Isthmus', and 'Rites for Melikertes-Palaemon in the Early Roman Corinthia'; Morgan, 'The Evolution of a Sacral "Landscape"', *Isthmia* (p. 423 for the myth), and 'The Origins of the Isthmian Festival'; J. K. Davies, 'The Origins of the Festivals' 62.

¹²⁰ Lykoph. *Alex.* refers to Theseus son of Phemios; *pace* his scholiasts this must refer to his father Poseidon (albeit unattested as an epithet for him; known for Zeus and Athena, *CRESCAM* 2170, 5596) and not to an unknown father of Aigeus. See Hurst and Kolde ad loc.

¹²¹ *Hermes* 20 (1885) 354; cf. Philoch. *FGrHist* 328 F 111, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Σκίρος*, Pfeiffer, *Kallim.* 1.507 on fr. 230; A. Hollis, *ZPE* 95 (1993) 46.

¹²² Opinions differ on whether the four characters depicted on an Attic vase of c.480 (*LIMC* Lykos II no. 1) and labelled Lykos, Pallas, Nisos, and Orneus are meant to be the four sons of Pandion; I side with Jacoby on *FGrHist* 328 F 107, n. 14, against e.g. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 116, that Orneus (son of Erechtheus; see above, p. 448) is not here brother to the other three. Incidentally I see no reason to bring the Skira (short iota) or the Salaminian Skiros into the discussion, though it is unsurprising that a Megarian historian tried it on (Praxion, *FGrHist* 484 F 1). On the Skira see R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 173–7.

¹²³ Ar. *Pax* 879–80; Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 80; Hornblower on Thuc. 8.10.1.

the Olympics:→§8.4.5). The Isthmia were founded in the early sixth century and were never anything but Corinthian. Traditions about the early history of the Isthmian Games were in fact quite uncertain (Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists* 108–12).

Hellānikos (fr. 46A) also mentioned the Megarian town (or polis) of Pagai/Pegai (IACP no. 226) in an unknown context. The book-number is transmitted as four. However one reconstructs Hellānikos' *Atthis* (→Part B), the fourth book certainly fell in the historical period. Pagai, whose position on the Corinthian gulf gave it great strategic importance, came into Athenian hands when Megara joined her alliance in 461; Athens was obliged to return it under the terms of the 'Thirty Years' Peace' (Thuc. 1.103.4, 1.111.2, 1.115.1, 4.21.3). If this is the context of the fragment, it should have been omitted from *EGM* 1; but like everywhere else Pagai had its mythological connections, which might have been mentioned.¹²⁴ Too much is uncertain about this citation to hazard an emendation of the book-number unless one is convinced, on grounds that seem less than compelling, that the *Atthis* could not have had four books.

Like Skiron, Kerkyon was a brigand defeated by Theseus, but one for whom there is good evidence of a quite different estimation, in this case mainly Eleusinian;¹²⁵ but that he could be grandfather of a Kleisthenic eponym (**Hellān. fr. 43**; Paus. 1.5.2) shows that the situation is to be differently assessed than it was for the Megarian, not, that is, as a reflection of inter-state rivalry. In Euripides' *Alope* (Collard and Cropp 1.115–23; cf. Karkinos *TrGF* 760 F 1b) Kerkyon plays the familiar role of a father refusing to believe that a god was responsible for his daughter's pregnancy, whose opposition must be removed so that the child can claim its rightful place. In Hyginus' telling (*Fab.* 187), Theseus makes this happen by killing Kerkyon, but it is an awkward narrative: the child is exposed and found for the second time; Theseus on his journey from Troizen happens along and kills Kerkyon; 'but Hippothoos [*sic*] came to Theseus and asked for his ancestral kingdom, which Theseus was glad to give him because he knew he was a son of Poseidon, from whom he traced his own descent'. How Hippothoon discovered this, and how Theseus knew it, is not stated; and how fortunate that Theseus came by at the right moment. In Euripides' play, by contrast, according to the commonly accepted reconstruction, the action was carried to the point of Alope's and Hippothoon's imminent demise, when Poseidon warned Kerkyon off and predicted the child's glorious future. Theseus is not required for any of this. Without him, we should have no difficulty in identifying an Eleusinian king, half-brother of Triptolemos (Choirilos *TrGF* 2 F 1; their common mother was Amphiktion, Kerkyon's father was Poseidon), father of

¹²⁴ The Epigonoι buried Aigialeus there (Hellān. fr. 100, Paus. 1.44.4;→§12.3.4); a Megarian tradition made Tereus (of the Prokne and Philomela story) king in Pagai (Strabo 9.3.13, Paus. 1.41.8; Lesky, *RE* 5A.1.721).

¹²⁵ Robert, *GH* 720–1; Wilamowitz, *Menander: Das Schiedsgericht* 130–1; Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 82–3, 88, 173. Hippothoon is mentioned with Eumolpos and Dolichos in Hes. fr. *227, and appears with Triptolemos on 5th-c. vases (*LIMC* Hippothoon nos. 9–17); inscriptions show the tribal headquarters was in Eleusis. Kerkyon was an ancestor of Mousaios according to some (test. 1 Bernabé).

Lysimache, the mother of Parthenopaios and Adrastōs, two of the Seven Against Thebes (Antimach. fr. 17; contrast Hek. fr. 32, Hellān. fr. 99;→§12.3.3), and as we now know from a papyrus father of a Kalydonian boarhunter (*P.Oxy.* 4097 fr. 2). He himself was a great wrestler, and a place on the road from Megara to Eleusis, near which Alope was buried, was known as the 'palaistra of Kerkyon' (Paus. 1.39.3; cf. Bacchyl. 18.26).¹²⁶ Like Oinomaos he could have been an old ogre who had to be faced down by the rising generation: one can easily imagine an Eleusinian palaistra as a focal point for cult and myth in the education of ephebes, with Hippothoon, another son of Poseidon, as a Theseus- or Perseus-like figure.¹²⁷ Such a scenario suggests immediately how Theseus could become involved in the story, and also why Hippothoon was a good tribal eponym, representing this part of the synoecism. Istros, it seems (*FGrHist* 334 F 10, quoted with Pher. fr. 153; cf. Plut. *Thes.* 29), was bold enough to suggest that Theseus was Hippothoon's father.

All of this coheres very well, so it is a surprise to learn that **Pherekydes (fr. 147)** made Alope the eponym of the polis in Thessaly (*Il.* 2.682). Though Attic legends offer many links to Thessaly, it is difficult to see what Kerkyon is doing there, and what sort of story Pherekydes had in mind that would bring Alope or her son south to Athens (or Alope north to Thessaly). There were several places called Alope (Stephanos, who quotes the fragment, lists six, including a non-existent one in Attica), and the suspicion has to be that matters have become muddled in Stephanos or his epitome (Wilamowitz, *Menander: Das Schiedsgericht* 130 n. 1).

§16.3.3 THESEUS AND THE AMAZONS (Hellān. fr. 166–7; Herod. fr. 25; Pher. fr. 151)

Plutarch reports from Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328 F 110) the standard view that Theseus went with Herakles on his campaign against the Amazons (→§8.4.9), and took Antiope as a prize. He then notes that others state that Theseus went later on his own (**Hellān. fr. 166, Pher. fr. 151, Herod. fr. 25a**). This agreement of several early mythographers suggests that theirs was the original version, which is reflected also in Pindar fr. 175. The earliest references to Theseus and Herakles together are on the throne of Zeus at Olympia (Paus. 5.11.4) and in Euripides' *Herakleidae* 215–17, both of about 430 BC. Early art never shows Theseus and Herakles together fighting Amazons, with the doubtful exception of the Athenian treasury at Delphi; on the other hand, several vases from the late sixth and early fifth centuries depict Theseus carrying off Antiope in the company

¹²⁶ His Arkadian homonym led to confusion: Robert, loc. cit.; Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 82 n. 15; Matthews on Antim. fr. 17. Pausanias says that Kerkyon killed his daughter (so also Hyg. *Fab.* 238.3; another tradition (Hyg. *Fab.* 187.7, Hsch. a3239) had her metamorphosed into a spring, which Hesychios locates 'in Eleusis' and says is also called Friendship (a good quality for ephebes).

¹²⁷ A 1st-c.-AD inscription (*IG* II² 1972) attests a priest of Apollo Kerkyoneus; Apollo of course goes well in an ephebic context. (Add this to the list of examples given by Dunbar on Ar. *Av.* 553, where 'Kerkyoneus' is perhaps to be introduced by conjecture.)

of his friend Peirithoos—a double therefore of their escapades with Helen and Persephone.¹²⁸ There is also a fragment of Simonides, and the fragment of Hegias of Troizen quoted by Pausanias (1.2.1). As for Simonides (fr. 551A Campbell), he is quoted by Apollodoros *Epit.* 1.16 as saying that he named Theseus' trophy as Hippolyte, not Antiope; the context in Apollodoros is the joint expedition with Herakles. But as Boardman remarks (loc. cit. 11), it is unwise to assume that the context was the same in Simonides. Hegias says that during the joint expedition Antiope fell in love with Theseus and betrayed the city. 'Agiās' of Troizen wrote the *Nostoi* according to Proklos' summary, a Homeric Cup (36b Sinn; test. 4 Bernabé), and Clement of Alexandria ('Augias'; fr. 7 West), but all recent editors regard Pausanias' fragment as at least dubious; West omits it altogether, and Jacoby gives Hegias his own number in *FGrHist* (606). It is hard to imagine how such a story could have been told in a poem about the returns from Troy, given both geography and chronology.¹²⁹ The love story is found also in Isokrates (*Panath.* 193), so it is not a Hellenistic invention (compare the stories of Skylla and Komaitho).¹³⁰ Pausanias was using either a poem or a summary of a poem (πεποίηται). That an early writer might have believed in a joint expedition can hardly be ruled out; the many rapprochements of Theseus and Herakles in myth and the deliberate modelling of the Athenian hero after the other began already in the sixth century. But on current evidence Theseus' expedition must be regarded as a solo effort (or duo, with Peirithoos), another of his youthful, hooligan exploits.

In the sequel the Amazons launched their terrifying invasion of Attica. This story was known in the first half of the fifth century (Pind. fr. 174–5, Aisch. *Eum.* 685–9, the Theseion and the Stoa Poikile according to Paus. 1.15.2, 1.17.2).¹³¹ Herodotos (9.27) represents the Athenians at Plataia using their repulsion of the invasion as an argument for commanding the right wing, but this could be a retrojection. The Theseion takes us back to the 470s, and if the Amazonomachy on the Athenian treasury at Delphi shows Theseus fighting them in Athens, not Themiskyra, then we may push this back to the date of that building, i.e. late sixth or early fifth century. Boardman makes a case that it represents rather the joint expedition of Theseus and Herakles, and that the story was

¹²⁸ Boardman, 'Herakles, Theseus and Amazons' is a thorough study of the artistic and literary sources; cf. also Jacoby on Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 110, Harding, *The Story of Athens* 64–7. Simon. fr. 551A Campbell (deest PMG), Isok. *Panath.* 193, Kleidemos *FGrHist* 323 F 18 and Justin 2.4.23 call her Hippolyte, and Hippolytos in Euripides' play was son of an (unnamed) Amazon (cf. Barrett, *Euripides Hippolytos* 8 n. 3); Pind. fr. 176 (mother of Demophoni), Kallim. fr. 186.22, Diod. Sic. 4.28.1 (alternative Hippolyte noted), Paus. 1.2.1, 1.4.1.7, Hyg. *Fab.* 30.10, 241.1, 250.2 call her Antiope; Apollod. *Epit.* 1.16 adds Melanippe. Tzetzes carelessly implies both for Herod. fr. 25b–c. See also §8.4.9. Hyginus' odd idea that Theseus killed Antiope (*Fab.* 241) is reflected also in Ov. *Her.* 4.119–20.

¹²⁹ It is even less likely that this Hegias is the same as the Agias of Agias/Derkylos; see Part B. Stronk, in his *BNJ* commentary on Hegias, disputes the inference that πεποίηται denotes a poetic source.

¹³⁰ The love story is implied also by Kleidemos *FGrHist* 323 F 18 ap. Plut. *Thes.* 27.6.

¹³¹ The *Theseis* quoted by Plut. *Thes.* 28.1 is of uncertain date: in it, Theseus has thrown Antiope over for Phaidra, and Herakles helps him defend against the invading Amazons.

invented at the time of the Athenian assistance to the Ionians in the revolt of 499 BC, since Ephesos figures in some references to the myth (Pind. fr. 174, *Etym. Magn.* s.v. 'Εφεσος; cf. already Jacoby on Hellan. *FGrHist* 323a FF 16–17). Pausanias says it was erected after Marathon (10.11.5), which would make it the earliest example of the equivalence of Amazon and Persian invasions, very common subsequently; but by his time this familiar equation could have influenced interpretation. The monument next to the Treasury, which celebrated Marathon, would also have played a part. Moreover, the Amazon invasion, which reached the heart of Athens but was turned back by a land battle in the city centre, does not quite match the situation after either Marathon or the invasion of 480/79; but myth does not have to be so fastidious. The invasion in itself requires no motive other than retaliation: this could have followed on any of the scenarios canvassed above.

In Hellan. fr. 167 we have a comment on the great size of the Amazon army, and the route they took from their home in the north-east Pontic region (→§8.4.9). Plutarch is sceptical about the freezing of the Kimmerian Bosporos, but Herodotos reports it (4.28.1) and it does in fact happen (Corcella ad loc.; cf. Strabo 7.3.18, 2.1.17; Danoff, *RE* Suppl. 9.944). Tzetzes is dependent on Plutarch, Apollodoros, and Lykophron, and is careless in some of his details; we need not believe him when he says that Hellanikos failed to give the reason for the invasion. But he has got the four-month length of the campaign from some earlier scholion; it will be another realistic touch. If there was an aition associating the festival of Boedromia with the invasion (see Jacoby on Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 13), we might see this as the month in which the decisive battle occurred; having left the north during the winter, the Amazons would have had four fighting months in the southern summer before returning home in time for the following winter. They came overland, being like the Persians too many for ships to carry, which in any case they did not know how to sail (Hdt. 4.110.2).

§16.3.4 THESEUS AND PEIRITHOOS (Hellan. fr. 168; Herod. fr. 26–7)

Plutarch says that because poets found a way to include Theseus in all the great heroic escapades, 'not without Theseus' became proverbial (*Thes.* 29.3); paroemiographers did not fail to mark it (Zenob. 5.33). Herodotos (fr. 26–7), perhaps hitting at Athenian claims, bucked the trend, allowing Theseus to participate only in the fight of the Lapiths and Centaurs. This conflict is old tradition; *Iliad* 1.265 is generally thought to be interpolated, but Theseus fights with Peirithoos already in the Hesiodic *Shield* (182) and on the François vase. As we noted in §5.2.4, there is some ambiguity as to whether the fight was confined to the wedding, or there was a longer war, or both; Isokrates (*Hel.* 26) mentions only the war, while Plutarch has Theseus participate in both. His report of Herodotos leaves us unclear whether that writer also mentioned the wedding. On his return, Theseus took the trouble to look Herakles up at Trachis, where he had retired after his Labours; the meeting of the two great heroes was apparently described by

Herodoros with novelistic gusto. Plutarch prefers the majority view that they often encountered each other, and adds that Herakles was initiated into the mysteries on the instigation of Theseus, who also performed the purification Herakles first required owing to some accidental killings (*πράξεις ἀβούλητοι*). This is mysterious, as it does not reflect the majority view that Eumolpos did these things (or an equivalent Eleusinian like Mousaios or Triptolemos); indeed, Plutarch is the only one to say it was Theseus. The vulgate (e.g. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.122) is that Herakles needed purification for killing the Centaurs during the fracas at Pholos' feast (which could be described as *ἀβούλητον*), that Theseus and Peirithoos were already stuck in the Underworld, and that Herakles rescued Theseus when he fetched Kerberos, i.e. after his initiation. However, Plutarch's implied timetable would go well enough with the rationalized version of the pursuit of Persephone in Hellan. fr. 168a, quoted immediately afterwards: Theseus and Peirithoos could go off to Epeiros¹³² while Herakles went to the Underworld; on his return he heard of his friend's plight and rescued him. We know from ch. 35 of Plutarch that this was Philochoros' version,¹³³ but it could have been Hellanikos' too. In fr. 168c, from the Mythographus Homerici, one should not place weight on the detail that they went to 'Hades' instead of 'Aidoneus' as in fr. 168a.

The abduction of Helen is also old tradition,¹³⁴ and is the most outrageous of the young delinquent's rapes. This is ineluctably part of his character. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Reading' *Greek Culture* 58–98, argued that in any vase depicting a single youth chasing a woman, if the scene is mythological and there are no positive indications of a different identity, that youth is always Theseus. One should not jump to the conclusion that such escapades were disapproved of; Sourvinou-Inwood's reading of erotic pursuits is that they depict a combination of force and consent reflecting contemporary ideology about marriage. Rapine, too, is expected in the heroic period (Hdt. 1.1–4, Thuc. 1.5). But Theseus is an extreme case, and carries on throughout his life an activity that might be thought more appropriate to the ephebe (which is how he is depicted in art). Depending on circumstances it might suit a story-teller to make Theseus contemporary with Herakles (e.g. Euripides, *HF*), but usually, as in Herod. fr. 27, he was younger; he comes close to the time of Troy, and so would have chased Helen while still relatively young. **Hellanikos (fr. 168)**, however, said he was fifty years old, and Helen only seven, as if deliberately to maximize the difference; if it is his chronological calculations that produced this result, the disgrace of such conduct did not induce him to check his sums. Isokrates was sufficiently embarrassed to claim that Theseus first asked her family's consent, and when that was not forthcoming waited until she was of age, and

got approval from Delphi for the rape (*Hel.* 19). A vase of about 400 B.C. first published in 1986 shows their actual wedding, with Eros, the Dioskouroi and others in attendance: a happy reconciliation, never a hint of trouble.¹³⁵ Hellanikos did not always need to push a pro-Athenian line, and indeed it is notable that even Athenian Attidographers made no effort to conceal Theseus' antics (Harding, *The Story of Athens* 69).

Whatever the age of Theseus at the time of the abduction (in any surviving version, most of his adventures are already behind him), Helen is always young; Diodoros says ten years (4.63.1), Apollodoros says twelve (*Epit.* 1.23, *Bibl.* 3.128; in the latter passage 'woman' in Frazer's translation is his own addition). Lykophron calls her *θηλύπαις κόρη* (see Holford-Strevens, *CQ* 50 (2000), 606–10). We happen to know that in Stesichoros (*PMGF* 191) she was old enough to conceive; his startling story, taken up by Euphorion (fr. 86), Alexander of Aitolia (fr. 11) and Douris of Samos (*FGrHist* 76 F 92), was that Iphigeneia was the result, and that she was taken to Sparta and passed off as the child of Agamemnon and Klytaimnestra. In another story also circulating in the archaic period, Helen was the child of Zeus and Nemesis of Rhamnous.¹³⁶ Given that Helen was abducted from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, and the similarities between that cult and the cult of Iphigeneia and Artemis at Brauron, not far from Rhamnous where Nemesis was worshipped, it is clear that there has been some mutual influence between the myths. Some scholars have thought that Theseus' maiden could originally have been from Brauron or Rhamnous, whereas another figure, possibly the Enarsphoros mentioned by Plutarch (*Thes.* 31.1), could have been the kidnapper in Sparta.¹³⁷ These were cults of pre-pubescent girls, looking forward to their marriage; Stesichoros' version highlights the point they will reach before long, while the younger age in other versions corresponds to the age of 5–10 for 'playing the bear' we hear of in our literary sources, and can see on the vases.¹³⁸

§16.4 Melanthos and Kodros (Hellan. fr. 125; Pher. fr. 154)

The long scholion to Plato *Symp.* 208d that preserves **Hellan. fr. 125** could be a relatively unaltered extract from the *Atthis*; the three sections (genealogy; story of Melanthos;

¹³⁵ Shapiro, 'The Wedding of Theseus and Helen'.

¹³⁶ *Kypria* fr. 10; Kratinos *Nemesis* frs. 114–27; Sapph. fr. 166; Asklepiades *FGrHist* 12 F 11; Eratosth. *Katast.* 25; Paus. 1.33.7; Hyg. *Astr.* 2.8; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.127. Hellanikos did not follow this line, but rather the standard one that Helen was left at Aphidna and rescued before Theseus returned.

¹³⁷ Lloyd-Jones, *Academic Papers* 2.319–20; Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece* 160. This will be contested by Robert Parker in his contribution to the forthcoming publication of the Menelaion excavation.

¹³⁸ On the cult of Brauron see the references in my 'Greek Magic, Greek Religion' 326 n. 28; for the art, see especially Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions*. (At p. 53 and n. 252 she makes the pertinent point that special considerations are at work in the literary tradition, where the previous career of Theseus and the later marriage of Helen have to be taken into account, which drives their ages apart, but the general point remains valid.)

¹³² A part of the world which can substitute for the Beyond: cf. Hek. fr. 23, §8.4.11.

¹³³ *FGrHist* 328 F 18a; F 18b in Georg. Synkell. p. 185.17 Mosshammer removes any doubt. Note that this version is implied by Paus. 1.17.4, 18.4 where he says they went to Thesprotia. Gantz 295 raises the possibility that behind the rationalization was a version in which the mythological Kerberos actually ate Peirithoos.

¹³⁴ Above, n. 67; see also Pind. fr. 243 + 258, Hdt. 9.73.2.

story of Kodros) cohere very well, and lead directly to an account of the Ionian migration. Tampering may be limited to an alternative father for Hellen (though in principle this could also be from Hellanikos); the alternative locations for the duel ('as some say, Oinoe and Panakton, as others say, Melainai'; Hellanikos is unlikely to have said 'Oinoe and Panakton'); and the link to the proverb 'nobler than Kodros', which comes from the Platonic commentator demonstrating the nobility of the philosopher's family (he was descended from Kodros).¹³⁹ The genealogy is doubtless based on work that Hellanikos did in his *Deukalionia*, but it is not excerpted from that book, since it quickly traces a very particular line which has only one aim, to end with Melanthos the Neleid who emigrated and won the kingship; for the same reason Melanthos' mother is singled out for special treatment, to legitimize further the aristocratic claims of her son and his heirs.¹⁴⁰

The story of Kodros' disguise and self-sacrifice suffers remarkably little variation in the tradition, perhaps because it is so simple and memorable.¹⁴¹ The unanimity is not down to Hellanikos, at any rate, as the story featured in Attic oratory, also one of the sources of the paroemiographers. The expedition occurred in the time of Aletes son of Hippotes, and was undertaken to punish the Athenians for taking in so many exiles during the recent troubles; it failed of that purpose, but did result in Megara becoming Dorian.¹⁴² The humble woodcutter, it has been remarked, has something in common with a scapegoat figure; Burkert (*SH* 65) compares Oidipous, another king brought down, if in a different way, and sacrificed for the city. It is good to know that the story was current in Pherekydes' day (**Pher. fr. 154**); Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* 56, suggests it may have held particular attraction after Thermopylai, with Kodros as an Attic equivalent of Leonidas.

¹³⁹ From the scholia it entered the paroemiographic tradition: Diogenian. 4.84 (Ἐὐγενέστερος Κόδρου ἀπὸ γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος ἦν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀπέθανε, which puts the matter in a nutshell), Zenob. Ath. 2.6, where see Bühler; cf. Phot. $\epsilon 2127$ = Paus. Att. $\epsilon 79$, *Suda* $\epsilon 3391$ = Demon *FGrHist* 327 F *22. See further Part B on the sources.

¹⁴⁰ Finkelberg, *Greeks and Pre-Greeks* 95. Tyro's special treatment establishes her son Neleus as head of a new genos.

¹⁴¹ There is a wilful substitution of Thracians for Dorians as the enemy in Sostratos *FGrHist* 23 F 2 ~ 'Sokrates' in [Plut.] *Parallel. min.* 18A p. 310a (see Ceccarelli on Sostratos in *BNJ*); Konon *Dieg.* 26 says the Athenians persuaded Kodros to sacrifice himself, rather than him freely offering; schol. Aristeid. 1.87 (3.113.8 Dindorf), 3.395 (3.685.7) say the oracle was that whoever started the battle would lose, so Kodros set out to provoke the enemy into hostilities. Apart these sources, Pher. and Hellan., the Kodros story is found in more or less detail at Lykourg. *Leok.* 34–7, Cic *Tusc.* 1.116, *ND* 3.49, *De fin.* 5.62, Strabo 9.1.7, Vell. Pat. 1.2.1, Justin 2.6.16–21, *Anecd. Bekk.* 1.192.32, and the paroemiographers and lexis (above, n. 139); it is alluded to by many: e.g. the Kodros painter (probably; *LIMC* Kodros no. 3), Plato *Symp.* 208d, Arist. *Pol.* 5.8 p. 1310b 36. A statue of Kodros stood with the Marathon heroes at Delphi, the work supposedly of Pheidias (Paus. 10.10.1). Hdt. 5.76 says that the first Dorian invasion, when Megara was founded, is correctly dated to the reign of Kodros, so he too knows the story; with whom is he agreeing or disagreeing about the date? The site of Kodros' death was shown in Pausanias' time (1.19.5; cf. 7.25.2).

¹⁴² Hdt., Konon, Strab., Phot., *Suda* locc. citt.; \rightarrow §9.1 at n. 22.

Kodros' elder son Medon inaugurates the archonship in Athens, a period which takes us beyond the bounds of this commentary;¹⁴³ the younger one leads the Ionian migration (\rightarrow §19). The coincidence of the last king with the founding of the new ethnos and the recent foundation of the Apatouria, the very definition of the Ionian according to Herodotos, may be meaningful.¹⁴⁴ The migration was the making of the ethnos, and its starting-point was Athens. The Apatouria was the festival of the phratries, in which citizens were enrolled. In the fifth century, this conjunction of Ionism, Apatouria, and democratic citizenship would easily be believed to have originated after the time of kings. The mythology of the old period exhausted itself with Theseus' sons, who rescued their grandmother, brought the Palladion from Troy, and shielded the Herakleidai. We then have a transitional period: Oxyntes is a cipher, and his unfortunate son Apheidias, though he founds a genos (or phratry),¹⁴⁵ exists only to be killed by the bastard and coward Thymoites, a very suitable candidate for dethronement. A new era begins. This may well have been the idea of the person who first put all these elements together into the same story. Fitting too is the defence of the metropolis' border against the illegal claims of Boiotia. Citizen body, polis territory, new political order, and ethnic foundations all come together in one tidy aition. But was it a historian's construct or an article of living faith?

The first point to mention, if a small one, is that not everyone in Athens agreed that the monarchy ended with Kodros; his successors are known as kings in the *Marmor Parium* (*FGrHist* 239 A29) and Pausanias (1.3.3). However, removing this plank does not perhaps upset the whole platform. The real question is the link between the Trick aition for the Apatouria and the Neleid leadership of the Ionian migration; if that were artificial, it would be important not only for mythographic procedure but for the Athenian background. The tradition that the Neleidai came from Messenia and passed through Athens was well established in the archaic period. When we look at the sources on the Apatouria, however, legitimate doubts arise about the organic unity of this nexus of stories.

Alongside Hellanikos' 'look behind you' trick there is another aition involving Dionysos Melanaigis.¹⁴⁶ In this variant, a mysterious figure in a black goatskin appears

¹⁴³ Harding, *The Story of Athens* 82–5 for overview.

¹⁴⁴ Hdt. 1.147; even if the parenthesis is interpolated, as Rosén thinks, it is based on solid tradition (even though the festival is not epigraphically attested in all Ionian cities, the theophoric name Apatourias suggests that it was celebrated: Graf, *BNP* s.v. Apatouria). For the course of the festival see R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 458–61.

¹⁴⁵ R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 319; Harding, *The Story of Athens* 78.

¹⁴⁶ The version without Dionysos is found also in Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 22, Polyain. *Strateg.* 1.19, Frontinus *Strateg.* 2.5.41, and schol. Pl. *Tim.* 21b (and Proklos ad loc.). Strabo 9.1.7, Paus. 9.5.16 (where the adversaries are Xanthos and Andropompos; above, p. 453), John of Antioch (ditto), Phot. $\alpha 2282$, $\kappa 1031$, *Anecd. Bekk.* 1.205.27, *Etym. Gen.* s.v. *Ἀπατούρια*, *Etym. Magn.* s.v. *Κουπέωρις* are all abbreviated references. For discussion of the myth see also Robertson, 'Melanthus, Codrus, Neleus, Caucon' and Blakely on Konon *Dieg.* 39.

behind Xanthos, and Melanthos calls out; Melanthos kills Xanthos when he turns around. It is perhaps reasonable to object that this is no longer a trick;¹⁴⁷ but one may reply that the trick is now that of the apparition rather than Melanthos, and it has the incidental advantage of saving the latter's good name.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless it is not obvious why a tale about Dionysos should serve as the aition of the Apatouria, with which he had nothing to do except insofar as wine would have been drunk. Also in the mix is another story about the daughters of Eleuther, eponym of Eleutherai, who saw an apparition of Dionysos wearing a black goatskin; they chose to find fault with it (*ἐμέμφαντο*; should one think of the ridicule of iamboi?); the god drove them mad, and the cult of Dionysos Melanaigis was instituted (*Suda* μ451). Eleuther and the cult of Dionysos Melanaigis recur in *P.Oxy.* 853 x 5–17 (schol. on Thuc. 2.15.4 = Kallim. *Hek.* fr. 305 Pfeiffer, 85 Hollis), and Nonnos (*Dion.* 27301–7) adds Dionysos Apatourios and Eleutherios. Eleutherai claimed to be the birthplace of Dionysos. As the City Dionysia were celebrated for Dionysios Eleuthereus, these data led an earlier generation of scholars to excogitate a theory about Fair Man (spring, the New Year) fighting Black Man (winter, the Old Year), mummery, and the birth of drama.¹⁴⁹ More recently, the opposition of fair and dark was the subject of a famous article by Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who interpreted the whole complex in the context of the ephebeia and initiation: wearing the black cloak; military service on the borders; the youth as anti-hoplite; enrolment in the citizen body at the Apatouria. This theory too has received sustained and on the whole damaging criticism, but there is no denying the stimulus it has delivered to myth studies since it first appeared in 1968.¹⁵⁰

As often, one can see meaningful points of contact between parts of this and parts of that myth; one association leads to another and the temptation arises to put them all together into an all-encompassing explanation, where everything fits. A big theoretical book is waiting to be written about when it is safe to yield to such temptation. In the

¹⁴⁷ Prandi, 'Il duello di Xanto e Melanto'.

¹⁴⁸ There is no doubt that his trickery is dishonourable; cf. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* 2.147–89. Of course, if one accepts the ephebic interpretation, inversion of norms is part of the picture. The apparition story is found in Konon *Dieg.* 39 (unnamed, beardless figure; cults of Dionysos Melanaigis and Zeus Apatourios instituted); *Συναγωγὴ* α1624 (Melanthos prays to Zeus Apatenorios, or as some say Dionysos, and instructs Athenians to pray <and> sacrifice to Zeus Apatenorios; but no apparition mentioned); *Συναγωγὴ* α1624 (unnamed figure; Apatouria and altar of Dionysos Melanaigis established); *Etym. Gen. s.v. Πατήρνορα* (*Etym. Magn.* 118.55) quoting Euphor. fr. 19.25–6 (vow to Dionysos; Dionysos appears wearing black cloak; Athenians surname Zeus 'Apatenor', institute Apatouria for Dionysos); *Suda* α2940 (unnamed figure wearing a black goatskin; Apatouria and altar of Dionysos M.); schol. Aristeid. 1.87 (3.112 Dindorf) (Dionysos appears; Apatouria founded).

¹⁴⁹ W. R. Halliday, *CR* 40 (1926) 179–81, voices his scepticism; his targets are Hermann Usener and L. R. Farnell. Cf. Gilbert Murray in J. Harrison, *Themis* 341.

¹⁵⁰ *The Black Hunter* 106–28. Vidal-Naquet answers his earlier critics in 'The Black Hunter Revisited' and 'Retour au chasseur noir'. More recent responses in e.g. N. Robertson *AJP* 109 (1988) 285; Lambert, *Phratries of Attica* 144–52 (150–1 on the evidence for the black cloak); Barringer, *The Hunt in Ancient Greece* 50–3; several writers in Dodd and Faraone, *Initiation*; Buxton, 'The Significance . . . of Blackness' 36–9.

present instance the confusion in the sources about where the Trick occurred sounds the first warning that one cannot simply read the whole dossier as one primary myth. Oinoe, Panakton, and Melainai are all claimed (but Panakton only in the schol. to Pl. *Symp.* that quotes Hellanikos; there may be interference from Thuc. 5.3.5, 5.18.7, 5.39, 5.42). These are all in the northwest border district. The papyrus commentary on Thucydides is very welcome confirmation that Dionysos Melanaigis is at home in Eleutherai, and the suspicion must be that the Dionysos story gravitated to Melainai and Oinoe in literary sources simply because of the names of these two locations.¹⁵¹

Melanthos has usually been taken as the eponym of Melainai. Ephoros, who was probably following Hellanikos, like him does not mention Dionysos and places the story at Melainai. Melanthos' opponent on the border is Xanthios, who is projected from him as a logical opposite; no such person figured in Boiotian myth. It is at least plausible that Hellanikos found the Trick story here, and saw an opportunity for a satisfying construct. He equated this Melanthos with the Neleid, and in a piece of brilliance drew the connection with the Apatouria, by way of an intermediary form Apatenoria (a common device of the ancient etymologist). Etymologies were a favourite tool of Hellanikos, which further deepens one's suspicions.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ On Eleutherai and Melanaigis see R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 94 n. 116. I would not venture to reconstruct the stages of contamination, and assert (for instance) that Dionysos Apatenor was already known to Hellanikos from Eleutherai. Euphorion fr. 19 (who would have known Hellanikos) has moved Dionysos Apatenor to Melainai: on whose authority?

¹⁵² Olson on *Ar. Ach.* 141–50 thinks there is an allusion to this aition in the passage, but cf. Sommerstein *ad loc.* The humour on Olson's reading is too indirect. Robert Parker (*per litt.*) adds that the joke consists in Sitalkes' taking his honorary citizenship literally, so that he shows up for sausages.

§17

LOCAL HISTORIES

In this section we consider fragments that treat topics of local history not otherwise arising in connection with the genealogies discussed in other sections, or with cities to which separate sections are devoted. The rivulets of local histories often join the pan-Hellenic stream, for instance when the Greek immigrants supersede the indigenous barbarians in the course of the city's history; but there are also many stories about local landmarks, heroes and aetiology which have no necessary connection with the world beyond the polis. This is true of every city; those discussed below are simply those that happen to be represented in our fragments.

§17.1 Argos

AG./DERK. FR. 4

A Milan papyrus containing a commentary on Antimachos (fr. 104 Matthews) informs us that Kallimachos disagreed with the Kolophonian that the water for slave women in childbirth at Argos was drawn from Physadeia; rather from Automate. The scholiast quotes fr. 65 of the *Aitia*, and then **Ag/Derk. fr. 4a**. He goes on to say that Kallimachos' particular word *πάτος* is also from the Argive historians (**fr. 4b**); he then quotes a verse which is l. 3 of Kallim. fr. 66, known from *P.Oxy.* 2211 fr. 1'. All this, he says, Kallimachos got from Agias and Derkylos. In fr. 66, Kallimachos addresses four daughters of Danaos who are eponyms of Argive springs: Amymone, Physadeia, Hippe, and Automate. Strabo (8.6.8) happens to mention that four wells (*φρέατα*) are particularly honoured at Argos, and Pfeiffer identified these with the four Kallimachean sources of water; but if the Amymone flows around a rock on which the weavers of Hera's *πάτος* must first sit and pour water over their heads (fr. 66.5–6), she is a spring. Also, as Bulloch (*Callimachus: The Fifth Hymn* 157 n. 1) points out, Amymone was at Lerna (and so says Strabo). This does not tell us anything about the other three (including their location), but as subjects of ancient lore it is perhaps more likely that they were natural springs.

Physadeia was mentioned by Euphorion fr. 27 and schol. Eur. *Phoin.* 188 (which also mentions Hippe; she is named as a daughter of Danaos at Hsch.

1789).¹ Automate is mentioned by Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.16 and Paus. 7.1.6. Otherwise we hear nothing about the springs, except of course for Amymone, the most famous of the four; her story was known to Pher. fr. 4 (→§7.2.2 n. 39). What role this information played in Agias/Derkylos' book is impossible to say, but given the range of material in it (Herakles and Troy, for instance, as well as local Argive lore), it seems likelier that we are dealing with a traditional structure of genealogies and associated data within a broadly chronological framework, than with a periegesis like Pausanias' or a book organized according to cults. In that case the springs will have been mentioned in connection with the children of Danaos.

According to Ag./Derk. a group of maiden servitors called Heresides drew water from Hippe for the worship of Hera Akreia.² The Heresides survive to be glosses in the lexicographers: Hesychios η757 ('maidens who bring bathwater to Hera'); *Etym. Magn.* 436.49 (*Etym. Gen.* p. 152 Miller) ('priestesses of Hera in Argos; derived from "Hera"; or from the future form *ἀρύσω*, that is "Arusitides", those who shall draw the water'). It is overwhelmingly more likely that these glosses came from Kallimachos than from Agias/Derkylos, so we may infer that he used the word somewhere in this vicinity (so Pfeiffer on fr. 65). That the *Etymologica* call them priestesses need not be pressed; the distinction between servitor and priest was not always carefully observed in such writers (cf. §8.5.2). There would have been an aition to explain the practice, which is clearly a ritual of maturation. Hera's annual bath in the spring Kanathos, near Nauplia, restored her virginity, so that she could be married again (Paus. 2.38.2); conceivably this had some connection in myth and ritual to Hera Akraia or Akreia on the acropolis and/or at the Heraion. Her temple was on the slopes of the Argive acropolis (Paus. 2.24.1), underscoring her civic function.

Other girls called Locheutriae drew water from Automate for slave-women. The prescribed ritual attention to slaves is worth noting. Though slaves participated in rites in various ways, it is not often that we find a ritual which is theirs alone unless it pertains to asylum or manumission. I take the final sentence to mean 'after the birth they dispose privately of the bathwater'.³

¹ In Euphorion Amphiaraios is said to be returning from Thebes to Physadeia's spring, i.e. Argos; though he never made it, Ernst Meyer, *RE* 20.1.1034, plausibly connected this with the reference in Paus. 2.37.5 to 'Amphiaraios' spring' at Lerna, which he inferred was Physadeia. That is, the equation would explain why Euphorion chose this spring in particular as his metonymy for 'Argos'.

² J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs* 52–3, 115; D'Alessio, 'Argo e l'Argolide' 116–18; Avagianou, *Sacred Marriage* 36–41, who, however, works with the supplement *Ἡ[ρα]ίου* instead of *Ἡ[ρα]ίων* in l. 17. As she acknowledges, this breaks the link with Kallimachos' text. Moreover, the supplement should be the name of a watersource, not a temple. She could be right, however, that the bath at Kanathos (below) was post-nuptial, the bath of Hera Akraia pre-nuptial; Hera Akraia is therefore Hera Parthenos not Teleia. (But maybe the spring Hippe was at the Heraion anyway. Akraia is there a daughter of the river Asterion and a nurse of Hera, i.e. a nymph: Paus. 2.17.1. Prosymna, her sister, is there too, and in Kallim. fr. 279 = *Hekale* fr. 96 Hollis we read *αὐτίκα Κενθίππην τε πολύκρμινόν τε Πρόσυμναν*.)

³ On slaves and religion see Schumacher, *Sklaverei in der Antike* 248–54; R. Parker, *On Greek Religion* 237–40, with references.

AG./DERK. FR. 8A

A papyrus containing notes to Kallimachos' *Aitia* informs us that the story of Koroibos (fr. 26–31) was drawn from Agias and Derkylos (Ag./Derk. fr. 8A). The tale served as the aition to explain the Argive practice of slaughtering dogs in the month of Lambs (Arneios), the lamentation of Linos, and the foundation of the Megarian town Tripodiskos (IACP p. 463). The fragments of Kallimachos are too meagre to tell us exactly how he related the tale, but versions are found in Konon *Dieg.* 19, Stat. *Theb.* 1.557–668, and Paus. 1.43.7–8.⁴ According to Pausanias, Linos was son of Apollo and Psamathe daughter of Krotopos; the child was exposed, and torn apart by Krotopos' sheepdogs. Apollo sent a monster Poine who seized all the children until Koroibos killed her. But a plague then befell the people, and Koroibos inquired at Delphi as to what he must do to stop it; he was told to take a tripod from the sanctuary, carry it as far as he could, and where he finally dropped it, there to found a temple and town.⁵ This was Tripodiskos; Koroibos himself was buried in the agora at Megara. Statius tells essentially the same story, though radically abbreviating everything after the consultation of Delphi. Konon's version is rather different. He says that Krotopos also sentenced his daughter to death, not believing her about Apollo; Apollo inflicts a plague (not Poine); the Argives (not Koroibos, who is altogether omitted) inquire what to do; they institute the lamentation of Linos and the sacrifice of all dogs encountered on the day of the festival Arneis in the month of Arneios; the plague does not let up; Krotopos, on an oracle's instruction, leaves Argos and found Tripodiskion (*sic*) in the Megarid. Ovid agrees with Konon, or at least what Konon implies, that Krotopos (whom he does not name) killed Psamathe; he adds that Apollo killed Krotopos for this. He says also that Koroibos killed 'Pestis'. Both Krotopos and Koroibos are attested in the surviving fragments of Kallimachos, and confirmed by Ag./Derk. Ovid's details are easily reconciled with Pausanias/Kallimachos, but Konon's version for the most part is not; however, the differences would be minor if we assumed that 'Krotopos' was a mistake for 'Koroibos', whether a copyist's or Konon's own.⁶ Even so, it does seem that we are dealing with two originally separate stories, one an aition of customs at Argos, the other a Megarian story about the founding of Tripodiskos which has somehow been appropriated by Argos and combined with the Krotopos story. The similarity of the names (Krotopos/Koroibos) might have suggested the conflation.

⁴ See also Ov. *Ib.* 480, 573–7 with scholia; Paus. 2.19.8; Ath. 3.56 p. 99e; schol. Stat. *Theb.* 1.570–7; AP 7.154 = Page, *FGE* 87. For discussion see Eitrem *RE* 11.2.1418–20; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.08–13; Page, loc. cit.; Brown and Blakely (BNJ) on Konon *Dieg.* 19; Harder on Kallim. fr. 25e–31b.

⁵ The killing of the pest, though necessary, was an offence against the god requiring purification: cf. Kadmos and Ares' serpent, Apollo himself and Python.

⁶ So already Welcker, *Kl. Schr.* 1.17 n. 23, then Höfer in his 1890 edition of Konon p. 40, and Lobel in his edition of *P.Oxy.* 2263.

The ancient Linos-song (*Il.* 18.569–70, Hes. fr. 305–6, Pind. fr. 128c, Hdt. 2.79) was in origin more probably a lamentation for any occasion than one tied to a particular festival; the association with the Argive Arneis looks secondary, and may be a purely literary invention.⁷ The sacrifice of dogs is associated with purification,⁸ and several scholars have suggested that the festival fell in mid-summer, in the Dog-days of Sirius, a time when sickness is rife (West on Hes. *Op.* 417). The suggestion is supported, if not quite proved, by Statius, *Theb.* 1.634–5, *quarenti* . . . *quis ab aethere laevis / ignis et in totum regnaret Sirius annum*, and Athenaios, when he says τῶν ὑπὸ κύνᾳ οὐσῶν ἡμερῶν.⁹ Ag./Derk., as summarized in the scholion, say that any dog encountered in the month of Arneios was slaughtered; Aelian, *NA* 12.34, more credibly refers to those who happened to enter the agora on the festival-days. The impure animal is prohibited, as it was from the island of Delos at all times. Unfortunately we do not know for certain the date of the Argive month Arneios, but it was probably in the spring.¹⁰

§17.2 Boiotia

ARISTOPH. FR. 1A

This papyrus commentary on the Molorchos episode in Kallimachos' *Aitia*¹¹ offers information about Poimandros, the founder of Tanagra. It begins by quoting Rhianos' *Herakleia* (SH 715) to the effect that Poimandros married Stratonike daughter of Euonymos and had three sons, Archippos (apparently), Ehippos, and Leukippos, and two daughters, Rhexipyle and Archeptoleme. But, continues the scholiast, Aristophanes in the first book of his *Boiotika* (Aristoph. fr. 1A) says that Ehippos was killed by his father when he leapt over the (?) wall/trench, 'as the majority opinion holds'.¹² Aristophanes noted also that Toxeus son of Oineus died for the same reason. In the remainder of the papyrus it cannot quite be determined if a new authority is cited, or Aristophanes is paraphrased. The story summarized is the

⁷ Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* 435–8; R. Parker, *On Greek Religion* 187 n. 59. On the song, Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* 57; Boardman, *LIMC* 6.1.290; Bremmer, *BNP* s.v. Linus; Blakely on Konon *Dieg.* 19.

⁸ R. Parker, *Miasma* 357–8; id. *On Greek Religion* 158–9 and Blakely on Konon *Dieg.* 19 on dog-sacrifice generally.

⁹ Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.941.

¹⁰ Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* 438; Trümper, *Monatsnamen* 143–7; J. Chauvet Garbit, *REG* 122 (2009) 201–17.

¹¹ See E. Livrea, *CQ* 39 (1989) 141–7 = *Studia Hellenistica* 1.197–205.

¹² The supplement in 18–19 is not quite certain; τ[ὸν] / ὑπερλόμενον, which following Rea I have printed, leaves the object unexpressed, yet it cannot be supplied from what precedes. We might think of τ[ὸ] τεῖχος, but both that and τ[ὸ] ἄφρον (τῶν) (West) seem too long (so Rea). τᾶφρος is the noun in the rest of the papyrus; if τεῖχος is read in 18 it implies a different author. I thank Albert Schachter for fruitful discussion of this fragment.

same; it is made clear that the fort was under construction, and Ehippos is described as a *παῖς*, which implies the act was one of childish mischief rather than malice, for which he paid dearly.

Poimandros is known from few other places. One of them is Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 37 p. 299c, answering the question why the Tanagrans have a shrine of Achilleus before their city, given that he had carried off Poimandros' mother (*sic*) Stratonike and killed his son Akestor.¹³ His story is that, when the Tanagrans refused to join the Trojan expedition, they were besieged in a place called Stephon (they were still living *κατὰ κώμας*). Poimandros slipped out at night and began to fortify Poimandria (the acropolis of the future Tanagra).¹⁴ Polykrithos the architect came along and ridiculed his efforts, leaping over the trench. Poimandros picked up a large rock which had long been hidden there, 'laid aside for nocturnal rites' (the phrase is taken from a dactylic hexameter);¹⁵ but he missed Polykrithos and hit his own son Leukippos. He needed then to leave the country and seek purification, but this was difficult in view of the siege. Ehippos besought Achilleus and other Achaians, relatives of his father (Tlepolemos and Peneleos), to allow him to leave for the purpose. Passage was granted, and in gratitude Poimandros built shrines for Achilleus and the others, but only that of Achilleus has retained its name. This story looks artificial and derivative. It retains the motif of jumping over the ditch, but exonerates Poimandros of killing his son on purpose. The whole business of the new fortification raises many questions. The ritual object or objects have apparently been there for some time even though no community yet exists. The disappearance of the other shrines is awkward. Achaian intelligence must be non-existent if, day after day, such work could go on without detection. The tale looks like an antiquarian's patchwork. Since Leukippos is common to Rhianos and Plutarch, we may conjecture that Plutarch's story was Rhianos', and that the scholiast in the papyrus quotes Aristophanes as representative of the common and sensible view.

We hear about Poimandros also from Pausanias (9.20.1–2), who says he was son of Chairesilaos son of Iasios son of Eleuther, who was a son of Apollo and Aithousa daughter of Poseidon. He married Tanagra daughter of Aiolos, but Korinna, he reports, says she was a daughter of Asopos (cf. *PMG* p. 332 on Korinna *PMG* 654 ii 30 ff.). Because she lived so long people changed her name, and that of the town, to Graia, but after she died they reverted to Tanagra. Graia is listed in the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.498), and the story is a transparent attempt to refute the calumny that the Tanagrans did not fight at

¹³ Accepting Wyttenbach's deletion of *Ἐφίππου*. Grandsons are not wanted in this story.

¹⁴ Read *ἐτείχιζε* not *ἐτείχισε*. The trench was only the beginning of the work.

¹⁵ Read *νυκτελίοις ἱεροῖς ἀποκείμενος* with Wyttenbach. Reading *ἐπικείμενος* the meaning has to be 'placed atop secret relics'. Is the phrase from Rhianos? On the cult, Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1.185.

Troy. Euphorion (fr. 83) knew about this refusal; the name-change is noted by the scholia (b, D) to the *Iliad* and Eustathios (266.20).

Aristophanes quotes the parallel of Toxeus son of Oineus, which is otherwise known only from a passing reference in Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.64; Oineus killed Toxeus *ὑπερπηδήσαντα τὴν τάφρον*, and schol. Stat. *Theb.* 1.282 (Tydeus kills his brother Toxeus, no reason given). The other parallel is the story of Romulus and Remus (Livy 1.7; cf. §10.4), though this involves brothers rather than a father and son.¹⁶ If Aristophanes is citing a parallel, it might be in the context of an argument about the true story, in which case we might suppose that Rhianos' version, or some predecessor, was already in circulation in spite of its late appearance; or we may suppose that Aristophanes was approaching his subject in a distinctly scholarly spirit, analysing the type of story. That would suggest a date later in the fourth century rather than earlier; cf. Part B on his date.

ARISTOPH. FR. 9

The story alluded to in Aristoph. fr. 9¹⁷ is mentioned also by Plutarch, *Gryllos* (*Bruta ratione uti*) 7 p. 990d–e and a few other sources.¹⁸ It is the aition for a temple of Aphrodite Argynnis, of an otherwise unknown town Argynnos in Boiotia, whose eponym was beloved by Agamemnon. Plutarch says that Agamemnon came upon Argynnos while hunting, but Argynnos shunned him; to cure himself of his passion he bathed in Lake Kopais. Athenaios says that Agamemnon saw Argynnos swimming in the river Kephisos (which flows into Kopais) and fell in love with him; when Argynnos drowned in the river, Agamemnon dedicated the temple. Phanokles and Athenaios mention the founding of the temple. Propertius and Plutarch suggest that the story was somehow combined with that of the becalmed fleet and the sacrifice of Iphigeneia; perhaps the idea is that Agamemnon, delaying departure because of his infatuation, missed favourable winds and found himself unable to leave when he wanted to, so had to sacrifice Iphigeneia. This amendment of the classic reason for the calm (the wrath of Artemis) looks Hellenistic, and the probable source is Phanokles. Aristophanes will have

¹⁶ Bremmer, 'Romulus, Remus, and the Foundation of Rome' 35; Ogilvie on Livy 1.63–73 (p. 54 of his commentary).

¹⁷ Now α402 in Billerbeck's edition of Stephanos. In l. 5 Meineke wrote *Ἀργύνειον* not *Ἀργύννειον*; Lenz added the second nu in copying this entry into his Herodian, to make it conform to the eponym Argynnos.

¹⁸ Phanokles fr. 5 Powell; Prop. 3.7.21–4; Athen. 13 p. 603d. Argynnos' name is supplied at Hes. fr. 70.33 as son of Kopeus and Peisidike; Euphorion may have mentioned Aphrodite Argynnis (fr. 90). Magnelli, *ZPE* 125 (1999) 87–90, suggests that the anonymous elegy in *P.Oxy.* 3723 alludes to it at ll. 1–2; see his article for full discussion. Hymenaios was supposedly the beloved of Argynnos according to Likymnios *PMG* 768; this comes from the same passage of Athenaios just cited, and Wilamowitz's emendation 'Dionysos' for 'Argynnos' merely substitutes one unknown myth for another. On the cult of Aphrodite, see Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1.36.

concerned himself only with the aition of the cult, in which purification by bathing in the Kephisos perhaps played some part.

ARMEN. FRR. 5, 7

Hesychios reports that according to Armenidas (em.) the acropolis of Thebes was (known as? identified with?) the 'Isles of the Blessed'. Latte, commenting on the Hesychios entry, may be right that this originated as a joke in some (Athenian) comedian. If the identification is seriously meant, it does seem a stretch; toponyms denoting places in the beyond, when they finally get pinpointed on the map, do so on the edges of the known world, not in the middle of an ancient mainland city. Identifications of Odyssean sites in Italy or Argonautic sites in Kolchis happened when those regions were the edge of the world for the first explorers. Herodotos put the Isles of the Blessed in Libya (§8.4.1); the vulgate in Roman times put them on the Canaries (Pliny, *NH* 6.202–5 = Iuba *FGrHist* 275 F 44; Olshausen in *BNP* s.v. Makaron Nesoi; Strabo 3.2.13 with Radt). On the other hand, Armenidas ought to have known his way around Thebes, and we might suppose some kind of metaphorical application denoting Thebes' favoured status (so Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 1194, 1200). Jacoby on this fragment took the tradition seriously, and offered three possible contexts, citing Aristodemos *FGrHist* 383 F 7, schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 1194, 1204, 1208: the birth of Zeus in Thebes; the grave of Hektor in Thebes, to which his bones were transferred in obedience to an oracle; the story of Rhadamanthys, who married Alkmene after Amphitryon's death (→§8.2). None of these is without difficulty; the bones of Hektor and the birthplace of Zeus were placed outside the walls (Paus. 9.18.5, schol. Lykoph.), the grave of Rhadamanthys elsewhere in Boiotia (Plut. *Lys.* 28.9, *De gen. Socr.* 5).¹⁹ Burkert offered another possibility, that the story arose from a Leumannian misunderstanding of the adjective ἐνελύσιος, of a place struck by Zeus's lightning, as ἐν Ἑλυσίῳ, 'in Elysium' (Rhadamanthys' kingdom, *Od.* 4.563–4, equated with the Isles of the Blessed by Pindar, *Ol.* 2.70–7): Semele was blasted on the acropolis of Thebes.²⁰ Another context worth considering is the metamorphosis of Kadmos and Harmonia into snakes at the end of their lives, and their translation to the Isles of the Blessed (→§10.2).

Armenidas also mentioned Haliartos in some unknown context, which need not have been this one (Armen. fr. 7; cf. §5.3.5). According to Steph. Byz. α203 who quotes him, he called it 'Ariartos', which is epichoric.²¹ The inscriptional evidence confirms that the MSS' slightly disturbed reading refers to orthography ('with a rho'); one need not think of a book-number.

¹⁹ R. Parker, 'Agesilaus and the Bones of Alcmena' 131.

²⁰ Burkert, 'Elysion', after J. Vürtheim.

²¹ *SEG* 25.554 and coins; *IACP* no. 206.

§17.3 Corinth

EUMEL. FRR. 1–4²²

The claim that Corinth was the epic Ephyra is known already to the *Iliad* (6.152),²³ and is reflected in the mythographic tradition not only in Eumel. fr. 1 but in e.g. Epimenides fr. 14, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.85, Hyg. *Fab.* 275.6. Eumelos' history of Corinth is a narrative with creaking joints—though, to be fair, the same must be said of any Athenian history, which also has to bring together legends that grew up independently, and for quite different purposes. Eumelos has the added challenge of fitting in some additional claims to a place in pan-Hellenic myth, for instance in relation to the Argonauts. The story begins with Ephyra, daughter of Okeanos and Tethys, marrying Epimetheus and giving the land her name.²⁴ Next there ruled the two sons of Helios, Aloeus (given Asopia, the future Sikyon) and Aietes (given Ephyraia). At some point in these early days occurred the contest between Poseidon and Helios for the ownership of the land; Briareos was arbiter and awarded the acropolis to Helios, the rest to Poseidon (Paus. 2.1.6, 2.4.6). Favorinus, *Corinthian Oration* (= Dio Prus. [37]) 11, generally agreed to be drawing on Eumelos, gives reason to believe that this episode was recounted in the poem (cf. Part B). Helios' wife in the poem (fr. 17) was Antiope, another instance of appropriation (→§10.4). M. L. West, '“Eumelos”' 120, suggests that Antiope was daughter of Ephyra and Epimetheus κατ' ἐπικλήσιν, in truth of Ephyra and the river Asopos.

Aietes departed straight away for his true home Kolchis (on the advice of an oracle: see §6.1.2 n. 24), and left his kingdom to Bounos son of Hermes and Alkidameia, who died without issue (Eumel. fr. 3). Thereupon Epopeus son of Aloeus gained Ephyraia in addition to Asopia. He was a violent and unjust ruler, so his son Marathon fled to the coastal region of Attica. When Epopeus died he returned, divided the land between his sons Sikyon and Korinthus (who gave their names to their territories), and went back to Attica. Korinthus died without issue so the Corinthians summoned their relative Medeia from Iolkos, and Jason became king. (No question therefore of their fleeing from Iolkos after killing Pelias.)

²² Some points relating to theogony and other topics in these fragments have already been discussed elsewhere: fr. 1, §1.3.2, §1.5; fr. 2, §4.3; fr. 3 and 5, §6.7.3, §10.4 (Epopeus), §6.4.5; fr. 4, §5.3.5.

²³ See the Oxford and Basel commentaries ad loc. The sticking-point is the oddity of describing Corinth as μυχῷ Ἀργεος; but it would be even more surprising if, in epic, the poet gave Corinth's Ordnance Survey coordinates. The vague expression deliberately defamiliarizes; this is not *exactly* the city on the Isthmus. For the multiple Ephyrae see also Hülsen, *RE* 6.1.20; Jacoby on Apollodoros *FGrHist* 244 FF 179–81.

²⁴ Steph. Byz. s.v. Κόρινθος says her father was Myrmex (but still names her husband as Epimetheus); this may be some Aiginetan's insolent revision of Eumelos. It is not at all clear that this comes from Hekataios, who is quoted in the preceding sentence (*FGrHist* 1 F 120). Eumel. fr. 17 West, eight lines from the original poem, shows that Pausanias has not omitted much from his summary.

This sequence of events is clearly designed to bring Sikyon and Attica into the Corinthian fold. Aietes is a particularly artificial insertion. The purpose is of course to stake the Corinthian claim to the *Argonautika*, but from a narrative point of view the insertion here prepares the ground for Medeia's future accession. Aietes' immediate successor Bounos is taken from the cult of Hera Bounaia, which he founded (Paus. 2.4.7; nothing else is known). He serves only to take us to the next generation and create by his departure a power-vacuum which Epopeus, really the ruler of Sikyon but claimed here to be of Corinthian origin, proves unable to fill; thus he may be sent back to Sikyon in humiliation.²⁵ The adoption of Marathon acknowledges and reworks a link between Sikyon and Athens found in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 224; →§4.1 at n. 17); this is one of the arguments for a sixth-century dating of the *Korinthiaka*.

After the tragic events of their reign Medeia passed the kingship to Sisypheos. During his time Neleus of Pylos paid him a visit, and died at Corinth (Eumel. fr. 4). The occasion was possibly the first Isthmian Games, as Neleus was one of the victors according to Favorinus, loc. cit. The story everywhere else is that he was killed by Herakles (→§5.3.1, §8.4.11), so here too Eumelos steals a myth for Corinth. The fact that no one knew where the grave was arouses suspicion; at least in the case of Sisypheos, whose secret grave is mentioned in the same fragment, a few people knew where it was, as they did the location of Oidipous' tomb at Kolonos, or Dirke's at Thebes. But a completely unknown grave is not impossible, and perhaps a more effective guarantor of safety for that reason. The secret of Sisypheos' tomb would have been confined logically to his royal successors, and subsequently to an inner circle of the ruling clan; it would be part of the mystique of their power, and a kind of talisman, inasmuch as revealing the secret would destroy the city.²⁶

He had numerous sons (→§5.3.5), including Glaukos the father of Bellerophon, another tragic figure. The most famous Corinthian hero can hardly have been missing in Eumelos' epic, but we have no evidence for it. Glaukos was there, as in Eumel. fr. 2 he is said to be father of Leda. The mother's name, Panteidyia, is invented, as are the circumstances of the conception: Glaukos had lost his horses and came to Lakedaimon looking for them; there he met Panteidyia; she then married Thestios, Leda's putative father. The myth is a particularly outrageous theft of Spartan tradition. It might have been less brazen if he had simply substituted Glaukos for Thestios, and claimed that Tyndareus had gone into exile in Corinth, not Pleuron, where according to the usual story Leda lived. Instead, he leaves the story as it is—Tyndareus still goes to the house

²⁵ The Acrocorinth was called Ἐπώπη according to Steph. Byz. s.v. Κόρινθος and Eust. *Il.* 290.26; it was the 'lookout' whence Sisypheos spotted Zeus carrying off Aigina. If this was true in the sixth century it might have assisted the appropriation of Epopeus.

²⁶ Bremmer, 'Religious Secrets and Secrecy in Classical Greece' 61–3. Jacoby says that Sisypheos' grave shows that Eumelos did not know, or rejected, the story of his defeating Hades; but he did die eventually even in that story.

of Thestios in Pleuron—but Leda is not really his daughter. One person at least believed Eumelos, the lyric poet quoted in the same scholion; of the two possibilities advanced, Alkman and Alkaïos, Alkman seems less likely to have acquiesced in the theft, being Lakedaimonian (at least by adoption). If either is correct, however, it means that the genealogy was taken over, not invented by Eumelos.

In the time of Doridas and Hyanthidas, Sisypheos' descendants in the fifth generation, Aletes conquered Corinth (Paus. 2.4.3, probably from Eumelos; →§9.1). Five generations after that, Bacchis founded the ruling clan of the Bacchidai (or Bacchiadai, in a form adapted to the hexameter), to which Eumelos belonged. We do not know how much of this Pausanias found in the poet.

§17.4 Cyprus

HELLAN. FR. 57

The brief fragment, from Stephanos of Byzantium, tells only that Pygmalion founded Karpasia on Cyprus (*IACP* no. 1014). He is identified as a king also by Asklepiades of Cyprus *FGrHist* 752 F 1, who says he was Phoenician. Almost all ancient sources that speak of Pygmalion do so in connection with his famous love for the statue of Aphrodite he created (most familiar from Ovid, *Met.* 10.243–97), or they speak of his son Kinyras, Kinyras' daughter Myrrha, and their son Adonis.²⁷ Türk, in Roscher *Lex. s.v.*, derives the name from the Phoenician god Pumaj plus epithet 'eljon (= ἑλιστος; R. Rosól, *Glotta* 83 (2007) 234). Hesychios reports that Πυγμαίων was what the Cypriots called Adonis (Voss wished to emend this to Πυγμαλίων). The Near Eastern roots of the Adonis story have always been acknowledged. Pygmalion's love for his own statue is an enervated version of the incestuous love of his progeny for each other, or the misconceived love of Aphrodite for her doomed favourite. However he told these stories (if he did), Hellenikos is still in the early, pre-Hellenic stages of Cypriot history with this fragment.

§17.5 Italy and Sicily

ANTIOCH. FRR. OMNIA; HELLAN. FRR. 79, 199; HEROD. FR. 29; PHER. FR. 156²⁸

The preserved fragments of Antiochos allow us to reconstruct his prehistory of Oinotria in broad outline, if with uncertainty in details. In the opening of his book

²⁷ Detailed discussion of Pygmalion in Bömer's comm. on Ovid loc. cit., pp. 93–7.

²⁸ For all aspects see Luraghi's important treatment in 'Antiocho di Siracusa', with full bibliography, as well as his forthcoming *BNJ* commentary. Blakely concisely provides much information in her *BNJ* commentary on Konon *Dieg.* 25.

(Antioch. fr. 2), he says that the land now called Italy was anciently held by the Oinotroi. What he means by 'Italy' is expounded by Strabo in Antioch. fr. 3 and Dionysios in Antioch. fr. 5–6; the term turns out to have a history, linked to Antiochos' own notions of the historical movements of peoples in the area. Strabo reports, first, that according to Antiochos the coastal region from Lucania south to the Strait of Messina was formerly called Oinotria, then Italy; the north-western border was the Laos river ('the same as my border of Leukania', he adds) and the south-eastern was Metapontion. The later Tarentine region and Iapygia in the heel of Italy were explicitly excluded. Dionysios of Halikarnassos (fr. 6), also apparently following Antiochos, puts the border much farther north, at Poseidonia. One of these authors must be wrong. As Luraghi notes, there is a certain oddity in Strabo's expression, suggesting distortion or confusion, when he claims that Antiochos placed the border in the same place as he did—in Strabo's case the southern border of Leukania, but in Antiochos' case the northern border of Oinotria.²⁹ Dionysios' border also conforms to the indications in other classical writers (Hdt. 1.167.3, οἱ παλαιοί in Strabo 6.1.1).

At the south-east end, Dionysios seems to include Taras, as did Sophokles (fr. 598) and Herodotos (1.24.7, 3.136.1); given the bloody history of relations between the Greek settlers of Taras and the Iapyges in the archaic period, one would expect the border to be driven between them. When Antiochos excludes the Tarentine region from Italy, the reason may be that Taras did not yet exist at this early stage of his history, and was still in the hands of the Iapyges. We have seen in §5.4.1 that Antiochos in fr. 12 made a similar chronological point when he noted the change of name from Metabos to Metapontion. On the other hand the reason could have been anti-Tarentine feeling; his account of their foundation (*FGrHist* 555 F 13) has been read straightforwardly as uncomplimentary. It has also been read in a precisely opposite sense, as complimentary—putting the best face on a bad story.³⁰ After the war between Taras and Metapontion (555 F 12) Taras finds itself on the non-Italian side of the border.

Pher. fr. 156 may be mentioned here (on which see also §§2.1, 2.4). It is quoted by Dionysios to support his contention that the Pelasgians of Italy, whom he equates with the Aborigines, together with the original Romans, were Arkadians. His own reconstruction of the Arkadian genealogy, offered just before this citation in 1.11, is based on his varied researches, and is certainly too elaborate for Pherekydes;³¹ he would not have had a Lykaon I before Pelasgos, and it is doubtful that he would follow Akousilaos in

²⁹ Luraghi, 'Antioco di Siracusa' 64. Cf. Cuscunà, *Antioco di Siracusa* 30–1 and Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen, and Ampolo in *IACP* pp. 249–50, who show that we cannot deduce from the fr. what Hekataios meant by 'Italy' (*FGrHist* 1 FF 61–71, 80–89).

³⁰ Musti, *Strabone e la Magna Grecia* 151–72 for the latter view against Pais and others.

³¹ Phoroneus→Niobe=Zeus→Pelasgos=Deianeira, daughter of Lykaon I son of Aizeios→Lykaon II→Oinotros, seventeen generations before the Trojan War. *Contra* Asheri, 'Ferecide ateniese'. See §7.1.2.

making the Arkadian Pelasgians stem from Phoroneus in Argos (fr. 25). That Oinotros was born 17 generations before the Trojan War is the kind of calculation that Hellanikos might have made, or someone after him, but not before. When Dionysios goes on to say that the Peuketioi settled the Iapygian heel of Italy, this agrees with Pherekydes, as well as with Herod. fr. 29 ('Peuketeis') and Hekataios *FGrHist* 1 F 89 ('Peuketiantes'); he is vaguer, however, about the region settled by the Oinotroi, as it is in his interest to have them spread up the peninsula towards the centre. Pherekydes is quite clear that they settled 'in Italy', which must mean something like what Antiochos meant by it, and shows that the latter had some tradition behind him. He might even have read Pherekydes.³²

Next, Strabo says that earlier in his book³³ Antiochos had confined Italy and Oinotria to the isthmus (the toe of Italy). 'Later,' he says—chronologically now, not 'in the book'—the name was extended as far as Siris and Metapontion in the instep, since this territory was inhabited by the Chones, an *Οἰνωτρικὸν ἔθνος κατακοσμούμενον*. The phrase is puzzling. One suspects that the sense *ought* to be 'a people whose way of living was Oinotrian' (i.e. they became Oinotroi by cultural assimilation), but Aristotle, *Pol.* 7.9.2–3 p. 1329b 21–2 = *FGrHist* 577 F 13, who drew on precisely the same passage of Antiochos, says *ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Χῶνες Οἰνωτροὶ τὸ γένος*.³⁴ Perhaps Aristotle simplifies; but if he does not, it means, first, that not all Oinotroi became Italoi, and second that Antiochos did not subscribe to stories linking the Chones and Chonia with Philoktetes and other post-Troy refugees (Gantz 700–1). His version of the refoundation of Metapontion in Strabo 6.1.15 (*FGrHist* 555 F 12, just preceding our fr. 12) also seems to exclude such traditions. His Metabos looks indigenous; at all events, he is not Achaean.³⁵

³² On the Oinotroi and the Peuketioi see *BNP* s.vv. Oenotri, Peucetii.

³³ Radt notes that the imperfect *ἔφη* means that *ἔτι δ' ἀνώτερον* does not refer to an earlier historical stage, but to an earlier passage in his book. The history comes to the same in the end, however, as we learn in a moment.

³⁴ The verb itself is used of habituation and discipline (e.g. Plat. *Rep.* 560a 7, Plut. *Lyk.* 30.2, Oinomaos of Gadara apud Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 5.27.2 = fr. 9 p. 89.11 Hammerstaedt); Radt translates 'ein gesittetes oinotrisches Volk' (other translations are listed by Luraghi, 'Ricerche sull'archeologia italica di Antioco di Siracusa' 66 n. 28). But their politesse is not relevant, and if they were already Oinotrian there was no extending to be done. *κόσμος* denotes government and general way of life (used of Lykourgos' order in Plutarch and Oinomaos); cf. Antiochos' interest in *πολιτεῖαι* attested in fr. 2. Radt suspects the word comes from Antiochos; did he say rather *ἔθνος Οἰνωτρικῶς κατακοσμούμενον*? Radt notes also that the Ionic form *Χωνίην* in Strabo's MSS comes from Antiochos, which by the rules of word-formation should be correct (the people being the *Χῶνες*); Strabo gives *Χωνία* at 14.2.10. Hesychios' mistaken *Χώνη* in Antioch. fr. 3b, he suggests, may rest on this dialect form. In l. 10 of the fr., Holste in fact gave *Ναπιτύος* (correct the apparatus), which Radt prints, but the parallels suggest -η- is nonetheless correct (Luraghi, 'Antioco di Siracusa' 83, argues that Antiochos wrote *Λαμητύος*). For the Chones cf. Apollodoros of Athens *FGrHist* 244 F 167 ap. Strabo 6.1.3; Cuscunà, *Antioco di Siracusa* 38.

³⁵ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μεραπόντιον* (Eust. on Dion. Per. 368, Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 11.540) mentions Metabos son of Sisyphos son of Aiolos (= Achaean in the broad epic sense), adding *τὸν γὰρ Μεράποντον οἱ βάρβαροι Μέταβον ἔλεγον* (conceding that Metabos is really barbarian), which leaves the matter utterly in balance. I

Strabo concludes fr. 3a by saying that Antiochos writes in a plain, old-fashioned way (= test. 4), and draws no distinction between the Leukanoi (Lucanians) and the Brettioi (Bruttii).³⁶

Dionysios further reports (frr. 2, 5) that after Oinotros the good king Italos reigned; the people's name was changed to Italoι, and the land was called Italy. Also under him the whole of the isthmus was united. The benefits bestowed by the culture-hero Italos are noted also by Aristotle in the passage just cited, which says he made the people farmers when they had been nomads, and established communal meals, an institution particularly associated with Sparta and Crete.³⁷ If the Oinotroi are not Greek, they are behaving like them, in particular the Dorians, which may not be without political point in context. Antiochos rejected the story about Herakles and the cattle of Geryon and the name of Italy (→§8.4.11); though Herakles was an eminently Dorian hero, there are signs that he was being appropriated by the Achaean colonists of Kroton and Metapontion, who even claimed him as founder, a view the Dorian Antiochos could not accept.³⁸ Metapontion's alliance with Athens will also have affected his attitude to the city (→§5.4.1).

Morges succeeded to the throne when Italos was an old man; Dionysios here makes his remark on the extent of Italy, which now reaches all the way to Poseidonia: the implication is that this further expansion took place under Italos, as is implied also by fr. 5 (ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτης, sc. the first Italy, κάρτερος ἐγένετο . . . αὐτίκα τῶν ἐχομένων ἐπορεύεσθαι καὶ πόλεις συνάγεσθαι πολλάς). Under Morges, the people were called Morgetes. The Morgetes are quite obscure, mentioned otherwise only by Ephoros (FGrHist 70 F 136), Strabo 6.2.4 who cites him, Pliny NH 3.71 and Steph. Byz. s.v. Μοργέντιον, 'a city in Italy' (Murgantia in Samnium, e.g. Livy 10.17.3). Strabo tentatively assigns to the Morgetes the Sicilian polis Morgantina, which he calls Morgantion (IACP

assume the first part is not Antiochos, and the second part comes from Strabo. Other traditions on Metabos in Roscher, *Lex. s.v.*; bibliography in Pagliara, 'Le tradizioni genealogiche'. Jacoby, Introduction to FGrHist 555 (Antiochos) p. 489, is forceful on this point. See esp. FGrHist 555 F 10 on the foundation of Kroton, where Ἀχαιοί denotes settlers from the historical Achaia; Strabo cites Antiochos precisely to contradict the usual view.

³⁶ This probably means he said nothing at all about them. Antioch. fr. 3c says that Brettia was the former name of Oinotria according to Antiochos, but the whole thrust of the other testimonia is that Oinotria was the first name. Stephanos may have misunderstood Strabo (cf. Jacoby, Cusculà ad loc.). Moreover, if Antiochos, as Strabo says, put the border at the river Laos, he *did* draw a distinction between the two peoples: another reason for thinking Strabo wrong on this point. I do not understand Cusculà's argument that Strabo distinguished Antiochos from the παλαιοί of 5.1.1, who restricted 'Italy' to the south; differences among παλαιοί about the precise location of the border in the south are irrelevant to his point there, and a writer of Antiochos' period is surely παλαιός for Strabo.

³⁷ Xen. Lak. 5; Plut. Lyk. 10–12; Arist. Pol. 2.9 p. 1271a 28–32; Schmitt-Pantel, BNP s.v. Banquet.

³⁸ For Kroton (IACP no. 56), see the legend in Diod. Sic. 4.24.7, involving once again the cattle of Geryon; Metapontion (IACP no. 61) was refounded from Kroton and Sybaris. Cusculà, *Antico di Siracusa* 159–61.

no. 37).³⁹ This city was conquered by the Sikel Douketios in 459/8 (Diod. Sic. 11.78.5), and in general the Sikeloι seemed to have eclipsed this tribe. Stephanos γ21 says that Morges son of Sikelos founded the (unlocated) Sicilian city Galeria (IACP no. 16); the genealogy indicates absorption by the Sikeloι.

During Morges' reign, an exile from Rome named Sikelos was taken in (fr. 6), but he formed a splinter kingdom; thus came into being the Sikeloι (fr. 2). We have no idea why Antiochos thought Rome was a logical place for Sikelos to come from; one assumes he meant the famous city, but Dionysios was unable to confirm this from the text, as he says in fr. 6. The essential point of the mythical schema is the beginning of a new ethnos, related to the old; that the founder is a rank outsider may indicate a deeper split than, e.g., Boiotians among Aioliens. If Antiochos shared the view that the Morgetes were, or were related to, Samnites, perhaps he simply reached for their neighbours the Latii for the next step in his story.⁴⁰ Dionysios' own view is that the very first inhabitants of Rome were the autochthonous Sikeloι, who were evicted by the Aborigines; the Aborigines, according to him, were originally Arkadian, descended from Pelasgos—so that, when the Pelasgians later arrived, the Aborigines made common cause with them on account of their blood relation. The Sikeloι, upon eviction, went to Sicily.⁴¹

We now have three groups, Sikeloι, Morgetes, and 'Italietes' as Antiochos calls them in the verbatim part of Dionysios' citation (fr. 2). One hesitates to emend or delete this unique form.⁴² Given that the people existed only in his theory, Antiochos might well have coined the word on the analogy of Μόργητες and Ἰταλιῶται. Ἰταλιῶται in other writers of the fifth and fourth centuries denotes the Greek inhabitants of Italy (e.g. Hdt. 4.15.2, Thuc. 6.44.4, 8.91.2; cf. Σικελιῶται/Σικελοί). Ἰταλοί is not found except with reference to the mythical period. The distinction of Ἰταλοί = indigenous Italians vs. Ἰταλιῶται = Greek immigrants is stated by Philo *De diversis verborum significationibus* 98.1 (= Ammon. *De affin. vocab. diff.* 252 p. 675 Nickau), but not observed by e.g. Diod. Sic. 14.100.3, and one wonders how strict usage was by the Augustan period, when *Itali* were the inhabitants of the whole of the peninsula up to the Alps. When Dionysios, therefore, attributes both Ἰταλιῆτες and Ἰταλοί to Antiochos in fr. 2, we should perhaps not be over-concerned (though he appears to observe the distinction at *Ant. Rom.*

³⁹ Pace Cusculà, *Kokalos* 41 (1995) 73 n. 1, Manni, *Geografia fisica* 204, 207, and others, this is the only Sicilian toponym with this root. (Philistos FGrHist 556 F 14 attests Μόργονα but in the absence of any other indication one assumes it is another name for Morgantion.) Speculations about the role of the Morgetes in Antiochos' history (anti-Athenian) in Sammartano, *Origines gentium Siciliae* 176–86.

⁴⁰ See further Pagliara, 'Etnografia italiana' 79 n. 32.

⁴¹ Musti, *Tendenze nella storiografia romana e greca su Roma arcaica*, after Scullard, Gabba, and others, well brings out the tendentious nature of these claims: for Dionysios the Romans and all who helped them were Greeks; those coming before had to be barbarians.

⁴² But cf. Orac. Sibyl. 13.100 Ἰταλιῶν, 12.61 Ἰταλιῆτας (from Ἰταλιῆται).

10.54.3).⁴³ Unfortunately we also do not know whether Antiochos shared the view that the Oinotroi were Pelasgian immigrants from Arkadia, which means they might count as almost-Greeks (like the Cretans who are entangled in Sicilian and Iapygian affairs in other stories). The opening of his book (fr. 2) suggests he did not.⁴⁴

However that may be, in the data before us, Antiochos' idea is that under Italos the kingdom briefly reached its maximum extent, before splintering just at the end of the king's life. The story acknowledges and explains contemporary use of 'Italy' to denote the larger area (e.g. Hdt. 1.24.1, 1.165, 3.136.1. Thuc. 5.5.1, 733.4; → §8.4.11). The Morgetes and Sikeloï were forced out of the region around Rhegion by the Opikoi and the Oinotroi (fr. 4). The implication is that there were Oinotroi who did not become Italiotes or Morgetes; and the implication of that in turn is that, while 'Italy' as a toponym spread north, and the name stuck, the Oinotroi who did convert were confined to the isthmus—and were then driven out by those who did not convert. Since the Italoi did not exist in Antiochos' day, the primary data for him would seem to have been: (i) the belief that the Oinotroi of his day were the aboriginal occupants of Italy; (ii) the concentration of the Oinotroi in the isthmus; (iii) contemporary linguistic usage of 'Italy' (implying there had been an Italos, and people named after him who had once occupied the territory called Italy); and (iv) the belief in the consanguinity of the Sikeloï and the Morgetes with the people of the mainland, whence they had emigrated, displacing the Sikanoi (see below). Note that Thuc. 6.2.4, following Antiochos, says that there were Sikeloï in Italy still in his day.⁴⁵ From these data Antiochos constructed his multi-staged story.

The forced emigration to Sicily is the last stage of the story. Strabo (fr. 9) says that both Morgetes and Sikeloï were ousted by the Oinotroi, whereas Dionysios (fr. 5) mentions only Sikeloï, reasonably enough in his context. Dionysios says that both Oinotroi and Opikoi were the aggressors; the Opikoi, in turn, Antiochos identified with the Ausones (fr. 7). Dionysios also quotes the name of the man who led the expedition, but it is corrupt; 'Straton' (Urlichs) follows most closely the paradosis. Of other guesses, Reiske's Syrakon is the most sagacious, but the man is invented. Sikelos, we infer, has died on the mainland.

Every stage of the story predictably exhibits variation in different authorities: the identity of the aggressors (Pelasgians; Oinotroi and Opikoi = Ausones; Oinotroi, then Iapyges; Opikoi); the native inhabitants encountered on Sicily (the Sikanoi;

⁴³ One could think of a subtle distinction on Antiochos' part between the *Ἰταλοί* who preceded the stasis, and the *Ἰταλιῆτες* who emerged from it—and who were in turn different from the *Ἰταλιῶται*. So Cusculà, *Antiochi di Siracusa* 56.

⁴⁴ Cf. Sammartano, *Origines gentium Siciliae* 164.

⁴⁵ Thucydides' expression *Ἰταλὸς βασιλεὺς Σικελῶν* is no obstacle to the view that he is here generally following Antiochos (cf. Hornblower ad loc.). To Philistos, *FGrHist* 556 F 46, Sikelos was a son of Italos.

autochthonous or Iberian refugees);⁴⁶ the role of the Elymnoi (already in Sicily, or migrated from Italy before the Sikeloï); the fellow-travellers of the Sikeloï (nobody; Morgetes; Ligydes; Ausones); the date of the migration (unstated; 3 generations before the Trojan War; 80 years before the Trojan War; 300 years before the Greeks came to Sicily). These matters are partly canvassed by Dionysios when quoting Hellan. fr. 79b and Antiochos fr. 4, and supplemented by Thucydides (6.2), Philistos (*FGrHist* 556 FF 45–6), Ephoros (70 F 136), Timaios (566 FF 38, 164) and pseudo-Skymnos 264–70. Jacoby on Hellan. fr. 79b attempted to sort out which variant goes with which authority, when it is not clearly stated; he could be right that in Antiochos the Sikanoi were autochthonous (the view rejected by Thuc. 6.2.2), but his inference that Antiochos mentioned the Elymnoi in Italy is insecure.⁴⁷ In Antiochos *FGrHist* 555 F 1, they are allied with the Phoenicians and defeat the Knidian settlers in Sicily.

Hellanikos is unique in having two stages to the emigration, first the Elymnoi then the Ausones, a narrative complication typical of him, as is also the dating (fr. 79a is cited from the chronographical *Priestesses of Hera*). He mentioned Elymos also in fr. 31 together with Aigestos in the context of the Sack of Troy. Aigestos, Virgil's Akestes, has a complicated history (Trojan mother, daughter of a contemporary of Laomedon; born in Sicily of a Sicilian father; fights at Troy for the Trojans; returns to Sicily with Elymos; met by Aineias on his wanderings, who builds Aigesta and Elyma for them).⁴⁸ For Thucydides (6.2.3) the Elymnoi in Sicily are simply Trojan refugees. Strabo 6.1.3 (Apollod. *FGrHist* 244 F 167) reports a tradition that Aigestos went first to Kroton with Philoktetes, then built Aigesta in Sicily, which is yet another version. The difficulty is that in fr. 79b the migration of the Elymnoi is dated to three generations before the Trojan War. There is no plausible way of reconciling this with fr. 31. Dionysios in 1.52–3 says nothing about the origin of Elymos, except that he was of royal blood; he also says that the Elymnoi began to be so called at *this* time, i.e. after the fall of Troy. Some features of the tale in 1.52 also sound like tragedy or a novel. So this section is probably not Hellanikos, and

⁴⁶ Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 45 records the polis Sikane in Iberia, which perhaps gave rise to this theory (Sammartano, *Origines gentium Siciliae* 224–33, Cusculà, *Antiochi di Siracusa* 141). Homer knows of both Sikanie as the name of the island (*Od.* 24.307) and the Sikeloï (*Od.* 20.383).

⁴⁷ Cusculà 140–1. On the Elymnoi, see Falco in *BNP* s.v.; Hornblower on Thuc. 6.2.3. The view, first advanced by Woelfflin in 1872, that Dionysios drew on the *Ἰ. Ἰταλίας* (where he found no date) and that Thucydides got his 300 years from Antiochos in the *Ἰ. Σικελίας*, was rejected by Mazzarino, *Il pensiero storico classico* 1.596 ('estremamente improbabile') and Pagliara, 'Etnografia italica' 80. In its favour, Thuc. here uses *ἐγγύς* rather than *μάλιστα* with the number, which is thought to be taken over from his source, and there is reason to think that the profusion of relative dates in this passage of Thucydides is distinctively Antiochean (see Part B). Dover, *HCT* 4.201, sees no difficulty in thinking that Antiochos mentioned the migration in both books, but did not bother or need to date it in *On Italy*. Cf. also Luraghi, 'Fonti e tradizioni' 60–1. For Thucydides, Hellanikos and chronology see also §19.3.

⁴⁸ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.52, Strabo 13.153, Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 5.73, schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 965, Myth. Vat. II 220 (193). The quarrel with Laomedon which led to his mother's deportation was about who should be sacrificed to the sea-monster: → §8.5.3.

the mention of Elymos in fr. 31 is perhaps not him either. That leaves us completely in the dark as to the origin of his Elymoi in fr. 79b. There is no advantage to be gained (and no reason to believe) that he equated them with the Sikanoi.⁴⁹ After all, the Elymoi on his showing preceded the Sikeloi to Sicily by only four years (πέμπτω ἔτει, inclusive). As a mytheme, the story keeps the two groups closely allied but slightly distinct; the same, but not the same. This is a fair reflection of the situation on the ground in his day, in Greek perceptions.

Hellanikos is also alone in the role he assigns to the Ausones. Antiochos (fr. 7) equated them with the Opikoi (Oscans), whereas Hellanikos says they were the second wave of emigrants to Sicily, and became the Sikeloi. The earliest reference to the Ausones is in Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 61, who says that Nola in Campania was Ausonian. This looks specific enough, but it is hazardous to build much on it, or on the historical Aurunci, the Italic equivalent. Pindar's reference (fr. 140b 6) to the Ausonian sea, i.e. the Ionian, is telling: this inaugurates a long poetic tradition whereby 'Ausonian' is roughly equivalent to 'Italian' with reference to the whole peninsula, which could well have influenced Hekataios. At any rate, there is no reason to think that he was better informed than Hellanikos or Antiochos, whose starkly divergent opinions shows that we are dealing with a shadowy prehistoric people, available for various reconstructions. 'Starkly divergent', but having the same point of origin: the Oscan–Umbrian peoples of the southern half of Italy, being Indo-European and sharing many items of material culture, and speaking languages bearing similarities to Greek, could be given any role within a narrative of conflicts or mergers in the area, either as barbarians or quasi-Greeks, as friends or foes.⁵⁰ The same can be said of Oinotroi, Peuketioi (Pelasgians from Arkadia = quasi-Greek), Sikeloi, and others.

Somewhere in his discussion of these regions will have been found Hellan. fr. 199 on the origin of the name of Gela. Fr. 199a is now Steph. Byz. γ45 Billerbeck; the fragment of Epaphroditos in fr. 199b is fr. 63 Braswell–Billerbeck, q.v.⁵¹ The city was founded 45 years after Syracuse, in 689/8 (Thuc. 6.4.3; Tzetzes' note on the passage is fr. 199b). Hellanikos says the eponym Gelon was the son of Aitne and †Hymaros, a *hapax* variously emended: Meineke's Himeros would be eponym of the Himeras river in the north; his earlier Hykaros, approved by Wilamowitz, links to the city in the north-west

⁴⁹ For all of this see Pagliara, 'Etnografia italiana' 81. Vanotti, 'L'identità etnica degli Elimi', suggests that making the Elymoi of Segesta barbarians (Hellanikos: oligarchic view) as opposed to Trojan refugees (Thucydides: democratic view) could reflect the politics of the Sicilian invasion. Sammartano, *Origines gentium Siciliae*, argues contrarily that Hellanikos' version promoted the Athenian cause in Sicily.

⁵⁰ Overview of the Ausones in Pappalardo, *BNP* s.v.; exhaustive and important is Pagliara, 'Ausonia terra'. Notably, wherever we can compare them Thucydides and Hellanikos are completely at odds: Dover, *HCT* 4.200.

⁵¹ Possibly from a commentary on Kallim. *Ait.* fr. 43.46; see Pfeiffer ad loc.

(but an eponym of a natural geographical feature is preferable); Maass's Kamaros, eponym of Kamarina, suffers from the same objection; Pais's hesitant καὶ τοῦ Μάρου refers to Mt Maroneus in the north, but the article is not wanted; Wikén's Hipparos would be eponym of the river Hipparis, not far from Gelon and perhaps the best of the suggestions. Hellanikos' genealogy must derive from the pre-Hellenic phase of the city's history.

§17.6 Keos

XENOM. FR. 1

Kallimachos (frr. 67–75) effectively provides a précis of Xenomedes' local history of Keos. He is mainly concerned in his poem with the tale of Kydippe and Akontios, but in the course of it he works in various references to Keian lore. He alludes to the rain-rituals in honour of Zeus Ikmiōs (or Ikmaios), whose priests are Akontios' ancestors (33–7).⁵² He mentions that Kydippe's father Keyx is a Kodrid (32), suggesting that Xenomedes, as one would expect, told of the arrival of Athenians/Ionians as the Ionian migration got underway.⁵³ He refers to the Akontiadae (51), clearly a historical clan on the island. After he finishes with Kydippe and Akontios, he runs quickly through other topics: the primeval occupation of the island by Korykian (that is, Delphian) nymphs, who were chased from their abode on Mt Parnassos by a lion (or rather the Parnassian lion, Paus. 1.27.9) and came to the island, at that time called Hydroussa (56–8); the arrival of Kares and Leleges, worshippers of Zeus Alalaxios (Zeus of the Warcry), in whose time the island was named after Keos son of Apollo and Melie (60–3); the wicked Telchines, the foolish Demonax, and the pious Makelo and Dexitheia, who alone survived the general devastation (64–9); and the foundation (or at least the fortification) of the four cities: Karthaia by Megakles, Ioulis by Eupylos, Poiessa by Akaios, and Koresios by Aphrastōs (70–4). Of these founders nothing else is known. After the end of the Telchines era Xenomedes must have told of the repopulation of the island from Crete;⁵⁴ Kallimachos suggests as much when he identifies Akontios as one of the Euxantidai (fr. 67), Euxantios, the new founder, being son of Minos and Dexitheia. Xenomedes would not have omitted the first of the priests of Zeus Ikmiōs, Aristaios; possibly his presence can be discerned in the traces of ll. 58–9 in the papyrus, where there is also an inscrutable reference to Karyai, otherwise unknown on Keos (if the Arkadian town, the link is obscure; see Harder on Kallim. fr. 75.59). How Aristaios'

⁵² Burkert, *HN* 109–15.

⁵³ Led by one Thersidamas according to schol. Dion. Per. 525.

⁵⁴ See §1.7.4, where ll. 60–9 have been discussed. As none of the cities is named after the four heroes, τεῖχος (70) perhaps means precisely that they fortified pre-existing settlements. On the historical politics of Keos see *IACP* pp. 747–51.

descendants survived, when everyone except Makelo and Dexithea is supposed to have perished, is unclear from Kallimachos; some of the daughters survived according to Bacchylides (1.138), whereas Pindar in the fourth *Paean* has the same story as Kallimachos (→§1.7.4 n. 175). In some contexts it might have been appropriate to stress the complete rupture between then and now, whereas on other occasions one might have wished to recognize some continuity, and acknowledge the survivors.

The story of Kydippe and Akontios would be otherwise lost to literature had not Kallimachos plucked it from Xenomedes; the Latin poets have it from him, as does Aristainetos.⁵⁵ Though Kallimachos does not say so, the myth might have served as an aition for a *θεωρία* of choruses of young people sent to honour Artemis on Delos, where Akontios first saw Kydippe, and extracted by his stratagem her oath that she would marry him. The myth of Dexithea, in its turn, could be an aition for an annual theoxenia (→§1.7.4).

Aristotle in his *Constitution of the Keians*, reported by Herakleides Lembos, doubtless used Xenomedes, but seems to contradict him in some details. In particular he says that the nymphs were chased by a lion not to, but from, Keos (*Pol.* 26 p. 22 Dilts = *Arist.* fr. 611.26). Huxley, 'Xenomedes of Keos' 236, supposes that they must have come back again, as in the next chapter in Herakleides Aristaios is learning animal husbandry from 'nymphs', and beekeeping from the 'Brisai' (more nymphs); perhaps one of these groups are the Korykians returned. To impose perfect consistency, Huxley has to suppose that there were two lions involved, one on Parnassos, another in Keos, which is rather a lot of lions. To save oneself these manoeuvres, one could just suppose that different traditions circulated, perhaps both reported by Xenomedes. An archaic statue of a lion was found in modern times near Ioulis (*Εφ. Αρχ.* 1898 p. 231), but as this is not near the promontory named after it according to Aristotle, perhaps it is not relevant to this problem. The Korykian nymphs, like Aristaios, were associated with beekeeping (→§1.9.5), so primeval links to Delphi and Apollo, father of Aristaios, seem to have figured in the island's image of its origins.

It is not clear in Kallimachos' text whether Keos, son of Apollo and Melie (the nymph's name is fairly generic; she could be autochthonous, or Cretan as in Kallim. *Hymn* 1.47), is one of the Leleges, but Aristotle says he came from Naupaktos, where Leleges were doubtless to be found in those days.⁵⁶

As discussed in §1.7.4, the myths reveal a nice balance between simultaneous desires to renounce and embrace the island's distant past. All myths of *illud tempus* alternate between the belief that it was a perfect time, and the belief that conditions since then have improved generation by generation. The myths, and rituals to which they might be

⁵⁵ Particularly *Ov. Her.* 20–1; *Aristaen.* 1.10. On its treatment in Kallimachos see Fantuzzi and Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* 60–6.

⁵⁶ *Hes. fr.* 234 is rather about East Lokris, but see *Strab.* 7.7.2, *Dion. Kall.* 70 (*GGM* 1.240).

linked (as some of those in Xenomedes doubtless were), are perfectly flexible, able to accommodate whatever feelings of nostalgia for the past, celebration of the current order, or combination of both seem appropriate. The myth addresses the origins of society as a whole, and its constituent parts (people and noble clans); it addresses both natural and human landscape; it figures the island as both a self-contained world, and one with links to those around. There are at least five beginnings, each with a different signification: the absolute beginning, in forces of nature (the nymphs); the first human habitation, but only of semi-civilized Kares and Leleges, cohabiting with creatures of doubtful humanity, the Telchines—a savage and irreligious time, there only to be superseded (but nonetheless the time of the eponym Keos, who looks forward to the future); the repopulation from Crete, not yet Hellenic but far more respectable than the Kares and Leleges, and bestowing the cachet of remote antiquity upon the island; the arrival of the Ionians, who make the people Greek and define their *ethnos*; and finally the fortification of the cities, leading Xenomedes' readers to the physical environment they could see in their day. Sketchy though its outlines are to us, Xenomedes' book clearly covered the conceptual terrain thoroughly. We may assume it was typical of local histories.⁵⁷ It would have appealed equally to internal and external audiences; its survival indicates that it did circulate outside Keos, and Xenomedes would have had that in mind when he wrote it.

§17.7 Lakeldaimon

PHER. FR. 168

A verbatim quotation: Oitylos son of Amphianax is eponym of the polis in Sparta (no. 340 in *IACP*). Jacoby on this passage notes *Paus.* 3.25.10, where the *periegete* says that Oitylos was Argive by descent, being a son of Amphianax son of Antimachos. For Antimachos Jacoby notes *Paus.* 2.19.1, where he reports that Temenos during the return of the *Herakleidai* used as his general Deiphontes son of Antimachos son of Thrasyanor son of Ktesippos son of Herakles;⁵⁸ to this man he betrothed his daughter Hyrnetho. We know of no other relevant genealogy, but if the Amphianax of this fr. really is son of this Antimachos, his son Oitylos lived a long time after the Trojan War. This enters a time period outside Pherekydes' normal frame of reference, and creates serious chronological difficulties, for the town is in the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.585, whose scholiast quotes this fragment of Pher). We might suppose that Pherekydes, through his friend Kimon's contacts, had access to local Spartan information (he does offer some unique data, e.g.

⁵⁷ Ion of Chios fr. 1 yields a similar analysis (→§19.2.2).

⁵⁸ Ktesippos is the name of two sons of Herakles, by Astydameia and Deianeira, at *Apollod. Bibl.* 2.165–6. Pausanias' genealogy also in *Nik. Dam. FGrHist* 90 F 30.

Elatos son of Ikarios in fr. 39), and that the people of this town nurtured the belief in an Argive/Heraklid link without noticing the Homeric difficulty; in principle this is no different from the many other links forged between historical Dorians and Herakles. It is odd, though, that Pherekydes overlooked the problem. Perhaps he found a different genealogy for Amphianax, more like those for other eponyms in the region (Tainaros, fr. 39; Arene, fr. 127; Oibalos, fr. 128); an Atlantid connection seems possible (→§13).

§17.8 Lesbos

HELLAN. FR. 33

The sanctuary of Apollo Maloeis is mentioned by Thucydides 3.3 as a place where the people gathered for a festival; he is named after the place Malea outside Mytilene.⁵⁹ Hellan. fr. 33 gives the foundation story. In the epitome of Stephanos as we have it, we hear only that it was named after Manto's apple; a scholion on Thucydides, probably drawing on Stephanos, tells the fuller story: she lost a golden apple from her necklace whilst participating in a chorus in this area, and vowed to the god that she would found a sanctuary if she found it; which she did. Manto, daughter of Teiresias, in one story emigrated eastward after the fall of Thebes; more commonly she is associated with Kolophon, but clearly different stories about her were in circulation (→§19.2.2 n. 55). The alpha of Malea is short, of *μάλον* is long, but such matters were no obstacles to ancient etymology. Hellanikos, being Lesbian, would know the local traditions, but was also capable of inventing such etymologies himself.

HELLAN. FR. 34

A note in Stephanos of Byzantium, cited from Hellanikos' *Lesbiaka*, identifies Tragasai as a place 'on the mainland'; the perspective is from the island looking outward. We are in the early part of the book, where the toponyms and eponyms are being set out. Tragasai was named after Tragastos, for whom as a favour Poseidon created the well-known salt flats there (Strabo 13.1.48, where see Radt, both text and commentary). Because of the salt the plain was also known as 'Halesion', from ἅλς. A fuller note in Pollux 6.63 (cf. *Etym. Magn.* 763.25 ~ *Etym. Gen.* p. 284 Miller) explains that Tragastos was the father of Philonome, wife of Kyknos, whose love for her stepson Tennes was unrequited (cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 3.24). Hellanikos related this story in fr. 160B, possibly as part of the *Troika*, but he might have told it here (or here as well); see §18.2.6 for the details.

⁵⁹ IG XII. 2.484.20; Kallim. fr. 485 with Pfeiffer; Kruse, *RE* 14.1.869–70; Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* 1.387 [1.394], 2.225–9 [2.227–32].

HELLAN. FR. 35

In the second book of his *Lesbiaka*, Hellanikos mentioned the 'polis' of Nape (*IACP* p. 1020). The name is quoted in that form by Stephanos, and is guaranteed by the epithet Napaïos for Apollo on Lesbos (schol. Ald. *Ar. Nub.* 144 = Antikleides *FGrHist* 140 F 8;⁶⁰ Macrob. *Sat.* 1.17.45). Strabo mentions it in fr. 35b, remarking caustically that Hellanikos in his usual ignorance called it 'Lape'. It has long been suspected that Strabo simply had a faulty copy of Hellanikos before him; he might in any case have reflected that Hellanikos, being from Lesbos, would know what he was talking about. The context is unknown, but in Antikleides loc. cit. there is a curious story about Pelops asking Apollo whether he might be able to dedicate something other than the Golden Lamb, to which the god answered ὁ βούλομαι δός, μὴ δίδου δ' ὁ μὴ θέλω. Nothing else is known about this lamb; the story is not consistent with the usual one (→§14.2.2). It might have been part of Pelops' wooing of Hippodameia (a vow against his success, which he was then reluctant to fulfil).

HELLAN. FR. 35A, 71

Pelasgians were the first occupants of Lesbos; Diodoros (5.81.2) specifies that they were led by Xanthos son of Triopas from Argos. Strabo (13.3.3) agrees that Pelasgians were there first, but says they were led by Pylaïos of Thessaly (*Il.* 2.842). He cites 'the Lesbians' themselves as the source of this information, i.e. some Lesbian author. Diodoros goes on to say that seven generations later the island was inundated by Deukalion's flood. Next, he says, came Makareus son of Krinakos son of Zeus, emigrating from Ias in the north Peloponnese before it was called Achaia, specifically from Olenos; his authority for this is Hesiod (fr. 184).⁶¹ Lesbos son of Lapithes son of Aiolos son of Hippotes then married Methymna daughter of Makareus, and the island was named after him. Makareus sent out colonies to Chios, Samos, Kos and Rhodes (Diod. 5.81.7–8). Finally Diodoros says that Makareus wrote an excellent law-code which he called 'the Lion', reflecting the animal's great strength.

Regarding Makar, whose name and career reveal him as a Golden Age founder-figure, there are two other items of information from the archaic period. The first is in Homer, *Il.* 24.544, where Lesbos is called 'seat of Makar'. Lesbos is in the enemy camp, a target of Achilles' raids (*Il.* 9.129, 664), but this does not mean that Makar is completely foreign; although he must precede Hellen, and so is not 'Hellenic', he could have descended from some mainland Greek figure, as the Trojans do from Elektra. When the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, however, refers to Lesbos as the 'seat of Makar

⁶⁰ The Aldine scholia are printed by Koster as Appendix 1 in Holwerda's edition of the scholia vetera, p. 261.

⁶¹ Supplemented now by *P.Herc.* 243 III: Luppe, *CronErc* 14 (1984) 109–24; M. L. West, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 1–7.

Αἰολίῳνος', son of Aiolos, (37), this is to make him explicitly Aiolian. Pausanias (10.38.4) too makes him son of Aiolos, and so he is also in Euripides' *Aiolos*; there it is Aiolos son of Hippotes, not son of Hellen, but then the myths of the two interfere with each other (→§5.4.1); compare Hippotes in the genealogy above. The means by which Lesbians became Aiolian, if Orestes the Pelopid was their founder, is a slight problem for mythical history, which this manoeuvre would help obviate (cf. §19.4).

In post-archaic sources, Makar is called son of Helios and Rhode in Hellan. fr. 137 where it cannot quite be determined if the list of sons in that fragment is really taken from Hellanikos (§19.3; see further below on this point). Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*Ant. Rom.* 1.17.3–18.1) says that Pelasgians, evicted from Thessaly by Deukalion in the sixth generation after Pelasgos arrived from Argos, colonized many places around the Hellespont and the adjacent islands, particularly Lesbos, joining the mixed crowd led by Makar son of Kriasos. Unless Kriasos is a mistake for Krinakos, this is a link to Argos like Diodoros' Xanthos son of Triopas (above), for Kriasos is an Argive name (Pher. fr. 66, and conjectured for Hellanikos; →§7.1.2. This would have to be a later Kriasos, since the known one lived well before Deukalion.)

In this context belong Hellan. fr. 35A and 71. Fr. 35A comes from a papyrus, perhaps a commentary on Alkaios, which offers several explanations for the Lion of Makar. If Hellanikos' name is correctly read, his explanation was that it was called the Lion because it prescribed death for all wrongdoers, that is, it was a savage law-code (similarly Diodoros above). Alkaios 'the epic poet'⁶² said the lion was a bronze one made by Hephaistos and stuffed with beneficial φάρμακα; Makar brought it from Pholoe, which is not far from Olenos. This was for the protection of the island, so it was a kind of talisman (compare the talismanic lion in Hdt. 1.84.3).⁶³ Bronze is mentioned at the beginning of l. 14, and Haslam, the papyrus' editor, wonders if we are dealing with a Hellenikean rationalization of the Hephaistos myth: not a god-made bronze lion, but a law-code written on bronze tablets. There follows in the papyrus another explanation attributed (probably) to Myrsilos of Methymna, but the sense is obscure. The people of Methymna are somehow involved, as are Ionians: one recalls that Makar, in one version, came from Ias, but these Ionians seem to be enemies and the Lion is a protection against them. For details and possibilities see Haslam's commentary.

Jacoby thought the subject of fr. 71 was Dionysios' evicted Pelasgians (above). This is not impossible but an alternative seems more probable, that this is part of Makar's serial colonization mentioned by Diodoros (5.81.7–8, cited above). Chios was one of the destinations, and this fragment is quoted from the *Foundation of Chios*. We imagine some of

Makar's people heading north from Lesbos and taking in Tenedos and Lemnos en route to the Black Gulf; others went south. In each place these expeditions left a few ships with their passengers, five in the case of Lemnos. If these are Pelasgians coming from Thessaly, it is slightly odd that they went to Tenedos and then backtracked to Lemnos. The description of the new arrivals mixing with the indigenous Sinties also seems better suited to Hellenic immigrants. The point of συνώκισαν ἑαυτοὺς ἀναμίξ is that they joined in a polity with the natives rather than inflicting a colony on them. The Sinties, traditional inhabitants of Lemnos (*Il.* 1.594, *Od.* 8.294), are said to be μιξέλληνες; this word denotes Hellenized barbarians, rather than barbarized Greeks.⁶⁴ Hellanikos here equates the Homeric Sinties with the Thracian Sintoi, who were in fact partly Hellenized in his day.⁶⁵ The sympolity is an odd point to stress if the newcomers are Pelasgian. True, one might suppose these Pelasgians, being descended from the ancient Argives, to be conceptually Hellenic. One can also note that Chios too was first inhabited by Pelasgians (Strabo 13.3.3), so perhaps the Pelasgians, after colonizing north Aegean islands, ended up there. But note that the leader of the expedition, if we can trust Tzetzes in fr. 71d, is Thoas: this is Hypsipyle's father, the sole survivor of the Lemnian women's slaughter. After his time the Pelasgians colonized the island according to Herodotos (6.128). Hellanikos' Pelasgians no doubt had a different career from Herodotos', but in any case, Thoas was no Pelasgian.⁶⁶ Thoas was a Greek, or proto-Greek, settler of Lemnos.

If this reasoning is sound, we may suspect that the Makaros of Hellan. fr. 137, and thus the whole list of sons, is not from Hellanikos. If fr. 71 is part of a chauvinistic claim that various islands, including Rhodes, had been colonized from Lesbos, it would be inconsistent to say that Makar himself had come from Rhodes in the first place.

Frr. 71bc claim that according to Hellanikos the Sinties were the discoverers of fire, and the inventors of weapons of war. The latter could be a careless inference from fr. 71a, which strictly speaking says only that the Sinties were manufacturers of such weapons. Hellanikos is quoted elsewhere as crediting the Scythian king Saneunos with the invention of iron weapons (*FGrHist* 4 F 189). (Both versions rationalize stories about Idaian Daktyloi such as we find in the *Phoronis* fr. 2.) One might save his consistency by supposing that the Sinties invented bronze weapons; these two stages are distinguished by other sources (Plin. *NH* 7.197 = Arist. fr. 602, Hes. fr. 282; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.75.4 = Hes. fr. 282). That Hephaistos lands among the Sinties in the *Iliad* suggests a traditional association with such activities.

⁶⁴ Casevitz, 'Le vocabulaire du mélange démographique'; J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity* 196 citing M. Dubuisson, *RBPh* 60 (1982) 11.

⁶⁵ Thuc. 2.98.1; Oberhummer, *RE* 3A.1.258–9; von Bredow, *BNP* s.v.

⁶⁶ For possible Pelasgians on Lemnos in Hellanikos see §2.1 n. 30, but the only evidence is fr. 71 on Jacoby's reading. Of course Pelasgians and Sinties could have both lived there; the Sinties are given by Homer, Pelasgians by general Greek belief. Makar is coeval with Deukalion according to Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 11, who mentions Makar's arrival on Chios.

⁶² Haslam, *BASP* 25 (1988) 9–11, suggests this is a mistake for 'Apollonios' (of Rhodes) (fr. 12 Powell; cf. Lightfoot on Parthenios *Narr.* 21). Coppola, 'Makareus tra Eoli e Pelasgi' 80, who otherwise provides an exhaustive study of Makareus, quite wrongly argues that ὁ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιητής could denote a lyric poet.

⁶³ In fr. 1 i.24 Tarditi, *Aegyptus* 67 (1987) 268–9, supplied βύθησθαι.

§17.9 Lycia

MENEK. FR. 1

Menekrates was writing perhaps in the early fourth century BC, at a time when Xanthos was still the 'only Lykian city for which there is some evidence that it had become a mixed Graeco-Lykian settlement before the Hellenistic period' (Keen and Hansen, *IACP* p. 1140, citing also S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* 119–22). His story of Pinara and Artymnesos being colonized from his own city of Xanthos is a typically Greek appropriation of the barbarian cities' heritage. In the classical period the Hellenic credentials of Xanthos itself were of doubtful strength; Menekrates' book, with its stories of Xanthos in the earliest strata of Greek legendary time, may be seen as a bid to improve those credentials, which accords well with other signs of growing Hellenization in the fourth century (*IACP* p. 1142). One can contrast Panyassis fr. 24 (quoted with Hek. fr. 10), where Pinaros, Tloos (em. Xylander: eponym of Tlos), and Kragos are the sons of the Lycian Tremiles (→§5.3.6). Here, Menekrates (assuming the etymology in Stephanos is his) represents Pinara as a Lycian word describing the natural terrain taken over by Greeks.⁶⁷ Panyassis' genealogy was reasserted by Polycharmos, however, in the second century BC (*BNJ* 770 F 5).

The site of Artymnesos has not yet been determined; for the root of its name see §10.1. Pinara (Strabo 14.3.3) is the modern Minari, at the foot of the mountain Antikragos (Strabo 14.3.5); Kragos more strictly was the mountain to its south, but the name perhaps served sometimes to denote all the uplands on the other side of the Xanthos valley. Meineke noted that we may assume that information about Artymnesos was contained in the unabridged version of Stephanos, as well as what happened to the third party; the logical assumption is that they stayed in Xanthos (L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie mineure méridionale* 12–14). Robert also notes that Jacoby's objection to *πρεσβύτας*, for which he conjectured *πολίτας* (making this the object of the infinitive rather than its subject), is not well taken; Menekrates means the city's elders, the *γεραιοί*, who will be like the Gerousia in Sparta.

MENEK. FR. 2⁶⁸

The story of Leto's arrival in Xanthos is told by Antoninus Liberalis citing Menekrates and Nikander (fr. 61).⁶⁹ The seams are still visible: in Ovid's telling, Leto punishes the inhospitable herdsmen instantly (as one would expect a goddess to do); in Antoninus, she first goes away without protest, meets the wolves who help her, then returns to

punish the herdsmen by turning them into frogs. The middle part about wolves and the change of name from Tremilis to Lycia should be Menekrates,⁷⁰ the surrounding part about the spring Melite should be Nikander, Ovid's source. The temple of Apollo has not been identified, unless Menekrates means the oracle at Patara.⁷¹ The rich Letoon downstream from Xanthos is well known. The Greek gods took over from non-Hellenic precursors; the absence of Apollo in Lycian inscriptions before the fourth century cannot be used to date Menekrates, since Apollo on this understanding is not a totally new arrival but a reinterpretation of something already there. Menekrates' story could easily precede the epigraphical record.

From Stephanos of Byzantium we learn two other details about early Xanthian history: s.v. *Ξάνθος* (p. 480 Meineke), that the city was named after 'Xanthos the Egyptian or Cretan founder'; this comes immediately after his citation of Hekataios *FGrHist* 1 F 255. And again s.v. *Σύεσσα* (p. 590 Meineke), that an old woman of that name entertained Leto in her cottage.⁷² Whether either of these items figured in Menekrates we cannot say. Polycharmos *FGrHist* 770 F 5 (second cent. BC) held that Apollo and Leto were born in Araxa, up the Xanthos valley; this looks like a Hellenistic innovation, out of keeping with Menekrates' underlying programme of appropriation. If we strip away Nikander's contribution from the fragment, however, one can see how all these details could be worked into a single story: twins born at Araxa, Leto comes to Xanthos, fawning wolves show her where to find water; now hungry, Syessa gives her food; she establishes her shrine. Later, Xanthos comes from abroad and builds a city around the acropolis.

§17.10 Paros

AG./DERK. FR. 8

A papyrus commentary on Kallimachos (fr. 3–7) tells us that the aition for the style of sacrifice to the Charites on Paros, without aulos or wreaths, came from the historians Agias and Derkylos. While sacrificing, Minos heard of the death of his son Androgeos; he continued the sacrifice but stopped the flute and removed his wreath. Kallimachos says that he heard from Kleio (Muse of history, the narrator of the *Aitia*) that the Charites were offspring of Dionysos and the Naxian nymph Koronis, not as some say of Hera and Zeus (cf. Cornut. 15.1, Kollouth. 174–5, Nonn. 31.186, schol. *Od.* 8.364; Pind. *Ol.* 14.12?), or of Eurynome the Okeanid and Zeus (Hes. *Th.* 907–9, al.). The genealogy of the Charites preferred by Kallimachos was probably that of Ag./Derk. It is found also in Nonn. *Dion.* 48.55 (cf. 15.91, 33.11); Diod. Sic. 5.52.2 says Koronis was Dionysos' Naxian nurse.

⁶⁷ The name is recorded in Luwian: Bryce in Melchert, *The Luwians* 109.

⁶⁸ Bryce, 'The Arrival of the Goddess Leto in Lycia'; id. and Zahle, *The Lycians* 175–7. On Leto see Graf's article in *BNP*; on Apollo in Lycia, see his *Apollo* 12, 136–7.

⁶⁹ See also Ov. *Met.* 6.339–81; Probus and Servius on Verg. *Georg.* 1.378; Myth. Vat. I 1.10 and II 117 (95).

⁷⁰ On this subject see §5.3.6.

⁷¹ Hdt. 1.182.2, though not identified as Apollo's in our sources until the Roman period (Bryce 11).

⁷² On stories of this type, see Appendix III in Hollis's commentary on Kallim. *Hekale*.

Minos' story, also known to Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.210) and attested by our scholion for the Parian Constitution of Aristotle,⁷³ has a close parallel in the story told of Xenophon, that he was at sacrifice when he received word of his son's death; he removed his wreath, but when he heard that his son had died gloriously in battle, he put it back on.⁷⁴ The Graces are so closely associated with flowers—Bacchylides calls them *φερεστέφανοι*, and Sappho says they turn their backs on the ungarlanded—that the Parian sacrifice is truly exceptional, belonging to a category of sacrifices in which the reverse of normal practice is a potent signifier.⁷⁵ The aulos, as scores of vases show, is the constant accompanist of sacrificial ritual, as indeed are wreaths and garlands. We know no more about this Parian custom and so cannot say much about the abnormality in question, but the aition points to ritual mourning; one may compare the mourning for Hyakinthos at the Hyakinthia in Sparta (Athen. 4.17 p. 139d = Polykrates *FGrHist* 588 F 1) or the mourning for Aigeus at the Oskophoria in Athens (Plut. *Thes.* 22.4). The Parian custom was transferred to their colony Thasos (*IG* XII.8.358 = *LSCG* 114, *SIG*³ 1033, an inscription of the early fifth century).

§17.11 Samos

AETHL. FR. 1

Multiple harvests in the same year are a common feature of the idyllic landscape; in this fr. we are probably in the primeval stages of the island's history (I assume Samos is in question), which shared some of the characteristics of the Golden Age. Compare the marvellous, continually fruitful garden and orchard of Alkinoos, *Od.* 7.112–31, or the wonderful livestock at Adria according to Hekataios *FGrHist* 1 F 90. In real life, at Kyrene, the 'varying altitude made the fruits ripen at different times, making it possible to use the same workforce for several harvests' (Corcella on *Hdt.* 4.199.1), and finding a place such as Kyrene was a dream come true for colonists. The last item in Aethlios' list is probably 'pomegranates' (*ῥοιὰ*) rather than 'roses' (*ῥόδα*); see Part B for discussion of the text.

EUAGON FR. 1

See E. Magnelli in *ZPE* 127 (1999) 55–6. The text in *EGM* 1 needs correcting. We are not dealing here with *νηίδες*, gentle nymphs of the pleasant landscape (Larson, *Greek*

Nymphs 8–11), but with *νήιδες*, brutish 'ignoramus', violent louts who tear gashes in the earth by the sheer force of their bellowing. This is the primeval period of the island's history; the Neides play the same role as the Telchines on Rhodes and elsewhere (→§1.7.4). The island is inhabited in this period by Leleges; Pausanias' account of early days on Samos (Paus. 7.4; →§19.2.2) gives a good idea of the sort of narrative that one might expect in Euagon's book, and indeed Euagon or some other local historian like Aethlios ultimately lies behind Pausanias. Büchner, *RE* 1A.2.2168, regarded the story as an aition of Samos' earthquakes, perhaps supported by the discovery of prehistoric animal bones. Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Thuc.* 6, lists among the examples of *τὸ μυθῶδες* banished by Thucydides *Ναῖδας ἀμφιβίους ἐκ Ταρτάρων ἐξιούσας καὶ διὰ πελάγους νηχομένας καὶ μιξόθηρας, καὶ ταύτας εἰς ὁμίλιαν ἀνθρώποις συνερχομένας, καὶ ἐκ θνητῶν καὶ θείων συνουσιῶν γονὰς ἡμιθέους*; despite Magnelli's doubts, *ZPE* 127 (1999) 57 n. 29, the possibility seems strong that this is a description of Euagon's beasts (so Usener and Radermacher ad loc. and Jacoby on Euagon; cf. Porciani, *Prime forme* 47).

In Herakleides' extract from Aristotle's *Constitution of the Samians* (*Pol.* 30 p. 24 Dilts; quoted in Part B), which is derived from this part of Euagon's book, we hear not only of the Neides but also of the former names of the island, Parthenia and Dryousa, its king Ankaïos, and the story told of him which gave rise to the proverb 'many a slip 'twixt cup and lip' (Zenob. *Ath.* 2.96; →§6.3.6); all this could well have figured in Euagon's history.

§17.12 Smyrna

METROD. FR. 3

βούβρωστις occurs once in Homer, *Il.* 24.532, where it appears to denote a miserable fate; at ep. adesp. 4.20 *Coll. Alex.* p. 79 it may denote something similar, or more specifically 'poverty'. Its commonest meaning is, as in Metrodoros, 'ravenous hunger' (e.g. Kallim. *Hymn* 5.102, Nik. *Ther.* 409, 785, Opp. *Hal.* 2.208, *AP* 11.379.3). For scholarly opinions on the meaning and etymology see Brügger in the Basel commentary on *Il.* 24.532, and Hopkinson on Kallimachos. C. Faraone, *ClAnt* 23 (2004) 229–30, discusses Boubrostis as a famine-demon, noting an inscription of AD 162–3 from Apollonia in Phrygia thanking Zeus for saving a herd of cattle from Boubrostis (*SEG* 30.1473 = *MAMA* 4.140). One may ask whether the word ought not always to be printed with a capital letter. The Towneleian scholion to the Homeric line tell us that she was a fearsome demon, who could be used to curse one's enemies; they note also that there was a shrine to her in Smyrna, which is confirmed by this fragment of Metrodoros. It is from his book of Ionian history; he identifies the practice of sacrificing a holocaust to her as one inherited from the earlier Aiolian population.

⁷³ A fragment overlooked by Gigon. Briefly mentioned by Plutarch several times (*De tuend. san.* 19 p. 132e, *Non posse suav. vivi* 21 p. 1102b, *De aud. poet.* 2. p. 16c, *Aet. Rom.* 55 p. 277f) and by Suetonius *Tib.* 70.3. I do not think it a safe or even likely inference (Jacoby and others) that Apollodoros drew on the scholia to Kallimachos, and that the story was unknown to epic and lyric.

⁷⁴ Diog. Laert. 2.54 and others; Kassel, *Kl. Schr.* 398–400.

⁷⁵ Sappho fr. 81.4–7, Bacchyl. 19.6; MacLachlan, *The Age of Grace* 63, 95. *Hdt.* 1.32 notes the absence of music from Persian sacrifice (it looked very odd to a Greek). Wreaths and sacrifice: Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen, passim* (361–2 on this fragment); Hirschmann, *BNP* s.v. Wreath, Garland. Abnormal sacrifice: R. Parker, *On Greek Religion* 205; Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 26–9; Henrichs, *HSCP* 87 (1983) 97.

§18

THE TROJAN CYCLE

§18.1 Trojan Genealogies and Stories

§18.1.1 DARDANOS AND HIS DESCENDANTS (Hellan. fr. 23–5, 135, 138–40; Pher. fr. 136c; Skamon fr. 1)

HELLAN. fr. 23 informs us that Elektra, or Elektryone as Hellanikos calls her, dwelled on Samothrace and was known by the locals as Strategis. Her three children were Dardanos (also known as Polyarkes by the locals) who settled in the Troad, Eetion (also named Iasion; blasted by Zeus for his outrage of the statue of Demeter), and Harmonia, Kadmos' bride (whence the Elektran gates in Thebes).¹ All of these details probably came from Hellanikos. The scholiast on *Od.* 5.125, where Iasion is mentioned, cites him again about the parentage of Iasion, who is son of Zeus and 'Elektra' rather than Cretan (**Hellan. fr. 135**). 'Elektra' is the form again in fr. 19a; this could be a trivialization on the part of the scholiasts, but Hellanikos himself probably said explicitly that the Elektryone of Samothracian myth was identical with the Elektra of other stories. It is clear that he had access to local information about the island, as is suggested by the alternative names in this fragment (although Eetion/Iasion is inherited from Hesiod *Th.* 970, fr. 177; for the others Hellanikos is the sole authority).² He innovated in giving Elektra a third child, Harmonia, Kadmos' wife, which could have been inspired by the similarity of his name to that of Kadmilos (→§1.7.2 at n. 142). 'Elektra' is also the name of an Okeanid, mother of Iris and the Harpyiai (Hes. *Th.* 265, 349); 'Elektrona' is a daughter of Helios, worshipped on Rhodes (*IG XII.1* 677; Diod. Sic. 5.56.5; schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.24h; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2 1–4).

In telling of the union of Demeter and Iasion one may choose to stress the positive side—the pleasure of the goddess, the birth of the beneficent Ploutos (Hes. *Th.* 969–74); or the negative side—the presumption of Iasion and his incineration by Zeus. They are not exclusive—one follows the other directly in *Od.* 5.118–28—but the second emphasis

may entail the view that Iasion himself, like Ixion, criminally took the initiative, assaulting either the goddess (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.61.4, Strabo 7 fr. 20b, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.138), a statue (Hellan. fr. 23, ps.-Skymn. 679–89), or a *φάσμα* (Konon *Dieg.* 21).³ In most accounts, Iasion is Cretan; the equation with the Samothracian Eetion seems already to have occurred in Hes. *Cat.* fr. 177, and may count as another illustration of the flexibility of the λεγόμενα there (→§1.7.7). Given the link to agriculture (the union in the 'thrice-ploughed field' in both *Odyssey* and Hesiod *Th.*), many scholars have thought the myth is an aition of a sacred marriage or some kind of fertility rite; this is the prize exhibit, in fact, for the old fertility school of Greek religion.⁴ That the myth is charged both positively and negatively is thoroughly appropriate to the anxious atmosphere of such vital proceedings; the myth of Demeter at Eleusis displays the same tension between joy and disaster.

Dardanos is of course at home on the mainland; on the basis of Egyptian references it has been supposed that 'Dardania' was the name of the Troad in the Bronze Age.⁵ The *Iliad* regards him as a native-born son of Zeus (20.215), and ancestor of the Trojans, even while his own people continued to exist apart in the hinterland; *Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Δάρδανοι* is formulaic (8.173, 11.286, etc.; cf. *Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι ἥδ' ἐπίκουροι* e.g. 3.456, 7.348). The story that he emigrated from Samothrace after his brother's crime, common to all the sources listed in the last paragraph (Dion. Hal. *et al.*), and no doubt to Hellanikos, presumes the absorption of Dardanos into the Atlantid stemma, the identification of Iasion and Eetion, and Greek occupation of the Samothrace, which archaeology dates to about 700 BC (*IACP* p. 770). Lykophron (*Alex.* 69–85) has the curious variant that Dardanos was driven from the island by the flood.⁶

Upon arrival Dardanos married the daughter of Teukros (**Hellan. fr. 24**), whom Hellanikos called Bateia, a figure extrapolated from the tumulus Batieia mentioned by Homer (*Il.* 2.813) as the place where the Trojans and their allies mustered.⁷ Bateia is supported by Apollod., *Bibl.* 3.139, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.50.3, 1.62.1 (sister rather than

³ Hellanikos' statue may be a rationalization (Jacoby ad loc.; Alpers, 'Hellanikos von Lesbos' 30), though insulting a statue as a form of story is also old (the Proitides). Hes. fr. 177 stresses Iasion's (or rather, Eetion's) offence; fr. 185 is inscrutable, though Iasion there is apparently 'dear to the gods'. See also schol. and Eust. on *Od.* 5.125 (see Hellan. fr. 135; Iasion the first farmer after the Flood; a rationalization, as Frazer, *Apollod.* 2.35 says; cf. Arrian *FGrHist* 156 F 107); Theok. 3.50–1 with scholia; Phld. *De piet.* N 243 IV + *P.Herc.* 243 II *sovrapp.* (see Epim. fr. 13); Diod. Sic. 5.49.1, 77.2; *Ov. Am.* 3.10.25–42, *Met.* 9.423; Hyg. *Fab.* 270.1, *Astr.* 2.4.7. The variants of the name (Iasion, Iasios, lasos, even Iason) are documented by Seeliger in Roscher, *Lex.* s.v. Iasion.

⁴ Avagianou, *Sacred Marriage* 165–75, on her strict definition denies that this is a *ἑρὸς γάμος*. She conveniently reviews the earlier literature; see also West on *Th.* 971; Clark, 'The Gamos of Hera'.

⁵ Haider, 'Troia zwischen Hethitern, Mykenern und Mysern' 117–19.

⁶ Cf. schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 29, schol. *Il.* 20.215, Eust. *Il.* 1204.50–60; Dion. Hal. 1.61.2 puts the flood in Arkadia, Dardanos' original home according to him; Verg. (*Aen.* 3.167–8, 7.207) says Dardanos and Iasius came from Italy (Servius on the first passage adds Crete).

⁷ Cf. Epahroditos fr. 23 Braswell–Billerbeck, with their comments.

¹ The table on p. 525 below should be consulted throughout this section.

² Note, however, that Merkelbach and West supply *Ἠλεκτρυνώης* = *Ἠλέκτρῃ* in Hes. fr. 180.5, perhaps rightly. The author of the *Scutum* uses 'Elektryone' to denote Alkmene, after her father Elektryon (16, 35, 86); this is his own fancy. 'Polyarkes' resembles 'Podarkes', Priam's other name; invented for symmetry's sake, to give everyone a second name? Eetion is affirmed as Samothracian by Clem. Al. *Protr.* 13.3.

daughter of Teukros), and Diod. Sic. 4.75.1; Kephalon's alternative Arisbe (quoted with fr. 24b) is echoed in Lykophron (*Alex.* 1308), picked up by his ancient commentators ad loc. and thence by Stephanos, the *Etymologicum Magnum* (pp. 143.41, 191.45) and Eustathios (*Il.* 894.30). Teukros is usually regarded as native to the Troad, but there is an old tradition that he was Cretan.⁸ Herodotos (5.122.2, 7.43.2) thought the Teukroi had turned into Gergithai, and probably regarded them as indigenous; this is the implication also of Hes. fr. 179, which says that Teukros was father of Troos (*sic*), although admittedly we do not know Teukros' parentage in the *Catalogue*. Both traditions are reported by Servius (on Verg. *Aen.* 3.108). It would be no surprise if the root turned up in a Luwian document.

Arisbe, eponym of the Trojan city (*IACP* no. 768), is usually daughter of Merops and first wife of Priam (of Paris, says Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 164, perhaps by error; Oinone had that dubious honour).⁹ A later, artificial theory said she was Attic (Phanodemos *FGrHist* 325 F 13, Strabo 13.1.48, Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 3.281).

The earliest testimonies to the progeny of Dardanos, Homer (*Il.* 20.215–40) and Hesiod (fr. 177), disagree about the genealogy of the eponymous Ilos. The *Iliad* gives the sequence Dardanos→Erichthonios→Tros→Ilos, whereas Hesiod says Ilos and Erichthonios were sons of Dardanos. Robert, *GH* 388–9, observed that *Δαρδανίδης* is applied in the *Iliad* to Ilos and Priam (3.303, 5.159, 11.66, 11.372, 13.376, etc.); this cannot refer to an ancestor three or five generations back. He infers that Dardanos must originally have been closer to the time of the war, and this is reflected in the shorter Hesiodic tree. Aineias in his speech in *Il.* 20 extends the tree to his own greater glory.¹⁰

Both arrangements are combined by Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.140), who has an Ilos I and an Ilos II. Although in the Troika there is an unusual number of details common to Apollodoros and Hellanikos, one cannot infer that the latter also had two Iloi.¹¹ One of the common details is that Tros's wife was Kallirrhoe, daughter of Skamandros (**Hellan. fr. 138 ~ Bibl. 3.140**); another is that Laomedon married Strymo daughter of Skamandros (**Hellan. fr. 139 ~ Bibl. 3.146**). In the latter passage Apollodoros also reports, in the same sentence, that Laomedon's mother was Eurydike daughter of Adrastos; this recurs in a

⁸ Native: Hellan., Mnaseas fr. 41 Cappelletto ap. Steph. Byz. 818, Diod. Sic., *Ov. Met.* 13.705–6, Apollod. Cretan: Kallin. fr. 7, Lykoph. *Alex.* 1303, Kephalon, Strabo 13.1.48; Ruge, *RE* 5A.1 1121–2.

⁹ Euphorion fr. 79, Apollod. 3.147, Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 224, schol. *Il.* 24.497; Serv. Dan. on *Aen.* 9.262 says wife of Paris, as Ephoros.

¹⁰ The coincidence of Erichthonios' name with that of the Athenian king has led some scholars to suspect Attic influence on this passage of the *Iliad* (see Edwards on 20.219), but as a speaking name denoting great antiquity, autochthony, or chthonic power it could have been more widely available than our evidence suggests. In Soph. fr. 242 it is another name for Autolykos' father Hermes.

¹¹ It is certainly possible; cf. Pearson, *The Local Historians of Attica* 11. Ilos I in the table below is Erichthonios' brother, as in the *Catalogue of Women*; the genealogy there, as reconstructed by West, *HCW* 180, in which Priam is grandson of Ilos I, puts Priam two generations before the war. The table below restores the alignment.

scholion on l. 236 of the *Iliadic* passage, in the same manuscript as gives us Hellan. fr. 24c and 139, from comments on nearby Homeric lines. Kallirrhoe and Strymo appear in these capacities almost nowhere else,¹² so we may with some confidence assign Eurydike to Hellanikos as well. Alkman, *PMGF* 71, called her Zeuxippe, Pherekydes called her Leukippe (**Pher. fr. 136c**), and Hellanikos' son Skamon said she was Thoossa daughter of Teukros (**Skam. fr. 1**). Apollodoros also reports Leukippe as an alternative to Strymo, along with the totally unparalleled Plakia.¹³

Tros is always father of Ilos, Ilos of Laomedon, and Laomedon of Priam. From Hellan. fr. 138 (cf. 26b) we may add Ilos' brothers, and from fr. 140 we may add Tithonos and his family. We do not know how Hellanikos accommodated Tros. If we assume he followed Homer, the minimal stemma these data yield for him is set out in Fig. 18.1:¹⁴

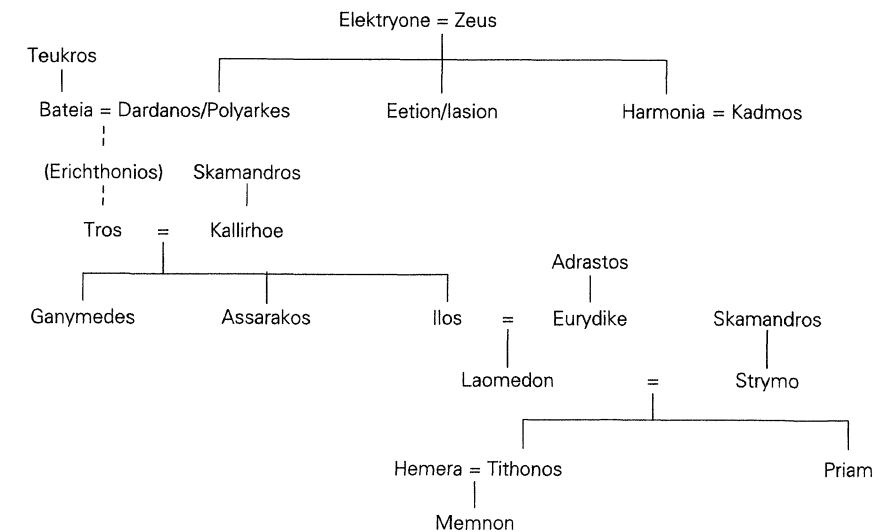


FIG. 18.1

§18.1.2 THE FOUNDING OF TROY (Hellan. fr. 25)

Ilos was warned not to found a city on the eventual site of Troy, dubbed the Hill of Ate; he did anyway, no doubt afflicted by the goddess. Human folly is repeatedly regretted in

¹² Kallirrhoe: schol. German. p. 153.10; schol. Stat. *Theb.* 1.548; Myth. Vat. II 226 (198). In Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.62.2 she is Tros's mother. Strymo: Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 18, *Prolegom. ad Alleg. Hom.* 173.

¹³ In Hyg. *Fab.* 250.1 Leukippe is mother of Laomedon not wife. Jacoby on Pher. fr. 136 sounded a note of caution about assigning Leukippe to Pherekydes, given that it depends on Tzetzes alone, who had Apollodoros to hand.

¹⁴ For a quite extraordinary analysis of Hellanikos' Trojan genealogy see Broadbent, *Studies in Greek Genealogy* 27–39.

the *Iliad*, so the association of Ate with Troy is as old as Homer; but this idea of the hill could be the invention of a poet or mythographer asking himself where Ate landed when Zeus threw her out of Olympos, when he made his fateful mistake over the birth of Herakles (*Il.* 19.130–1 with scholia; Hsch. α8104; Steph. Byz. ι52; Eust. *Il.* 157.2).¹⁵ According to another story, Ilos chose his location in response to an oracle which told him to follow a cow, a double of Kadmos founding Thebes (Lykoph. *Alex.* 29 and scholia; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.143; → §10.3). Possibly this story was not in Hellanikos, as it sits ill with the other oracle telling him to avoid the Hill; Ilos would have had no choice but to found his city where the cow indicated. Dardanos' separate city (*Il.* 20.218) is of a piece with the formulaic language noted above (p. 523), which keeps Trojans and Dardanians apart; this may relate to the competing genealogies of historical clans in the region, of which more below in relation to Aineias (§18.6).

Jacoby on fr. 25b noted the polemical context in Strabo; his source Demetrios of Skepsis (to whom he may also owe the abuse of Hellanikos) argued that Ilion had moved from its Homeric location, but Hellanikos, pandering to the locals, said it was still in the same place. Possibly Hellanikos advanced some topographical arguments in support of his claim.

§18.1.3 TITHONOS (Hellan. fr. 140)

The parentage of Tithonos, his rapture by Eos, and his fathering of Memnon, are all but invariable tradition after Hes. *Th.* 984.¹⁶ Some quite late sources make him a brother of Laomedon, perhaps by mistake;¹⁷ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.181 makes him son of Eos and Kephalos, and an ancestor of Kinyras of Cyprus; Robert thought this was an Atthidographic invention, to stake an Attic claim to the island, comparable to the Attic revision of the myth of Teukros vis-à-vis Salamis.¹⁸

The scholion gives Hemera rather than Eos as the mother of Memnon. 'Day' begins to be substituted for 'Dawn' in literature at an early date (Hippon. fr. 47.1, Aisch. *Pers.* 386), and one finds the substitution in the Tithonos story also at schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2.148, *Nem.* 6.85a, Tzetz. ad Lykoph. *Alex.* 18, so it is not impossible that Hellanikos did the same. The scholion also attributes to him the metamorphosis of Tithonos into a cicada, a motif which though famous in modern times is oddly not attested in mainstream

ancient literature; it is next found in Hieronymos fr. 15 Wehrli (third century BC), then in later commentators.¹⁹ The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, the most familiar telling, says Tithonos eventually became little more than a voice, and some scholars have thought this to be an allusion to the metamorphosis. It would be unsurprising if the story had a subterranean life before surfacing in literature. The metamorphosis does not seem quite in Hellanikos' manner, however.

§18.1.4 HEKABE'S MOTHER (Pher. fr. 136)

If the name of Priam's mother provided sport for mythographers, the name of Hekabe's mother was one of the exam questions Tiberius put to his grammarians (Suet. *Tib.* 70.3). **Pher. fr. 136a** says she was daughter of Dymas son of Eioneus son of Proteus and the naiad nymph Euagore (cf. Hes. *Th.* 257).²⁰ That Pherekydes pauses to give a detailed genealogy, not common for women, shows Hekabe's importance in the Trojan saga. Dymas comes from Homer (*Il.* 16.718), who says that he lived by the river Sangarios in Phrygia; Hekabe's brother was Asios. Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.148, reports the variant names of her parents: Kisseus, and the river Sangarios and Metope. Sangarios has crept into the wrong place in the scholion that quotes Pherekydes, and the quoting authorities are drawing on literature such as Porphyrios *On Names Omitted by Homer* (see Hellan. fr. 139), in which a swirling cloud of variants, all too easily confused, would have confronted them.²¹ Kisseus is the only serious rival to Dymas, being Euripides' choice (*Hek.* 3; followed by e.g. Nik. fr. 62, Verg. *Aen.* 7.320, 10.705). The difference is between a Thracian ancestry (Kisseus) and Phrygian (Dymas); from *P.Oxy.* 5094, as restored by M. L. West, *ZPE* 183 (2012) 11–13, we may surmise that both names were in the Epic Cycle. The whole list of sources who name one or the other, or both, is compiled by the indefatigable Höfer in Roscher, *Lex.* s.v. Hekabe.

At *Il.* 16.715–20 Apollo assumes the shape of Asios, a brother of Hekabe. **Pher. fr. 136b** says they had the same father, Dymas, but Asios' mother was Euthoe rather than Euagore (the similarity of the two names suggests they have been invented, as women's names often are); Athenaion (*FGrHist* 546 F 2) agreed they had the same father, but said it was Kisseus. Both writers are filling in gaps opened up by Homer.

§18.1.5 SONS OF PRIAM (Hellan. fr. 141)

Hellanikos (if our mythographer, and not the grammarian) said that Priam had 56 sons; the information comes from a note attached to *Il.* 24.495, where Priam says he had 50 sons (cf. *Il.* 6.244). He also had 12 daughters (*Il.* 6.247–8). 22 sons are named in the *Iliad*.

¹⁹ Servius on Virgil *Aen.* 4.585, *Georg.* 3.328, schol. Stat. *Theb.* 5.751–2, Myth. Vat. I 2.37.2, II 221 (194); i.e. roughly the same list as in n. 17.

²⁰ Proteus is father of the eponym of the Trojan town Rhoiteion (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.929); an Eioneus is father of the Thracian Rhesos (*Il.* 10.435), but it is not an exclusively Thracian name. A Greek Eioneus is killed by Hektor (*Il.* 7.11).

²¹ One may feel some sympathy with the scholiasts.

¹⁵ 'The Hill of Ate' passed into the paroemiographic tradition: Diogen. 1.85 (*CPG* 2.14).

¹⁶ *Il.* 11.1, 20.237, *Od.* 5.1, *Aithiopis Argum* 2 (cf. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2.148), *Hymn. Hom. Aphr.* 218–38 (where see Faulkner), Mimn. fr. 4, Sapph. fr. 58 (with the 'new Sappho', *P.Colon.* 21351), Ibyk. *PMGF* 289a. The *Hymn* is unusual in setting the story before Laomedon's time. Tithonos was proverbial for old age (Ar. *Ach.* 688 with Olson; Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Od.* 2.16.30). For the possibility that Akousilaos (fr. 11) mentioned Tithonos see §1.6.4. Ktesias fr. 1b 22 has a historicized/rationalized version in which Tithonos is Assyrian and sends his son Memnon to Troy in response to Priam's request for assistance.

¹⁷ Eust. on Dion. Per. 248; Serv. on Verg. *Georg.* 3.48, *Aen.* 1.489, 4.585; Diktys 4.22; Myth. Vat. I 2.37, II 221 (194).

¹⁸ *Hermes* 18 (1883) 441.

Euripides refers to 50 children (*Tro.* 135). Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.147–55 gives a list of 47 sons and 8 daughters; Hyg. *Fab.* 90 gives 39 sons and 16 daughters (as it seems; some names are corrupt); Diktys names 33 sons.²² Jacoby on fr. 141 thought with insufficient reason that Hellanikos was Apollodoros' source here ('fast sicher'). If Hellanikos gave so exact a number, he probably did provide the names, which is typical of his scholarly approach to things, but the differences between him and Apollodoros are only to be expected, given the centuries of intervening contamination.

§18.2 Antehomerica

§18.2.1 KORYTHOS (Hellan. fr. 29)

The usual doubts beset the ascription to Hellanikos; in this case the *historia* is also attributed to Kephalaon of Gergitha, i.e. Hegesianax of Alexandria Troas, *FGH Hist* 45 (Kephalaon is his alter ego in his romance of Troy). It is uncertain whether Oinone is represented in archaic representations of the Judgement of Paris (*LIMC* Oinone nos. 3–7, with Kahil's commentary). Hellanikos would be the first literary reference to the story, unless Oinone is to be supplemented at Bacchyl. fr. 20D 3.²³ The details in some tellings smack of romantic Hellenistic elaboration. In the mythographic tradition, we encounter the story in Konon, *Dieg.* 23, Parthenios, *Amat. Narr.* 4 and 34 (= Hellan.), and Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.154–5. In Konon's telling, Korythos is son of Paris and Oinone, his wife before he abducted Helen; when Helen came, Oinone sent Korythos to cause trouble; Paris saw him sitting with Helen and killed him; Oinone in anger foretold that he would need her one day to cure a wound; when that day came, she refused, and he died as he returned to Troy; repenting, she went after him, but too late to save him; she killed herself. The second part of this about the wounding corresponds well with Apollodoros, the first part about Korythos with Hellanikos, except that Hellanikos says he went to Troy as an ally—nothing about troublemaking as the fragment stands, but it is compendious. Hellanikos/Hegesianax' version also says plainly that Korythos fell in love with Helen. Lightfoot, whose thorough discussion of the tradition should be consulted, argues that Parthenios has split a single tale into two, to wring more pathetic effect out of each; they are also combined in Lykophron (*Alex.* 57–68). Hellanikos might well have gone on to tell the ultimate fate of Oinone, but it is worth noting that the lingering death of Paris is inconsistent with the *Little Iliad*, in which Paris is killed by Philoktetes on the battlefield (*Argum.* 2).²⁴ Oinone herself was a daughter of the river

Kebren, and her tomb and Paris' were located in the city Kebren (Strabo 13.1.33); this may be the local source of the story related by Hellanikos, in whatever form it took.²⁵

The fragment concludes with a comment that according to Nikandros Korythos was son of Alexandros and Helen, not Oinone; cf. Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 851, *Hom.* 441, schol. *Od.* 4.11 (attributed to *οἱ νεώτεροι*, which need not denote archaic poets), Diktys 5.5, Ioh. Mal. p. 111 Dindorf. For Helen's children see the next section, and for Iphigeneia see §16.3.4.

§18.2.2 MEGAPENTHES AND THE CHILDREN OF MENELAOS

(Akous. fr. 41; Eumel. fr. 6)

Akous. fr. 41 says that Megapenthes was the illegitimate son of Menelaos and a slave woman Tereis. Homer has a role for this son in *Odyssey* 4 and 15, and mentions his slave mother at 4.12, without, however, naming her. This started the game of guessing her identity. The scholia to the *Odyssey* passage and Apollodoros relate some of the suggestions, most of which are merely ethnics, a common way of naming slaves.²⁶ Akousilaos' 'Tereis', though not an ethnic, may have Thracian associations (cf. Tereus); it is a unique name (not in *LGPN*), and could be corrupt (compare the variants cited in the apparatus). **Eumel. fr. 6**, quoted by Apollodoros in the same place, mentions another illegitimate son, Xenodamos (if he were legitimate, he would have named the mother; *Κνωσσία*, unattested as a proper name, is another ethnic).

Apollodoros also mentions Nikostratos as another child of Menelaos and Helen, *κατά τινος* (a slave was the mother, says Paus. 2.18.6, 3.19.9). In the *Iliad* (3.175), Helen has only one *παῖς*, but *παῖς* could mean a boy rather than Hermione, who might or might not exist too (in the same way *ἄπαῖς* means 'without a son'). The *Odyssey* poet has decided Hermione was meant, so any other child was illegitimate; but both Nikostratos and Hermione were known to Hesiod (fr. 175) and Kinaithon (fr. 3), and Sophokles (*El.* 539) knows of two children. Nikostratos' name reflects his father's victory, so we may infer that he was an invention of the Cyclical poet with the *Odyssey* behind him (West on *Od.* 4.12). Yet more children were invented by other writers; see Hirschberger on Hes. fr. 175 (her fr. *9) and Jacoby on Akous. fr. 41.

§18.2.3 THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WAR (Hellan. fr. 142; Ion fr. 2; Pher. fr. 138)

The Trojans' folly is on display again in **Hellan. fr. 142**, where they ignore an oracle (as perhaps Ilos did too in fr. 25) that they should avoid seafaring, and stick to farming.

²⁵ Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2 101–3. 'Oinone ist dem Epos und der Tragödie fremd'; he notes that in Apollod. the story is not related as part of the Trojan war (*Epit.* 5.8), but as an appendix to Trojan genealogy.

²⁶ Sommerstein on Ar. *Plut.* 1; Fraser, *Greek Ethnic Terminology* 103–11. Even if these are thought of as personal names rather than as having primarily ethnic reference, there is no example of the kind of locution presented to us by the MSS of Apollodoros. Höfer, Roscher *Lex.* s.v. Tereis, gives a long list of previous efforts to sort out the corruption in these two sources. 'Getis', i.e. Getic, is the name in the *Nostoi* (fr. 13).

²² These numbers are from Dräger's comment on Apollod. *Bibl.* loc. cit.

²³ See Maehler ad loc.; unlikely (but cf. Stinton, *Collected Papers* 50).

²⁴ Other extended tellings are Ov. *Her.* 5, Quint. Smyrn. 10.259–489, and *Comm. Bern.* ad Lucan 9.973. There are allusions at [Bion] 2.11, (?)Prop. 2.32.35, Strab. 13.1.33, Ov. *Rem. Am.*, Lucan loc. cit., Stat. *Silv.* 1.5.21, Suet. *Dom.* 10.4, Diktys 3.26 and 4.21. Lykophron mysteriously calls Korythos a *κατήγορον χθονός* (traitor? spy?); the scholia say he guided the Greeks to Troy.

Homer says, in the line on which this scholion is commenting (*Il.* 5.64), that Paris did not know the *θέσφατα* of the gods, which need only mean their laws of hospitality rather than specific oracles (so Kirk ad loc.). His expression left the way open, however, for others to guess which commands were meant, and the scholia offer this one of Hellanikos' (which he perhaps took from the Cycle) and another one about Menelaos and Paris going to Delphi and receiving an incomprehensible response to their inquiries about children/a wife respectively. The second story does not at all explain Homer's presumed point. The absence of seafaring, and the need it implies, was a feature of the Golden Age, and Greeks were always ambivalent about this dangerous and uncertain activity.²⁷

It is worth commenting that the Trojan saga as a whole is replete with oracles, divine commands and portents, often either ignored or vainly evaded (e.g. Hekabe's dream of giving birth to a torch that consumed the city, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.148–50, or Laokoon's famous warning about the horse, and all Cassandra's prophecies). These are mostly known to us from the Cycle; Homer himself concentrates for the most part on the will of Zeus, or, when fate is evoked, it is for tragic effect (particularly the choice of Achilles).²⁸

Pherekydes also covered this part of the Trojan story, for he is recorded as saying that Alexandros sailed with nine ships (*Pher.* fr. 138). The number is typical or purely *exempli gratia*, like many others in early historiography. Homer does not give the number (*Il.* 5.62); perhaps the *Kypria* did (*Argum.* 1; fr. 8). The number nine seems to be popular in this saga; it recurs in the years spent with Anios (*Pher.* fr. 140), the eight sparrows and their mother consumed by the snake (*Il.* 2.301–29), the days Paris spent in Sparta (Apollod. *Epit.* 3.3), and the age of Hermione at the time (*ibid.*).

The preparations for the war is one possible context for *Ion* fr. 2, in which a prophecy is delivered that the Greeks will be able to sail if they drink their wine mixed with three parts water. The text is corrupt; changing *Παλαμῆδην* to the nominative has been favoured by some editors, but he is never called a prophet and *εὐρών* remains to be explained. Palamedes was sent on a recruiting embassy to Chios before the war according to Alkidamas (*Od.* 20), who will have got it from the *Kypria*; perhaps according to *Ion* Palamedes received this useful advice on that occasion. This would be a way of giving some credit to the Chians for assistance in the Trojan War, from which they were otherwise conspicuously absent (cf. Katsaros, *BNJ* comm. on this fr.). The advice would have been recalled when the fleet was later windbound at Aulis.

²⁷ Lesky, *Thalatta* 1–37; West on Hes. *Op.* 236–7, 618–94; Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Od.* 1.3.12.

²⁸ See Kullmann, *Die Quellen der Ilias* 221–4; Griffin, 'The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer' 48 = 383–4.

§18.2.4 ANIOS AND THE OINOTROPOI; KRITHOTE (Hellan. fr. 27, 197A; *Pher.* fr. 140)

The tale of Anios and his magical, fruitful daughters the Oinotropoi²⁹ has a folktale ring to it, reinforced by their names Wine-girl, Seed-girl, Oil-girl, denoting the three staples of the Greek diet; their great-grandfather was Grapes (Staphylos), son of Dionysos; their grandmother was Pomegranate-Girl (Rhoio), who bore their father to Apollo. These girls could either produce food from the ground (Apollod. *Epit.* 3.10), get food whenever they needed it (schol. Lykoph. = *Pher.* fr. 140), or turn whatever they touched into the commodity indicated by their name (Ov. *Met.* 13.652–4, Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 3.80). They were pressed into epic service by the *Kypria* (fr. 26), a poem that revelled in marvellous skills such as they possessed.³⁰ The practical question was thus answered, how did the army feed itself during such a long campaign.

There were, however, different views about when, where and on what terms they supplied the troops. Pherekydes, if we take the scholion's wording at face value, said that Anios persuaded the Greeks to stay at Delos for nine years, and linked the offer to the prophecy that they would take Troy in the tenth; this is said by the scholion also to be the version of the *Kypria*. Other scholia to Lykophron, however (580a, 581a; cf. Eust. *Il.* 827.40), following the poet's lead, say that the Greeks declined the offer, but later sent Palamedes to fetch the girls when oppressed by hunger at Troy. They quote Kallimachos as their authority (fr. 188), and Livrea has plausibly placed fr. 186 in the same context.³¹ We should not rely too heavily on the scholion's wording with respect to Pherekydes; most probably he, the *Kypria*, Kallimachos and Lykophron all had the same version. Diktys, however, (1.23) has a different version, that Agamemnon sent for the girls at Aulis; this could be Apollodoros' too (*Epit.* 3.10), if the order of the material in the surviving *Epitome* can be trusted. The emissaries according to schol. *Od.* 6.164, quoting Simonides *PMG* 537, were Menelaos and Odysseus. The note is attached to a passage where Odysseus says he visited Delos en route to Troy, which could be an oblique reference to this mission. (Had the scholia not quoted Simonides, one would be confident that Odysseus' visit was an *ad hoc* invention of the poet in the context of the Nausikaa scene, and the scholia were guessing as to the occasion. This could still be the case, but

²⁹ So Lykoph. *Alex.* 580, Tzetz. and schol. (*Pher.*) ad 570, 580, Hsch. 0335, Steph. Byz. 0313, *Etym. Magn.* 293.37, schol. *Od.* 6.164; *Oinotropoi* only Apollod. *Epit.* 3.10, a trivialization. Except for one MS in schol. Lykoph. 580 all authorities give *Oinotropoi* not *Oinotropoi*. -τροπος is not an ending discussed by Chandler in his *Practical Introduction to Greek Accentuation* p. 147 but according to the rule laid down on p. 132 the proparoxytone word will have passive force, 'turned into wine'. Deriving the name from the noun *τροπος* would yield 'Wine-mannered', which is obscure. The sources for the myth and cult of Anios are written out and discussed by Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos* 413–30; see also SEG 32.218.41, 80; F. Càssola, *PP* 9 (1954) 345–67.

³⁰ Griffin, 'The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer' 40 = 367.

³¹ ZPE 120 (1998) 23–7: among other things he takes *ἐνναέτας* at l. 24 to refer to the nine years, not to inhabitants. (Harder on fr. 186.20 is unconvinced.) Cf. also Kallim. fr. 664 with Pfeiffer.

Simonides' use of the story suggests it was already in his tradition.) The scholiast rightly notes that when Odysseus says he was accompanied by a host it implies the whole fleet was already under way, which is a little different from Diktys' scenario.

Ovid (*Met.* 13.643–74) also has Agamemnon send for the girls when embarking for Troy, but says that they (four of them) fled, two to Euboea and two to Delos; Agamemnon threatened war if they were not handed over; they prayed to Dionysos for rescue, who turned them into doves. Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 3.80 adds that this is the reason why doves are protected on Delos.³² One wonders if Kallimachos found a way to work this into his *Aitia* in spite of his different account. Lykophron (*Alex.* 580) may allude to the dove story when he calls the girls *φάβες* (doves), even though this is not his version. Servius quotes Palaiphatos³³ that Anios was actually a relative of Anchises, where Virgil had said merely a friend (Anios entertains the Trojan refugees as they are sailing to Italy).

The army's food supply is at issue again in *Hell.* fr. 197A. At *Aen.* 3.16, Virgil says that Aineias founded the city of Aineiadae in Thrace, i.e. Ainos (*IACP* no. 641). Servius notes that according to Homer (*Il.* 4.520) an ally had come from Ainos to Troy, so the city already existed; he adds that Euphorion (fr. 88) and Kallimachos (fr. 697) both say that the city was named for a companion buried there by Odysseus when on a foraging expedition. On *Aen.* 2.81, he tells us further that Odysseus returned empty-handed and was much abused by Palamedes; challenged to see if he could do better, Palamedes went off and returned with ample supplies. Noack conjectured that his grocers were the Oinotropoi.³⁴ A papyrus of Euphorion has since turned up (fr. 34) in which the poet refers to the city of Poltys and Ainos; a scholion in the margin says that the city was previously called Poltymbria after Poltys, the local Thracian ruler, and quotes our fragment of Hellanikos as his authority.³⁵ Strabo (7.6.1) informs us that *βρία* means *πόλις* in Thracian, information which recurs in Stephanos (p. 562.10) s.v. *Σηλυμβρία*, where the example of Poltymbria is noted; both occur again at p. 446.16–17, s.v. *Μεσημβρία*. Radt argues that Stephanos did not get this from Strabo, and suggests that Hellanikos might be the source; he notes also Apollodoros of Athens *FGrHist* 244 F 184, who could be an

³² Page on PMG 537 thought Ovid took his story from Simonides. Halm-Tisserant, 'De Délos à l'Apulie', argues that this is the version depicted by the Dareios painter (third quarter of the 4th c. BC); the two vases were first identified by Trendall, 'The Daughters of Anios', who thinks the emissary in the scenes is Menelaos.

³³ *FGrHist* 44 F 6, in the Addenda to vol. 1, p. *18.

³⁴ *Hermes* 28 (1893) 146–50. Schol. Stat. *Ach.* 1.93 and Myth. Vat. I 1.35, II 228 (200) copy Servius. Ambaglio in his commentary on this passage (his fr. 201) notes that Herakles was entertained by Poltys at Ainos on his Amazon expedition (Apoll. *Bibl.* 2.105), which could provide a different context for this fragment. It might also have figured in the *Foundations of Ethne and Cities* (*FGrHist* 4 FF 66–70).

³⁵ Cf. Apollod. *FGrHist* 244 F 184 (ap. Steph. Byz. a135), Strabo 7.6.1 ('Poltyobria'), Plut. *Mor.* 174c, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.105, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.216–17a. On *βρία* Leo Franc Holford-Strevens writes: 'Cf. Gaulish *brīgā* (also British: **brīgā* > **brēgā* Welsh, Cornish, Breton *bre*, 'hill > hill-fort > town'; see Alfred Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1891–1913), 1.533, 3.935–6. The word is related to *Berg* and *Burg*.'

intermediary. Like Hekataios, Herodotos and other logographers Hellanikos displays his knowledge of foreign languages.

Hellanikos mentioned Krithote in Book 1 of his *Troika* (*Hell.* fr. 27). This city in the Thracian Chersonese is no. 667 in *IACP*; as it was not founded until the sixth century, Hellanikos must have used a statement of the form 'where now is the city Krithote' in speaking of some event during the war. Jacoby well notes Thuc. 1.11.1, where the Achaioi turn to farming the Chersonese for food; the scholia on this passage are able to name those who led the farmers (Akamas and Antimachos), perhaps from Hellanikos. Jacoby infers that the story of the war must have begun already in the first book.

§18.2.5 PHILOMELEIDES (*Hell.* fr. 150)

Identifying this figure, known from nowhere else, with Patroklos son of Philomela is wrong for the reasons given by the scholiast (again on *Od.* 17.134). We have to do here with a typical story of a villain challenging passersby to a fight until he meets his equal, like Antaios, Kyknos or Kerkyon. The name has an unusual form for Homer (faux-patronymic; see S. R. West on *Od.* 4.342–4), but it is not impossible and there is no need to go looking for a Philomelos. Equally irrelevant are Manto's apples (*Hell.* fr. 33; → §19.4) and the nymph Philomele depicted on a late fifth-century vase with two other nymphs and Phaon (*LIMC* Philomele no. 1 = Phaon no. 3).

In the *Odyssey* (4.342–4, 17.133–5), Odysseus defeats Philomeleides on Lesbos in a fair wrestling match; in *Hell.* fr. 150, by contrast, Odysseus and Diomedes gang up to kill him by treachery (compare their murder of Dolon in the *Iliad*, and Palamedes in the *Kypria*; or their joint theft of the Palladion).³⁶ The wording of the scholion (τοὺς παριόντας . . . καὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας δὲ προσορμισθέντας) shows that the incident took place on the journey to Troy. In the *Iliad*, we learn that Achilles conquered Lesbos (9.129, 271, 664); Apollodoros (*Epit.* 3.33) and Diktys (2.16) put this campaign later, after the arrival of the Greeks at Troy. So Homer and Hellanikos tell incompatible stories, but there is incompatibility already in Homer: when exactly did he imagine that Odysseus' wrestling match with the hospitable Philomeleides had taken place? It looks as if he has invented this story about Odysseus for *ad hoc* purposes. Perhaps, however, the figure of Philomeleides of Lesbos was not invented, merely pressed into service by the *Odyssey* poet; the very peculiar detail added by Hellanikos, that his tomb was made into a hostel, could well come from local tradition, he being from Lesbos. Höfer, Roscher *Lex.* s.v. Philomeleides, drew attention to the parallel with the story of Pandokos, known only from *Etym. Magn.* 647.57, s.v. Πάλη (the Kephallenian city, presumably): 'from Palaistra, daughter of Pandokos, who lived at a crossroads and killed anyone who stayed with him. He was killed by Hermes when he came to stay, on Palaistra's advice; from him all

³⁶ They also combined to murder Polyxena according to schol. Eur. *Hek.* 41 (where Γλαῦκος should be restored, not Ἰβυλος as Schwartz 1.17.2; see Mastronarde's forthcoming edition).

hostels (τὰ τῶν ξένων καταλύγια) are called Pandokeia.³⁷ In his article on Palaistra, Höfer then compares the 'palaistra of Kerkyon' near Eleusis, for which see §16.3.2. We may posit a sanctuary of Philomeleides where athletic competitions were held; such sites always had accommodation for visitors. The crafty wrestler Odysseus would be at home in the mythology of ephebes.

§18.2.6 KYKNOS (Hellan. fr. 148, 160B)

Kyknos, son of Poseidon and Kalyke,³⁷ put up strong resistance to the Greeks on their landing in Troy; it was one of Achilles' principal feats to kill him (Pind. *Ol.* 2.82, *Isthm.* 5.39). It is not clear from the sources whether he was completely invulnerable, so that Achilles had to strangle him, or invulnerable to metal weapons, so that he killed him with a rock.³⁸ It is also not clear whether this Kyknos was identical with the father of Tennes, eponym of Tenedos, whose story was told in Hellan. fr. 160B; Lykophron, at any rate, thought they were (*Alex.* 232–42; cf. Hegesianax *FGrHist* 45 F 1, Tzetz. *Antehom.* 257–9, ad Lykoph. *Alex.* 232). This Kyknos set Tennes and his sister adrift because he believed their stepmother's accusation of Tennes (as in the story of Phaidra and Hippolytos); they landed at Leukophrys, which was subsequently renamed Tenedos. Later, when the Greeks tried to land, Tennes fended them off with rocks, but was killed by Achilles with a sword-blow to the chest.³⁹ The story requires that Tennes came from somewhere else, and several sources say that Kyknos was ruler at nearby Kolonai, in the Troad.⁴⁰ Greek mythology knew of other Kyknos too,⁴¹ and early confusion between these two cannot be ruled out, but given the geographical proximity it is easier to suppose they are one and the same person. 'Kukunni' is the name in Hittite records of

³⁷ *Kypr. Argum.* 10, *Ov. Met.* 12.72, *Apollod. Epit.* 3.31, *Hyg. Fab.* 157.3, *Quint. Smyrn.* 4.154, *schol. Theok.* 16.49, *schol. Pind. Ol.* 2.147; the latter gives Harpalee (*sic*) and Skamandrodi (cf. Tzetz. on Lykoph. *Alex.* 232) as alternative mothers. Of the content of Aischylos' *Kyknos*, mentioned by Aristophanes (*Ran.* 963; *TGrF* 3.230), we have no idea; the subject could be the Heraklean Kyknos, as in Stesichoros *PMGF* 207. Sophokles' *Shepherds* treated the myth but in what form we can say little; see Sommerstein and Talbot, *Sophocles: Selected Fragmentary Plays* 2.174–215. Napolitano, 'Tenedo, Lesbo, e la porta della Troade' 233–47, discusses the legend exhaustively.

³⁸ *Soph.* fr. 500 (invulnerable to bronze and iron?); *Arist. Rhet.* 2.22.12, 1396b 16–17 (invulnerable); *Ov. Met.* 12.72–5 (strangling); *Palaiph.* 11 and *Apollod. Epit.* 3.31, whence Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 232 (stone).

³⁹ *Kritias TGrF* 43 F 20; *Konon Dieg.* 28; *Apollod. Epit.* 3.23–6; *Paus.* 10.14.1–4; the recently published Kellis ostrakon from the 3rd or 4th c. (Luppe, *APF* 51 (2005) 65–6); *Serv. on Verg. Aen.* 2.21; *Steph. Byz. s.v. Τένεδος* = Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 139; *Suda* 7 310; *Eust. ad Dion. Per.* 536, *Il.* 33.23; *schol. Lykoph. Alex.* 232.; *schol. bT Il.* 1.38, *schol. D ibid.* + *P.Hamb.* 199 = Hellan. fr. 160B. Slightly different version in *Plut. Quaest. Graec.* 28 (the Greeks land; Achilles chases Tennes' sister; he defends her and is killed). Rationalized in *Diod. Sic.* 5.83. Tennes' stones are slightly peculiar; transferred from the story of Kyknos' death? some kind of aetiology?

⁴⁰ *Kritias* and *Konon* locc. cit.; *Palaiph.* 11; *Diod. Sic.* 5.83.1; *Strabo* 13.1.19, 46; *Paus.* 10.14.1; the new Kellis ostrakon (n. 39). It is not quite clear where Lykoph. *Alex.* 232–42 puts Kyknos; *prima facie* on Tenedos, as Tzetz. *Antehom.* 257–9.

⁴¹ For the one defeated by Herakles, as told in the Hesiodic *Aspis*, see above, p. 292 and Lloyd-Jones, 'Lykaon and Kyknos'. Nikander invented a novel story about Kyknos son of Apollo (fr. 52 apud *Anton. Lib. Met.* 12, cf. *Ov. Met.* 7.371–81).

the king who preceded Alaksandu at Wilusa;⁴² a connection with 'Kyknos' seems likely.⁴³

Hellanikos, with his usual interest in etymology, says Kyknos was white from birth (Hellan. fr. 148), perhaps emphasizing his manliness *e contrario* (cf. *Theok. Id.* 16.49), rather like the myth of Kaineus (→§5.2.4).⁴⁴ In this case, Hellanikos was not the first to speculate, as the same scholion tells us that Hesiod said he got his name from his white head (fr. 237, cf. *Sen. Tro.* 183). The game, once joined, could not be resisted; baby Kyknos was abandoned on a beach and swans gathered around him (*schol. Lykoph. Alex.* 237b); or he was raised by a swan (Hegesianax *FGrHist* 45 F 1). Hellanikos might have told this story in his *Troika*, but he might also have told it as a digression in his *Lesbiaka*, à propos Kyknos' father-in-law Tragasos (fr. 34; →§17.8).

For the first sack of Troy, and the building of the walls, see §8.5.3.

§18.3 Persons and Events from the *Iliad* and the War

§18.3.1 'EUKTITON' (Pher. fr. 169)

Homer (*Il.* 2.592) names as one of the places in Nestor's realm *εὐκτίτων Αἰπύ* (or *Αἰπυ*, according to Herodian and others; see West's apparatus in his edition, and Erbse on the scholia). The scholia say that Pherekydes understood *Εὐκτίτων* to be the town's name, *αἰπύ* to be the epithet. Other Homeric verses present similar problems, on which Pherekydes' view was also quoted or inferred (below §18.3.9). There is some support in Linear B (at Pylos) for *Aipy* as the place-name (Brügger, Stoevesandt, and Visser on *Il.* 2.592), and modern scholars, like the ancient, generally adopt this reading; the town's location is, however, unknown (E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 512; Radt on *Strabo* 8.3.24).

§18.3.2 PHOITIOI (Hellan. fr. 30)

The polis Phoitiiai is number 134 in *IACP*. The eponym is son of Alkmaion; Hellanikos found occasion to mention the people Phoitioi in his *Troika*. If he said they fought at Troy, it would mean that he filled in gaps in Homer's record in a rather aggressive way. The marginal region of Akarnania is not mentioned by him at all, and he is extremely vague about its geography (E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 592–3). According to myth the region had only just been founded in the Trojan generation, Akarnan being son of Alkmaion (*Thuc.* 2.102). However, chronology did not prevent someone from saying that Akarnan had been one of the unsuccessful and therefore dead suitors of Hippodameia (*schol. Pind. Ol.* 1.127b).

⁴² In the Alaksandu treaty, translated by F. Starke in *Latacz, Troy and Homer* 105–10.

⁴³ Kretschmer, *Glotta* 18 (1930) 170; Güterbock, 'Troy in Hittite Texts?' 34–5.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Sen. Agam.* 215, *Eust. Il.* 455.33, *Od.* 1968.46.

§18.3.3 MARSYAS (Metrod. fr. 1)

Metrodoros, according to Athenaios, said that Marsyas invented the syrinx and the double aulos at Kelainai.⁴⁵ Marsyas' challenge to Apollo and his punishment were firmly localized at this city near (its later refoundation) Apameia, where a river Marysas rises.⁴⁶ Marsyas plays the auloi rather than the syrinx,⁴⁷ but Euphorion (fr. 203) says he invented the wax-bound syrinx, and satyrs in general play both (Pl. *Symp.* 215b). Metrodoros' statement was made in a context of controversy over the first inventor of the auloi. Piety credited the gods, whether Apollo or Athena,⁴⁸ but among lesser beings Marsyas' claim was contested by Hyagnis and Olympos; for details, see Jacoby on *FGrHist* 239 A 10 and *Das Marmor Parium* 49–55, and Gow–Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 264–5 on AP 9.340. A plausible way of giving both the gods and Marysas their due would be to say, like Euphorion, that the basic invention was due to the gods, but Marysas and others introduced refinements. Metrodoros was writing at the time of the controversy over 'New Music' (as moderns call it), and promoting the claims of a wild satyr over a respectable figure like Olympos, or of the aulos over the lyre, were moves charged with ideological significance.⁴⁹

The fragment is quoted from Metrodoros' *Troika*; it is a puzzle to see how this story relates to the Trojan myth, unless Metrodoros claimed there were Trojan allies from Kelainai. Auloi are mentioned twice in the *Iliad*, once at 10.13, when auloi and syringes are resounding in the Trojan camp, and again at 18.495, where auloi and phorminges accompany the dancing on Achilles' shield. Palaiphatos in his *Troika* had a generous understanding of his subject (see *FGrHist* 44 F 3 bis), and so it would seem did Metrodoros.

§18.3.4 ALYBE (Hellan. fr. 146)

Stephanos confirms that Hellanikos spoke of a Pontic harbour Alybe. This city is mentioned by Homer in the catalogue of the Trojans (*Il.* 2.857), and the ancients were puzzled over its location. Strabo (12.3.19–21) connects it to the Chalybes (→§8.4.9 on Hellan. fr. 186), and some modern scholars have followed him; others have related the

⁴⁵ The text has *αὐλόν*, which could be careless for *αὐλοῦς*, but the singular often denotes the double instrument, which is in any case clearly meant.

⁴⁶ Hdt. 7.263; Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.8; Alex. Polyhist. *FGrHist* 273 F 76; Strabo 12.8.15; Livy 38.13.6; Plin. *NH* 5.106; Paus. 10.30.9; Quint. Curt. 3.1.1.

⁴⁷ e.g. Melanippides *PMG* 758, Pl. *Symp.* 215c, AP 7.696, 9.266, Diod. Sic. 3.58.3, Paus. 2.22.9, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.24, Liv. 38.13.6, Plin. *NH* 5.106, Ov. *Met.* 6.384–6, *Fast.* 6.701, Plut. *Mor.* 456b, 713d, Hyg. *Fab.* 165. In the artistic tradition Marsyas plays the auloi except for a few scenes where he plays the kithara or lyre (see *LIMC* s.v.).

⁴⁸ Apollo: Alk. fr. 307a ap. [Plut.] *De mus.* 1135f; Athena: e.g. Melanippides *PMG* 758, Arist. *Pol.* 8.6.8, 1341b 3–4, Diod. Sic. 5.73.8, Ov. *Fast.* 6.697, Paus. 1.24.1 (Myron's statue), Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.24, Hyg. *Fab.* 165, AP 9.266, Tzetz. *Chil.* 1.367. On Athena, see Serghidou, 'Athena *Salpinx*' (but correct p. 61: Alkibiades at Pl. *Symp.* 215b does not credit Marysas with inventing the aulos, but with certain auletic melodies).

⁴⁹ P. Wilson, 'The aulos in Athens' and 'Athenian Strings'; Csapo, 'The Politics of the New Music'.

name rather to the river Halys (see the Cambridge and Basel Homeric commentaries ad loc.).

§18.3.5 PATROKLOS (Hellan. fr. 145; Pher. fr. 65)

The scholiast comments on Patroklos 'son of Menoitios', telling how he had killed a son of Amphidamas foolishly over a game of dice, and fled from Opous to Phthia. This is from *Il.* 23.84–90, which says also that Patroklos was still quite young, and that it was his father who spirited him away and lodged him with Peleus. The scholion attributes the tale to **Hellanikos** (fr. 145). He adds to Homer only two possible names for the murdered son, Kleisonymos and Aianes, which will have been invented, as often, by poets or mythographers anxious to fill Homer's gaps (cf. Pher. fr. 144, below §18.5.6). Kleisonymos is supported by **Pher. fr. 65** and Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.176 ('Kleitonymos'); Aianes is supported by Strabo 9.4.2, who notes his shrine in Lokris.⁵⁰

Patroklos' elaborate role in the *Iliad* suits Homer's poetic aims, and we have no other mythology about him; but the formulae for 'Patroklos son of Menoitios' are varied and well embedded in the poem, which suggests that he comes from tradition. Moreover, we have stories about a Thessalian figure or figures named Aktor. In Homer (*Il.* 11.785, 16.14) Patroklos is a grandson of Aktor, and is said to be 'best of the Myrmidons' after Achilles (*Il.* 18.10). He is not an Aiakid. This implies the descent shown in Fig. 18.2.⁵¹

Myrmidon and Aktor figure in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, but in ways different from Homer. In fr. 10a, Myrmidon is father of Aktor, and also of Antiphos, by Peisidike daughter of Aiolos (fr. 10a.33, 100; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.52). But Menoitios has been made into a brother of Peleus, son of Aiakos, so that their sons Patroklos and Achilles are actually first cousins (fr. 212a), as seen in Fig. 18.3.

Another Aktor is father of the Helen-suitor Protesilaos (fr. 199.6); compare Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.86, 112, where Aktor son of Deion son of Aiolos is king of Phokis and father of

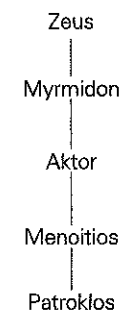


FIG. 18.2

⁵⁰ Both names in schol. *Il.* 23.86a, who quote Alexander of Aitolia fr. 17 with another variant.

⁵¹ Cf. schol. *Il.* 16.14.

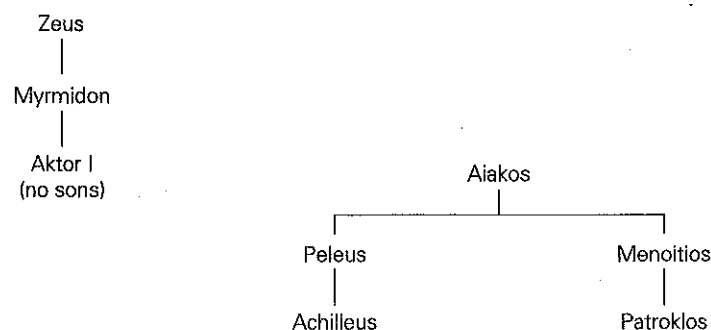


FIG. 18.3

Menoitios, an Argonaut. Further in Apollodoros we hear of an Aktor of Phthia who is father of Eurytion, a Kalydonian Boarhunter (1.68); this is the man to whom Peleus flees from Aigina at 3.163.⁵² If we assume the last three are identical, we have the descent as put in Fig. 18.4:

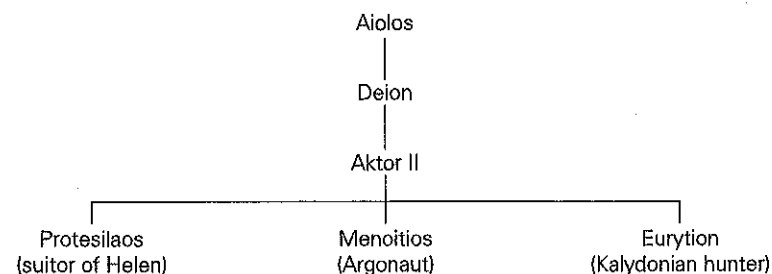


FIG. 18.4

Thus in the *Catalogue* there is an Aktor son of Myrmidon who has no progeny; an Aktor who is grandson of Aiolos, a Phthian, father of an Argonaut, a Kalydonian Boarhunter, and a suitor of Helen; and a new father for Menoitios, in the person of Aiakos. The original Menoitios has survived as the name of an Argonaut. In the context of Aiginetan appropriation of the originally Thessalian mythology of Aiakos (West, *HCW* 163–4), this change in Menoitios' ancestry is a particularly transparent revision. The interference is plain also from Pindar, *Ol.* 9.69–70, who says that *Aigina* bore Menoitios father of Patroklos to Aktor; his scholiast says that after *Aigina* bore Aiakos to Zeus she went north to Thessaly, married Aktor and had Menoitios, who then went to Opous (cf. schol. *Il.* 18.10–11a). A Thessalian or Lokrian woman, perhaps even an *Aigina*, might have been Aktor's original wife and mother of Menoitios. His son Patroklos could have been a warrior at Troy in the oldest saga; he too was a suitor of

⁵² Aktor father of the Molionidai Kteatos and Eurytos (*Bibl.* 2.139) is another example of transferral from Thessalian to Eleian myth (→§8.4.5). This genealogy is related in Hes. fr. 17a (cf. West, *HCW* 62).

Helen (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.131). But for his purposes Homer needed Patroklos to be an exile, taken in by Achilles' father and assigned to him as his attendant, so as to set up the intimate relationship between them which is the heart of the *Iliad*'s emotional dynamic. The story of the accidental murder could well be his own invention.⁵³ Note how Homer imagines Menoitios as still living in Opous when Achilles in his grief says he had promised to send Patroklos home to his father there (*Il.* 18.326); contrast 11.766, 16.14, where Menoitios is living in Phthia. It is also possible, however, that there were competing traditions about Patroklos (Opountian vs. Phthian), which Homer exploited in this manner.

§18.3.6 THE WOUNDING OF AGAMEMNON (Pher. fr. 141)

Homer said that Koon son of Antenor, in attempting to avenge the death of his brother Iphidamas, wounded Agamemnon (*Il.* 11.248–63, 19.53). The Towneleian scholiast on the latter passage reports that according to Pherekydes this man was named Kynon. This could be a case of Pherekydes commenting explicitly on the Homeric text; or he might simply have used a different name, which was noticed by the Homeric commentators (cf. below §18.3.9). It is presumably invented, either by Pherekydes or his authority, and denotes the attacker's cowardice, even though in Homer he behaves admirably according to the heroic code. For the name Koon, which is attested also by Paus. 5.19.4 (the Kypselos chest), see Kamptz, *Homerische Personennamen* 263.⁵⁴

§18.3.7 KABESSOS (Hellan. fr. 147)

The context for this fragment is *Iliad* 13.363, where Othryoneus of Kabesos is killed by Idomeneus. The ancients had no idea where this city was; the scholia ad loc. and Stephanos, quoting Hellan. fr. 147 and Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 169, suggest it was in the Hellespont, or in Thrace, or in Lykia, or in Kappadokia. Didymos wrote a whole book about it (p. 181 Schmidt). Modern scholars have tried Pliny's 'Habesos', which he equates with Antiphellos in Lykia (*NH* 5.100; *Barrington Atlas* 65). Cf. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen* 207–8. The fragment is another example of the mythographers' engagement with Homeric criticism (cf. §18.3.9).

§18.3.8 ACHILLEUS AND THE SKAMANDROS (Hellan. fr. 28)

In this verbatim quotation (Hellan. fr. 28) we learn something of how Hellanikos handled his narrative. It is of interest that he has included Achilles' encounter with the

⁵³ For a list of killers exiled in Greek mythology see Parker, *Miasma* 375–92.

⁵⁴ Cf. also Hippokoon, Laokoon. See Erbse for an explanation of the scholiast's Greek here; it is elliptical but there is no need to suppose a lacuna. The point is that as a son of Antenor, a very sagacious man (*Il.* 3.203, 7.347 etc.), he would not bear a name such as Kynon; 'better to derive (his name) from his intelligence (*παρὰ τὴν σύνεσιν*)'. Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer* 188 n. 1, thought Kynon must be a mistake either in Pherekydes' text or the copy of Homer used by him.

river Skamandros from the *Iliad*, although Homer's expansive treatment and perhaps invention of the episode relates entirely to his own poetic interests. The reason may lie in the rationalizing spirit of the fragment, which demonstrates the proper method of writing history in contrast with poetry. The incident gives Hellanikos an opportunity to display his technique. It is not the river god who rouses himself against Achilles, but excessive rain which made the river burst its banks. Achilles is at the head of his army—in the *Iliad*, it is a solo performance—and like a good general is worried about the consequences of the flood for the conduct of the battle. He does not seize the elm tree as a weapon against the river, but climbs it to save himself. Meanwhile the rest of the army flees hither and thither, even to the surrounding hills. The common ground between historiography and later rationalizers such as Palaiphatos is that the past is assumed to work according to the same rules as the present. One strips the received narrative down to its essential elements—Achilles, the river, the elm tree—and invents an alternative account that matches the observed phenomena of the contemporary world.⁵⁵

§18.3.9 DIOS SON OF PRIAM (Pher. fr. 137)

Il. 24.251 refers to three sons of Priam and, as often in hexameters, attaches an epithet to the third; but the ancients wondered which word was the epithet, which the name. A similar problem occurs in *Il.* 2.592 (Pher. fr. 169; above §18.3.1) and in Hes. *Th.* 379 (Akous. fr. 15; → §1.6.6). Most probably Pherekydes did not comment on the philological issue, but simply recorded Dios as a son of Priam (cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 90.1), thus making his view clear; but in fr. 139 too he shows himself aware of problems of Homeric nomenclature (→ §16.2.2), in fr. 141 he said Kynon not Koon wounded Agamemnon (above §18.3.6), and in fr. 159 he is cited by Didymos in support of a solution to another onomastic problem (→ §2.4). In fr. 80 his text is adduced in a note on the name of Tlepelepos' mother (→ §8.5.8), and in fr. 168 his authority is invoked to demonstrate Tyrannion's mistake about the name of Oitylos. This makes seven places in all that he is cited for such information. So possibly he did signal the problems overtly, and acquired a reputation for it. In the case of Dios, in the absence of any other indication, we should choose to be guided by his sense of language; but there is also *Il.* 13.5, where it is clear that ἀγῶνις is the epithet (see Janko ad loc.).

§18.4 Posthomeric

§18.4.1 PENTHESILEIA (Hellan. fr. 149)

Tzetzes says that according to Hellan. (fr. 149), Lysias and 'other admirable men' Penthesileia came to Troy to win glory, and to enable her to marry; for it was forbidden

⁵⁵ See in general Hawes, *The Rationalisation of Myth in Antiquity*.

for Amazons to mate until they had proven themselves in battle against men. Lysias is unknown, unless we suppose this to be a fragment of the orator or (more probably) an inaccurate reference to Lys. 2.4, which Tzetzes quotes in his comment on Lykoph. *Alex.* 1332.⁵⁶ One would be happier if one had better authority for the fragment. Jacoby thought it was put together from Quintus of Smyrna (whom Tzetzes here quotes),⁵⁷ who says that Penthesileia had come in search of glory, and Herodotos 4.117, who says that the Amazons do not marry until they have killed a male enemy. The same idea is, however, found at Hippokrates *Aēr.* 17, who says they have to kill three men; and again at Nik. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 103 and Diod. Sic. 3.53.1. As a mytheme this is an easily comprehensible part of the portrait of Amazons: as extreme un-women they are not only asexual but antisexual; they must kill while still virgins, and kill a man. The novelty is in saying that this was why Penthesileia went to Troy, but it is hardly impossible that Hellanikos, historicizing the myth, thought of this ethnographic datum. Other writers say she came to Troy because she was exiled for murdering a relative;⁵⁸ the *Aithiopis* must have been silent on the reason.

§18.4.2 SANCTUARY OF APOLLO 'DYMBRIOS' (Hellan. fr. 151)

The variants in the spelling point to the word's being borrowed from a foreign language, perhaps Phrygian, in which the name began with a voiced and aspirated dental. The stem denotes the plain, a tributary of the Skamandros, and a settlement that was perhaps a full-fledged polis (*IACP* p. 1002). The sanctuary of Apollo Thymbraios was the scene of two incidents from the Trojan War, the murder of Troilos by Achilles, and (in one tradition) the murder of Achilles by Paris. We cannot know what Hellanikos said about either of these. The first is poorly represented in early literature, as opposed to art, in which the dominant theme is the brutality of Achilles' slaughter of an innocent youth; one suspects that Troy's fate required his death, as we learn (unexpectedly) from Plautus (*Bacch.* 953–5, i.e. probably Menander *Dis Exapaton*).⁵⁹ Priam refers to the death of Troilos at *Il.* 24.257, which is not otherwise mentioned and must have happened before the poem's action. As for the death of Achilles, in the *Aithiopis* it is clear that he is killed by Paris on the battlefield (*Argum.* 3); the alternative version, in which he is killed by Paris in an ambush laid at the sanctuary, whither he had been lured by a promise to wed Polyxena, begins later, probably in a fourth-century tragedy by

⁵⁶ The fr. is not taken up by Carey in his 2007 edition. Frr. 439, 441, and 461–3 come from Tzetzes.

⁵⁷ Correct the error '(sc. Ἀχιλλεύς)' in l. 2 in *EGM* 1: it is Penthesileia who has killed her sister. The sources are written out and discussed by Morelli, *Teatro attico* 23–72.

⁵⁸ Diod. Sic. 2.46.5, Apollod. *Epit.* 5.1, Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 1.491, Quint. Smyrn. 1.24.

⁵⁹ Cf. Myth. Vat. I 3.8.2. Troilos is proverbially beautiful in Ibykos S151.41–5; this gave later writers the warrant for introducing an erotic motive into the story of his killing. A papyrus commentary (*SLG* S224) reveals that Ibykos told the tale in another poem. The literary tradition continues with Soph. *Troilos* (schol. *Il.* 24.257); then Lykoph. *Alex.* 307–13 with scholia; Verg. *Aen.* 1.474–8; Apollod. *Epit.* 3.32; further references and discussion in Gantz 597–603; on the artistic tradition, Hedreen, *Capturing Troy* 120–81.

Dionysios I (76 A fr. 2a).⁶⁰ The tales of gruesome slaughter and *maschalismos* in this sanctuary could arise from an unusual form of sacrifice that took place there.⁶¹ A final possibility is that Hellanikos related the story of Laokoon, who was priest of Apollo Thymbraios; one of his two sons killed by the serpents was also named Thymbraios. The story familiar from Virgil that he was killed for trying to warn the Trojans about the Horse competed with another version, probably older, that he had offended the deity either by disobeying an injunction not to marry and have children, or by having sexual relations in his sanctuary.⁶²

§18.4.3 EURYPYLOS (Akous, fr. 40)

Akous, fr. 40 is a *historia* in the D scholia to the *Odyssey*, attached to the cryptic remark of Odysseus at 11.521, that many Keteioi⁶³ died at Neoptolemos' hands along with their leader Eurypylos, son of Telephos, 'for a woman's gifts'. The scholion explains that Eurypylos' mother Astyoche was persuaded to let her son go to Troy as an ally to Priam by the bribe of golden jewellery (a 'vine'). We know from Proklos' summary (*Argum.* 3; cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 5.12) and another fragment of the *Little Iliad* (fr. 7) that Eurypylos figured in that poem as a great champion, a worthy opponent of Neoptolemos; their duel will have been one of its central set-pieces. The *Odyssey* passage and a depiction of Eurypylos slain by Neoptolemos on a late sixth-century hydria (*LIMC* Eurypylos no. 1) indicate the same conclusion. A second scholion on the Homeric passage tells us more about the necklace, that it was given by Zeus to Laomedon in compensation for Ganymede; this is confirmed by fr. 6 of the *Little Iliad*. It is a trait of mythography, taking its lead from Homer's celebrated description in *Iliad* 1 of the history of Agamemnon's sceptre, to trace the fortunes of such heirlooms; cf. §§8.2, 10.1. A chance notice in the scholia to Juvenal (6.655) suggests that Astyoche's reason for reluctance was not only fear for her son's life, but that Telephos had given a promise to Achilleus,

⁶⁰ Grossardt, 'Zum Inhalt der «Hektoros Lytra» des Dionysios I.' On this incident, with slight variations in the details, see schol. Eur. *Hek.* 41; Philostr. *Her.* 51.1–6; Hyg. *Fab.* 110; Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 3.321, 6.57; schol. Stat. *Ach.* 1.134; Diktys 3.2–3, 3.27, 4.10–11; Dares Phryg. 34; Tzetzes *Posthom.* 385–423; Myth. Vat. I 1.36, II 248 (205); ps.-Nonn. on Greg. Naz. Or. 4.8; Gantz 628.

⁶¹ Bremmer, *GRC* 325.

⁶² Hyg. *Fab.* 135, Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* 2.201 = Bacchyl. fr. 9, Euphor. fr. 95 (though it is uncertain how much of the comment is from Euphorion); Robert, *GH* 1250, Gantz 648; Nesselrath, 'Laokoon in der griechischen Literatur'.

⁶³ This tribe too was a puzzle; cf. Alk. fr. 413 and Strabo 13.1.69; Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen* 152 n. 12 (relating them to Keteus of Arkadia; → §2.4, at n. 66), Robert, *GH* 1224 n. 2, Heubeck on *Od.* 11.521. In the *Cycle*, Akous. and elsewhere Eurypylos is king of the Mysians like his father. Astyoche is usually Priam's sister (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.146, Serv. on Verg. *Ecl.* 6.72, Quint. Smyrn. 6.135–6, schol. *Od.* 11.521, Eust. *Od.* 1697.29; different genealogy in Diktys 2.5 and Hyg. *Fab.* 101.5). Eurypylos is also the name of the king of Kos defeated by Herakles (Pher. fr. 78; → §8.5.3), and the Asklepiad Machaon is Eurypylos' main victim at Troy; scholars have sometimes thought of a transferral from Kos to Mysia, or perhaps of a doubling. Astyoche is also the usual name of Telepolemos' mother; another Eurypylos figures in his tree in Akous. fr. (dub.) 44 (→ §8.5.8).

in return for his being healed, that neither he nor his descendants would take up arms against him. Like Eriphyle's, Astyoche's resistance is broken by the bribe, with inevitable results. In Sophokles' *Eurypylos* (fr. 210.31) Astyoche bitterly laments the irony that the spear of Achilleus, which healed her husband, killed her son. Like Penelope, she has taken her husband's place on the throne; her ability to command her son implies that he is only just coming of age.

§18.4.4 THE DATE OF TROY'S FALL (Ag./Derk. fr. 2, Dam. fr. 7, Hellan. fr. 152)

Apart from the sources which quote our fragments (Plutarch, *Cam.* for **Dam. fr. 7**; Clement and Tzetzes for **Ag./Derk. fr. 2** and **Hellan. fr. 152a–b**), each quoting other authorities as well, opinions regarding the date of Troy's fall are related by the *Marmor Parium* (*FGrHist* 239 A 24), Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*Ant. Rom.* 1.63), and a scholion to Eur. *Hek.* 910 (quoting Kallisthenes *FGrHist* 124 F 10a and Lysimachos *FGrHist* 382 F 13). Synoptically the views are:

(i) the day and month: 12 Thargelion (May/June) (Hellanikos, Douris of Samos, Dionysios of Argos, Lysimachos); seventh day before the end of Thargelion (Damastes, Ephoros, Kallisthenes ap. Plut., Malakos or Phylakos, depending on reading of Plut., *Marm. Par.*); eighth day before the end of Thargelion (Kallisthenes ap. schol. Eur., Dion. Hal.; 'Attic historians' ap. Clement); eighth day before the end of Skirophorion (June/July) ('others' ap. Clement); eighth day before the end of Panemos (= Skirophorion?) (Agias and Derkylos).

(ii) the year: 18th of Agamemnon's reign, first of Demophon's at Athens (Dionysios of Argos, Lysimachos em. Schwartz ('fourth', codd.)); last year of Menestheus' reign ('Attic historians' ap. Clement); 22nd year of Menestheus' reign (= his last, *Marm. Par.*)

(iii) additional information: Kallisto was priestess at Athens (Hellan.); 17 days before the summer solstice, after which 20 days remained until year's end; Greeks then departed; the Trojans left later, at the autumnal equinox (Dion. Hal.)

With respect to the month, the difference between the twelfth day and the 7th/8th day before its end is that between the (all but) full moon and its third quarter. Kallisthenes got the astronomy right when he pointed out the implication of the line of the *Little Iliad*, fr. 14 (νύξ μὲν ἦν μέσση, λαμπρὰ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελήνη), that the moon rises at midnight only on the eighth day before the end of the cycle.⁶⁴ It is from such indications in the *Cycle* that all these discussions arose. Euripides in the *Hekabe*, when he makes the chorus say μεσονύκτιος ὠλλύμαν (914), shows himself aware of the *Little Iliad*; so when he speaks of the chorus gazing into a mirror, with its ἀτέρμονες αὐγαί (926), he may be thinking of the moonlight at midnight. In Virgil, when the Greeks set out from Tenedos

⁶⁴ Grafton and Swerdlow, in their helpful treatment 'Greek Chronography in Roman Epic', argue that the difference between 7th and 8th arises from whether one considers the month to have 29 or 30 days (on this point, Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* 28).

on their mission of destruction, the moon is still 'silent'; by midnight it has risen (*Aen.* 2.255, 340).

The *Cycle* (*Iliupersis* fr. 5*) also told the story of why the visible Pleiades were only six in number, whereas there were in fact seven of them (cf. Arat. *Phain.* 257–8 with Kidd): Elektra could not stand to watch the sack, so left (see also §13.1). In Aischylos (*Agam.* 824–6), the Greeks leap from the Horse as the Pleiades are setting; this could have come from the *Cycle*. As Fraenkel argued *ad loc.*, this is not meant to be astronomically accurate, or to indicate a month, but merely to designate the dead of night; if Aischylos is to be taken literally, and he is thinking of midnight, the time of year is roughly January, which contradicts everyone else. Martin West is now inclined to think that *Iliupersis* fr. 5* should also be assigned to the *Little Iliad*, coming from the same passage as that poem's fr. 14.⁶⁵ In other words the poet said that the sack occurred both when the moon was rising at midnight, and when the Pleiades were setting. In that case, he has paid no more attention to the requirements of astronomy than has Aischylos, and Kallisthenes, in praising his acumen, overlooked the reference to the setting Pleiades (which are not visible at midnight in late spring).

If Hellanikos thought the sack took place during a full moon on 12 Thargelion, he either did not know or misinterpreted the line from the *Little Iliad* (both seem unlikely), or had other reasons for thinking that the moon was full. He also ignored the setting of the Pleiades. He may have been working from memory, and the notion of brightness was uppermost in his mind. Damastes, on the other hand, seems to have paid closer attention. Our ignorance of the Argive calendar does not allow us to say exactly which month was denoted by Panemos;⁶⁶ if, as may be the case, it corresponds to Skirophorion (June/July), then these writers are among the 'others' mentioned by Clement who put the fall in this last month of the year, which might have seemed appropriate. Dionysios' information that it was 37 days (20 + 17) before year's end presumes Thargelion, the preceding month; Grafton and Swerdlow, *loc. cit.*, note that the number 17 has no obvious significance, but goes well into a hexameter, so epic poetry may ultimately lie behind Dionysios' assertion. If once again it is the *Cycle*, then those who dated the sack to Skirophorion have chosen to ignore this datum. Any solution meant overlooking something.⁶⁷

The synchronism with a priesthood in Athens is from Hellanikos (fr. 152b), and the last year of Menestheus could be his dating as well. In fr. 143 he acknowledges the Iliadic view that Menestheus was leader of the Athenian forces at Troy (→§16.1.1); but

⁶⁵ West *per litt.* I am indebted to Prof. West for discussion of this problem.

⁶⁶ 'Panamos' at Argos. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* 90–1; Trümper, *Monatsnamen* 145; J. Chauvet Garbit, *REG* 122 (2009) 201–17.

⁶⁷ Plutarch says the defeat of the Carthaginians by Timoleon and the victory of Alexander at the Granikos occurred on the same day as the fall of Troy. So even historical events could be dated according to their symbolic significance. Cf. R. Parker, *On Greek Religion* 219; Bremmer, 'Hermann Usener' 83–4.

Demophon succeeded immediately after the Trojan epoch, so that the 'first year of Demophon' in other sources is functionally the same year as the last of Menestheus. That he correlated the date of the priestess and the date of the sack is another indication along with Thucydides 2.2.1 of Hellanikos' method of bringing different stemmata and chronologies into alignment. See further §19.3, where it is argued that Demokritos' self-dating to 730 years after the fall of Troy is dependent upon Hellanikos.

§18.4.5 THE SACK (Ag./Derk. fr. 7)

At *Troades* 17 Euripides, following the *Iliupersis* (*Argum.* 2), says that Priam was slain at the altar of Zeus Herkeios; cf. *Hek.* 23–4, *Tro.* 483, Pind. *Paean* 6.114, Verg. *Aen.* 2.506–58, Apollod. *Epit.* 5.21, Quint. Smyrn. 13.222.⁶⁸ Pausanias (2.24.3, 8.46.2) confirms the report of Ag./Derk. fr. 7 that the statue had three eyes; he says that Sthenelos brought it to the temple of Athena at Argos as war booty. The three eyes denote the god's ability to see everything, and protect the house; the point in context is one of supreme irony.⁶⁹ The safe perimeter, the *ἔρκος*, has been penetrated, and the killers are in the very centre of the house. The god sees what he ought never to see, like Athena in her temple at the rape of Cassandra. For Zeus Herkeios see R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 16–18.

§18.5 Nostoi, including the *Odyssey*

§18.5.1 IALMENOS AND THE ASPLEDONIOI (Pher. fr. 143)

The Pontic Achaioi lived on the eastern shore of the Euxine (*Barrington Atlas* 84 E4). They were recognized as a particularly savage barbarian tribe,⁷⁰ but this did not prevent some authorities such as Pherekydes (fr. 143) claiming Greek ancestry for them; their native name presumably suggested 'Achaioi' to Greek ears. Pherekydes said they were followers of Ialmenos, son of Ares (*Il.* 2.512, 9.82), who survived the war, whereas his brother Askalaphos did not (13.520). In the first of these passages the brothers are the commanders of the ships from Minyan Orchomenos and Aspledon, about which little else is known.⁷¹ Strabo (9.2.42 = Apollod. *FGrHist* 244 F 169) says the settlers came with Ialmenos, and were Orchomenians; this is simply to make the other choice from l. 512

⁶⁸ In the *Little Iliad*, he is said to have dragged him from the altar and killed him by the door of the house (fr. 25).

⁶⁹ Pettazzoni, *The All-Seeing God* 152. The statue is LIMC Zeus no. 5; no other example is known. Pausanias (2.24.4) allegorized the three eyes as Zeus's three realms of Sky, Sea (cf. Aisch. fr. 46a 10), and Underworld. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* 1320, and Frazer on Paus. *loc. cit.* compared Argos Panoptes, and (less helpfully) heroes named Triop(a)s (→§5.2.3), the oracle of the three-eyed man (→§9.1), and even the Kyklopes.

⁷⁰ Arist. *Pol.* 8.3.4 p. 1338b 23; ps.-Skylax 75; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.89.4; Strab. 9.2.42 = Apollod. *FGrHist* 244 F 169, 11.2.14, 17.3.24; Pliny *NH* 6.30; App. *Mithrid.* 67, 102; Dion. Perieg. 682 with scholia = Pher. fr. 143; Ptolem. 5.9.25; Eust. *Il.* 272.43; Tomaschek, *RE* 1.1 204.

⁷¹ E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 373; Funke, *BNP* s.v.

of the *Catalogue*. Strabo 11.2.12 also records the tradition that they were Phthiotic Achaioi, part of Jason's expedition; the scholia on Dionysios the Periegete (685) say some of Achilles' Myrmidons. Dionysios himself says simply the settlers were Achaioi who had 'followed their king, scion of Ares, to war', but got blown off course; his commentators then explain that he means Agamemnon, who was descended from Ares if you follow one line in his genealogy. But Dionysios probably means Ialmenos. The Pontic Achaioi, being warlike Scythians, were naturally assumed to be descended from Ares; the genealogical link between their god and their founder would not have been so remote as that between Ares and Agamemnon.

Since Pherekydes' book was organized by genealogy, he had no discrete section for the *Nostoi*, and would have treated its episodes as they arose in connection with this figure or that. Nevertheless, as we see also from frr. 142 and 144, it is clear that he had researched the topic; this fragment about the Pontic Achaioi shows that his reach extended impressively far, and that he was aware of the subsequent fate of minor Homeric characters like Ialmenos.

§18.5.2 THE DEATH OF KALCHAS; MOPSOS (Pher. fr. 142)

Strabo (14.1.27) is our source for **Pher. fr. 142** on the death of Kalchas, defeated by Mopsos in a seers' duel; he reverts to the topic also at 14.4.3 and 14.5.16. He quotes Hesiod, Sophokles and Kallisthenes as well as Pherekydes. Together with Apollodoros (*Epit.* 6.2–4, 19), Euphorion (frr. 102–3), Lykophron (*Alex.* 426–30, 439–43, 980, 1047), Lykophron's scholiasts, and Konon (*Dieg.* 6), we have nearly all the literary sources for this myth.⁷² The episode was part of the tradition of the returns from Troy; a brief notice in Proklos' summary is enough to show that the *Nostoi* told the story (*Argum.* 2): Kalchas, Leonteus and Polypoites travelled on foot after the Sack to Kolophon, where 'Teiresias' died and was buried (Proklos must mean Kalchas).⁷³ Apollodoros adds Amphilochoi and Podaleirios to this band of migrants.

Few towns are big enough for two seers, and stories of their competing with each other are as old as Indo-European.⁷⁴ The contest of Kalchas and Mopsos took place at Klaros near Kolophon.⁷⁵ When Kalchas loses, he dies of grief; Sophokles says (not necessarily a different version) he was fated to die when he met a superior seer, rather as the

⁷² There are also Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 FF 103, 351, Quint. Smyrn. 14.360–9, schol. Dion. Perieg. 850–2 and schol. *Od.* 13.259. Mopsos of Kolophon is listed as a Trojan ally in Diktys 1.17 and Dares 18.

⁷³ Why they travelled on foot was a Homeric *zetema*, as we learn from Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 103; his answer was that Kalchas knew the ships were unseaworthy (cf. *Il.* 2.135; Apollod. *Epit.* 6.2 ἐν Ἰλίου τὰς ναῦς λυπόμενες). One source (schol. *Od.* 13.259) does claim that Kalchas (with Sthenelos) was driven there by the great storm of the *Nostoi*.

⁷⁴ Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience* 60–1; Dillery, 'Chresmologues and Manteis' 176; West, *IEPM* 72–4, 364.

⁷⁵ Parke, *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor* 113–24; for the sanctuary, La Gènière, *REA* 100 (1998) 235–56, and BNP s.v. Clarus.

Sphinx was fated to die when someone solved her riddle, or the Seirenes when someone resisted their charms.⁷⁶ As Strabo notices, details vary in the sources as to who proposed what question to whom. One question was how many figs there were in a tree, another was how many piglets a sow was bearing (of what sex, and when would she farrow). Hesiod had Kalchas pose the fig riddle to Mopsos, Pherekydes had Mopsos pose the pig riddle to Kalchas; one would suffice for the purposes of the story, but Apollodoros, Lykophron, and his scholia worked both into their accounts.⁷⁷

The localization of the quarrel at Klaros in the oldest sources leads one to think that Kalchas or Mopsos or both should have a strong association with the oracle, but this is anything but the case. If Mopsos is thought to have given Klaros its *bona fides*, it is odd that his grave was in Cilicia, and that he left behind no clan of Mopsidai. Apollodoros says that Kalchas was buried at Notion, Kolophon's harbour, and Lykophron (*Alex.* 424) says a little further north on the slopes of Mt Kerkaphos. Euphorion (fr. 102; cf. Parthenios fr. 10) placed the contest still further north at Gryneion (*IACP* no. 809; *Barrington Atlas* 56 E4), where there was an oracle of Apollo Gryneieus, which might have served as the centre for an Aiolian amphictiony.⁷⁸ Other traditions imply that Kalchas survived his mortification, so to speak, and moved on, or never faced Mopsos in these parts at all. Herodotos says that the Pamphylooi migrated to Pamphylia with Kalchas and Amphilochoi after the Trojan War (7.91).⁷⁹ Strabo reports that Selge in Pisidia was founded by Kalchas (12.7.3). Kallisthenes (ap. Strab. 14.4.3), who marched through Cilicia with Alexander, tries to reconcile these traditions by saying that Kalchas died in Klaros, but his people carried on with Mopsos to Cilicia and other southern regions. Sophokles (fr. 180) transferred the quarrel between Kalchas and Mopsos to Cilicia. Going in a different direction, the historian Hesychios says that Kalchas founded 'Kalchedon' (i.e. Chalkedon) in Thrace (*FGrHist* 390 F 1.21); a simple name-play.⁸⁰ Lykophron (*Alex.* 978–83, 1047–8), however, knows of two tombs in far-off Italy, one at Drion in Daunia (a cenotaph, he says),⁸¹ the other near Siris (a Kolophonian colony). It is clear that oracular shrines wished to associate themselves with legendary seers, and disagreements might arise as to which seer was in question; there were different stories

⁷⁶ Two sources say he killed himself ('some' ap. Tzetz. on Lykoph. *Alex.* 427; Konon, *Dieg.* 6, an idiosyncratic version as usual). Homer also died of grief when he could not solve a riddle (most of the *Lives* tell the story; see West's edition). Poetic competitions and riddles were a feature of the symposium, so professional rhapsodes might well have competed in this manner; cf. Graziosi, *Inventing Homer* 28–9. Some of the verses incorporated by Alkidamas into his *Mouseion*, which was taken up into the Antonine *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, derive from older sophistic works and popular culture (M. L. West, *Homeric Hymns* 299).

⁷⁷ For the impossible-counting type of story, Hansen, *AT* 97–9.

⁷⁸ Asheri on Hdt. 1.149.1; Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter* 179. Euphorion's innovation is rather bold if the story had cultic traction at Klaros.

⁷⁹ Cf. Paus. 7.3.7, Quint. Smyrn. 14.360–9, schol. *Il.* 2.135.

⁸⁰ MSS vary constantly as between χαλκ-, καλχ-, καρχ- in such words (Von der Mühl, *Ausgew. kl. Schr.* 368; *IACP* p. 979).

⁸¹ Cf. Strabo 6.3.9; Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus* 256 n. 107.

about Amphilochoi as well.⁸² In view of the gaps and uncertainties it is unsafe to make any history out of these traditions, tempting though it is to think of Ionian/Aiolian conflict at Kolophon.⁸³

The same judgement must ultimately apply to the figure of Mopsos, although Bronze Age evidence seems to bring us tantalizingly close to a solution, and excites hopes of finding the history in the myth.⁸⁴ In the first place there is Mopsos the Argonaut, son of Ampyx, who had deep roots in Thessaly (→§5.2.2, §5.4.1; Robert, *GH* 775–7); he too was a seer. In Attica, one of the prehistoric kings bore this name (or ‘Mopsopos’), and antiquarians claimed Attica was once called Mopsopia.⁸⁵ Moreover, *mo-qo-so* (rendering *mo-k^w-so*, with labio-velar) is attested as a proper name in Linear B, both at Pylos (PY Sa 774) and Knossos (KN De 1381.B), which would evolve into ‘Mopsos’ by the normal laws of Greek phonetics. Furthermore, in Anatolia, the name *Muksa-/Muksu-* is attested in a Hittite document dating to the late fifteenth century, apparently associated with the kingdom of Ahhiyawa (Achaia),⁸⁶ which means it could denote a Greek. These data strongly suggest that Mopsos, or at least this Mopsos, was an originary figure of Greek legend.

In non-Greek contexts, Moxos is the name of a legendary Lydian king (Nik. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 16; Xanthos *FGrHist* 765 F 17, corrupted to Mopsos in the MSS).⁸⁷ From historical times there are the Moxeanoi of Phrygia (*Barrington Atlas* 62 C4), the region Moxoene in Armenia (*ibid.* 89 E2), and a city Moxoupolis somewhere near Eriza in south Phrygia (*ibid.* 89 B1), attested by a mid-fourth-century BC inscription. *LPGN* 5A records three Moxoi from Sardis, the first from the fourth century BC. A riveting new find in a Phrygian tomb at Gordion from about 740 BC, possibly that of Midas’ father,

⁸² Normally said to have ended his days in Cilicia (Hes. fr. 279, Euphor. fr. 103, Strab. 14.5.16, Apollod. *Epit.* 6.19, Quint. loc. cit.; cf. Hdt. 3.91), but see Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 102c, Thuc. 2.68.3, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.95 (Amphilochian Argos in Ambrakia); Strabo 3.4.3 even knows of him in Spain. For the oracle of Amphilochos and Mopsos at Mallos see Cic. *De div.* 1.88, Plut. *Mor.* 434d, Luc. *Philopseud.* 28, *De deor. conc.* 12, *Alex.* 19; Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter* 230–53.

⁸³ Parke, *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor* 119–20 and Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes* 234–5 (Aiolian Notion vs. Ionian Kolophon); but all is uncertain. Kalchas, supposedly Kolophon’s man, was Thessalian (→§6.3.4), as were his companions except Amphilochos (Argive); on the other side Manto, Mopsos’ mother, was Kadmeian rather than Aiolian. Moreover Rubinstein in *IACP* (nos. 825, 858) and others are very reluctant to believe that the Notion mentioned by Herodotos as a city in the Aiolian league (1.149) is the same as the harbour of Kolophon: the geography is quite wrong. Like Aigirosessa (no. 802) and Killa (no. 814) in Herodotos’ list of the Aiolian dodekapolis, it is unlocated (→§19.4).

⁸⁴ On Mopsos see Höfer, Roscher, *Lex. s.v.*; Prinz 23–8; Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter* 153–271; Finkelberg, *Greeks and Pre-Greeks* 151–2; Bremmer, *GRC* 136–43; Oettinger, ‘The Seer Mopsos (Muksas) as a Historical Figure’; Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes* 222–39; López-Ruiz, ‘Mopsos and Cultural Exchange’; C. Brixhe, *Kadmos* 48 (2009) 146–9; Blakely, *BNJ* commentary on Konon *Dieg.* 6.

⁸⁵ Kallim. fr. 709 with Pfeiffer; Euphorion fr. 37–40.

⁸⁶ It is increasingly accepted that the Ahhiyawa of Hittite records is Achaia (Mycenaean Greece). See *The Homer Encyclopaedia* s.vv. Achaeans and Ahhiyawa for initial bibliography.

⁸⁷ Lightfoot, *Lucian, On the Syrian Goddess* 65.

reveals the name of one Muksos carved in a wooden beam.⁸⁸ Oettinger argues that if the name were originally Anatolian, it would have been written as **Mukussa-* or **Mukussu-* in Hittite and Luwian.⁸⁹ If so, we are bound to infer that, if the homonymous root is not a coincidence, the name has spread from Greece; the option that it was a common Indo-European inheritance is not available. But perhaps we do not know enough about the history of the Lydian and Phrygian languages to rule this hypothesis out (which the geographical spread of usage would rather suggest). Most recently, Beekes diagnoses the variance as a symptom of the name’s ultimately pre-Greek (non-IE) origin, acknowledging at the same time the difficulties of assessing ‘Anatolian’ borrowings into early Greek (*Etym. Dict.* pp. xv, xviii).

Further south and east, in Cilicia, we find evidence in the late eighth century of a powerful kingdom, ruled by a dynasty called the ‘House of Muksas’ in Luwian, the ‘House of Mopsu’ in Phoenician; the names are attested together on a bilingual inscription found in 1946. A quite recent find, published in 2000, identifies a member of the House of Muksas, a son of Warikas, ruling over ‘Hiyawa’, equated with the city of Adana (*Barrington Atlas* 66 G3), whose inhabitants are the ‘Danuniyim’ in Phoenician. The kingdom extended to Pamphylia in the west and in the east possibly into Syria.⁹⁰ Greek legend said that, after defeating Kalchas at Klaros, Mopsos wandered south to Cilicia, where he founded or was associated with various sites (Phaselis, Perge, Aspendos, Soloi, Mallos, Mopsouhestia, Mopsoukrene, and Magarsa, where he was buried; the whole area was called Mopsopia according to Pliny *NH* 5.96).⁹¹ Herodotos (7.91) says that the Cilicians were anciently called ‘Hypachaiioi’, and scholars have been quick to suggest that Hiyawa/Adana/Danuniyim reflect Ahhiyawa/Achaia and the Danaoi. It has also been suggested, not very probably, that ‘Warikas’ is a rendering of the Greek (Euboian) name Euarchos; others, without much more probability, have thought of Rhakios, the human father of Mopsos.

How to account for the Cilician situation? The problem is to bridge the gap of several centuries between the Bronze Age and the much later date of the Luwian inscriptions. On the view that Moxos/Mopsos is originally a Greek name, three hypotheses are theoretically available. (i) Since Rhodes was part of Ahhiyawa, one could suppose that from there ‘Moxos’ spread and took root in Pamphylia and Cilicia before the fall of Mykenai, to be taken over by indigenous populations. (ii) We could imagine a continuous Mycenaean presence in Cilicia and Pamphylia before and after the fall, with the same

⁸⁸ R. Liebhart and C. Brixhe, *Kadmos* 48 (2009) 141–56.

⁸⁹ ‘The Seer Mopsos (Muksas) as a Historical Figure’ 64. *Contra*, Lane Fox asserts that Greek *mo-qo-so* was unlikely to have become Muksas/as; it would more probably be *ma-ka-sa*, i.e. Maksa (*Travelling Heroes* 228).

⁹⁰ Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes* 231–3; Oettinger, loc. cit. 65.

⁹¹ Cf. the sources cited above, n. 82, and Strabo 14.4.3 = Kallisthenes fr. nov., Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 103. On Aspendos see §5.2.2 (Hellan. fr. 15 says the founder was Aspendos).

effect; this is not supported as yet by archaeology. (iii) We could imagine a break, then sub-Mycenaean settlement in Cilicia, with the same effect of passing the name to Luwian; this would have to happen before the change to 'Mopsos'. 'Moxos' could have passed into Lydian on any of these three hypotheses, either from the south or from Miletos, a stronghold of Ahhiyawa. It must be noted that the whole region of Pamphylia and Cilicia remained stubbornly foreign, though with some Hellenization, well into classical times.⁹²

If, on the other hand, Moxos/Mopsos was not (or not solely) a Greek name, other hypotheses are available. (iv) The name is a common IE inheritance. This removes the need to explain the mechanics of the Mycenaean interface, but one will then have to hypothesize that Hittite and Luwian failed to preserve the name, then imported it from their neighbours. (v) An indigenous (Phoenician?) figure coincidentally had a name that sounded like Mopsos, and when the Greeks renewed contact with Cilicia during the 'Dark Ages' they drew the link with their own Mopsos, claiming he had already been there. The Greeks planted their heroes everywhere they went and there is much to be said for this view, especially if one is sceptical about equations such as Hiyawa/Achaia and Danuniyim/Danaoi.⁹³ Finally, we could be dealing with more complex scenarios: (vi) The name passed from Greek or IE into the Anatolian languages in the Bronze Age, to be rediscovered by later Greek colonists as per (v); (vii) a combination of (v) and (vi) (both Greek/IE and homophonous Phoenician, subsequently identified with a Greek figure).

'Mopsos' is clearly a Bronze Age name of sufficient strength to have generated both an Argonaut, himself a seer, and a post-Trojan seer *cum* king *cum* city-founder. The name turns up in Linear B and Hittite; after a gap of centuries it returns in widely separated parts of Anatolia. The evidence hardly supports the romantic view of a man named Mopsos travelling south after the Trojan War to Cilicia via Klaros (which archaeology suggests was not active before c.900). By whatever route the name survived in or entered Cilicia, given the quite thin Greek presence in the region the likeliest scenario has to be one of (v), (vi), or (vii) above.

§18.5.3 MENELAOS KILLS THON (Hellan. fr. 153)

Hellanikos says that Menelaos killed Thon because he attempted to rape Helen (Hellan. fr. 153). At *Od.* 4.228 it is said that Helen received many *φάρμακα* from Polydamna, wife of Thon. Herodotos (2.116) quotes the passage and others (*Il.* 6.289–92, *Od.* 4.351–2) by way of proving that Homer really knew that Helen never went to Troy but stayed in

⁹² 'No ancient source prior to the Hellenistic period asserts a Greek colonial presence in Pamphylia and Kilikia', write Keen and Fischer-Hansen, *IACP* p. 1212. Herodotos' 'Hypachaioi' denotes 'half-Greek': Kretschmer, *Glotta* 21 (1933) 217–24.

⁹³ Prinz 25 n. 23; Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter* 170, 268; Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes* 222–39. Compare the Pontic Achaioi (last section).

Egypt. In the *Odyssey*, however, Homer has in mind rather Menelaos' and Helen's return voyage, not the voyage to Troy (cf. *Nostoi Argum.* 5); the *Iliad* refers to a stop-over in Sidon by Paris and Helen on the way to Troy. Herodotos makes Thonis, as he calls him,⁹⁴ harbourmaster at the Canopic mouth of the Nile; here there was in fact an Egyptian town Thonis, as Hellanikos says. Its location at Herakleion was confirmed as recently as 2001, when an identical copy of the Naukratis inscription was discovered underwater.⁹⁵ Greeks sailing to and from Naukratis had to stop at Thonis and pay taxes and duty. Though Greeks had been trading with Egypt since the Bronze Age, the emporium of Naukratis was a late seventh-century establishment allowing a closer engagement with the Egyptian market, and Herodotos' story of Thonis sending word upriver to King Proteus and seeking instructions about what to do with Paris may reflect the traffic between Thonis and Naukratis, even if Herodotos appropriately represents Proteus as being in Memphis. In Homer there is only Thon, and Proteus is the Old Man of the Sea; but lest Proteus' role in Herodotos be taken as euhemeristic, Stesichoros had already cast Proteus as pharaoh in his *Palinode* (*PMGF* 192). One would not look to Stesichoros for such rationalization, and the suggestion that the figure reflects an Egyptian royal title *pa routi* is attractive.⁹⁶ The Greek Thon(is) is merely the eponym of the town.⁹⁷

Aelian (*NA* 9.21) has a story like that of Hellanikos, but adds that Menelaos had left Helen with Thon while heading upriver on an exploratory voyage of upper Egypt and Ethiopia. This probably came from Hellanikos, as it would explain how Menelaos encountered the Eremboi (fr. 154; see next section). Aelian, however, says that when Thon became enamoured of Helen, she told Polydamna, who packed her potential rival off to Pharos, but armed her with a defence against the snakes there: a special grass whose seeds were poisonous to them; this cleared the island of the pests, and the grass is called *helenion* as a result. As this part of the tale relates to animals, it may be presumed to be Aelian's contribution. He does not then bother to tell us about Menelaos' return. It is not easy to see why Hellanikos or his authority thought this story up and killed Thon off, except that Helen always attracted this sort of unwanted attention. Hellanikos' modification of Herodotos is instructive (if that is his source); he has accepted the idea of Thon as a harbourmaster, and replicated the upstream voyage (perhaps he also worked King Proteus into it somehow), but has dropped the rest of Herodotos' elaborate tale as a private fantasy. He reverts to the traditional story of Menelaos' stopover in Egypt, and tells the tale in a realistic manner. Hekataios had covered some of the same ground (*FGrHist* 1 FF 307–9); it would be good to know the details.

⁹⁴ On the forms of the name see the app. crit. to fr. 153. Interpolation has been suspected here in Herodotos; see Lloyd ad loc.

⁹⁵ M. Clauss, *Antike Welt* 37 (2006) 51–5; Strabo 17.1.16 with Radt.

⁹⁶ Herter, *RE* 23.1 952, after others; cf. West on *Od.* 4.384 ff. Lloyd, *JHS* 100 (1980) 196, is sceptical, but he does not mention Stesichoros. On the history of the myth see Allan's edition of Eur. *Helen*, pp. 18–28.

⁹⁷ West on *Od.* 4.228.

§18.5.4 THE EREMBOI (Hellan. fr. 154)

In the list of places visited on his return home, Homer's Menelaos mentions Cyprus, Phoenicia, the Egyptians, the Ethiopians, the Sidonians, the Eremboi, and Libya (*Od.* 4.83–5). The poet's purpose is to account for Menelaos' long absence from home by extending his itinerary. The Eremboi are 'completely mysterious' (S. R. West ad loc.), and ancient scholars puzzled over their identification, resorting to etymology and/or emendation. Krates, cited with **Hellan. fr. 154b** by the *Etym. Gen.* and by the Homeric scholia (now fr. 41 Broggiato, q.v.), thought Menelaos had circumnavigated Africa and knew about the Indians, so he read Ἐρεμνοί, Dark People. Hellanikos equated them with the Arabes, and Ἀραβὰς τε was in fact written by Zenon in Homer's text (fr. 275 von Arnim ap. Strab. 1.2.34, 16.4.27), though Hellanikos probably said only that this is what Homer meant by 'Eremboi'. It is another example of his engagement in Homeric criticism, and his interest in etymology. His itinerary also fits Homer's sequence of names better than Krates'. The most extended surviving discussion is that of Strabo (1.2.34, 16.4.27), who shared Hellanikos' opinion, which he has derived from Poseidonios (fr. 280–1 Edelstein–Kidd, 62 Theiler). He explains, probably still drawing on Poseidonios, that Ἐρεμνοί comes from εἰς τὴν ἔραν ἐμβαλεῖν, i.e. they were Troglodytes; these were Arabians dwelling between the Red Sea and the Nile, which is where Hellanikos puts them.⁹⁸ Hekataios had already identified Arabes in this region (Jacoby on *FGH Hist* 1 F 301). Lykophron, *Alex.* 827, whose scholia quote fr. 154a, gives no precise location.

§18.5.5 THE LOKRIAN MAIDENS? (Akous. fr. 45A; Hellan. fr. 152A)

The Giessen papyrus containing **Akous. fr. 45A** and **Hellan. fr. 152A** is desperately difficult, but one can discern references to the crime of Aias, the homeland (in the genitive case) of Aias, the goddess (Athena), and perhaps the people of Ilion (l. 10). The author appears to say in the first few lines that Akousilaos was guilty of untruth, and Hellanikos was telling the truth when he said 'at Aulis' and 'for 53 years'; presumably, then, Akousilaos had a different location ('Troy? l. 1), and a different number of years. $\overline{\mu\epsilon}$ in l. 7 is another number.⁹⁹

These indications make one think of the crime of the Lokrian Aias, and its expiation by the Lokrian maidens. Certainly we have a reference to this Aias, and the genitive

⁹⁸ Poseidonios, who wrote Ἀραβούς, thought the Aramaioi (= Syrioi, he says), Arimaniol (?), Arabes, Armenioi, and Assyrioi were all related. In *Etym. Gen.* the Troglodytes seem to constitute a separate explanation. Cf. Steph. Byz. ε106 with Billerbeck; Dion. Per. 180 with Eust. ad loc.; Tkač *RE* 6.1 413–17, who argues that the Eremboi were Arameans.

⁹⁹ The papyrus has $\overline{\nu\gamma}$ and $\overline{\mu\epsilon}$, which should have been indicated in the text of *EGM* 1. In l. 5, Eberhart thought σ might be an abbreviation of $\sigma\upsilon\rho$; supported by McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyrus and Ostraca* 74.

τῆς πατρὸς could refer to the tribute sent from his homeland. Concerning this curious ritual there is a substantial literature, and given the uncertainty about the papyrus' subject we need not review the whole problem here.¹⁰⁰ The sources contradict each other in ways that are very difficult to reconcile, particularly over the length of service (life-long vs. annual). Those who specify the term of the goddess's sentence, however, all say that it was a thousand years. They all say too that the girls were sent to Troy. Although scholars have speculated that the real destination was at one time the temple of Athena Ilias in Physkeis, West Lokris, rather than at Troy, and although Athena Ilias is known not only in Lokris but in Achaia Phthiotis and Italy,¹⁰¹ it seems too bold to imagine that in this papyrus Hellanikos says that the girls were sent to a temple of Athena Ilias at Aulis for (only) 53 years until the punishment lapsed. (And what would the number 45 signify in l. 7? Surely not the number of girls, who are usually two if specified at all. Kalbfleisch suggested it could be the year of an Argive priestess.) The reference to the people of Ilion in l. 10 is not unproblematic: the ending -ῖνες is confined to hexameter poetry, where Ἴλιῖνες would not scan. Possibly one should articulate ἐς τῆς θεοῦ, to the goddess' temple; but in that case I have no suggestion as to what to do with $\lambda\upsilon\eta$ in front of it.

Nevertheless, in spite of these uncertainties one may wonder if there was discussion in the mythographers about the nature of the punishment. The sources display a remarkable lack of agreement.¹⁰² One suspects that they were all filling in the gaps left by some vague reference in an archaic poem, perhaps the *Iliupersis* or the *Nostoi*. In the same way, they all had a theory about the date of the fall of Troy, building on lines in the *Little Iliad* (see above). We need not suppose, with Robert, that Aias himself made this promise in the *Iliupersis*;¹⁰³ more probably the poet, or the goddess herself, told us about it later. A reason for supposing the poem was the *Nostoi* is provided by schol. *Il.* 13.66 = Kallim. fr. 35, where we are told that Athena was not satisfied with the destruction of Aias in the great storm that befell the fleet during the return, but demanded the maiden sacrifice as well. We can imagine her having a speech after Poseidon split the rock on which Aias made his last, defiant stand. One or other of these poems provided the model for Sophokles in his *Aias the Lokrian*, where an enraged Athena appeared herself on stage (fr. 10c), and during the course of the play (at the end?) might have imposed the

¹⁰⁰ For orientation see Graf, 'The Lokrian Maidens', Hughes, *Human Sacrifice* 166–84, Bonnechere, *Le Sacrifice humain* 150–63, and Redfield, *The Lokrian Maidens* 85–150; on the Epizephyrian Lokroi (of doubtful relevance to the Aias tale), Redfield, *The Lokrian Maidens* and Mertens-Horn, 'Initiation und Mädchenraub'. Briefly discussed also by P. M. Fraser, *JHS* 123 (2003) 29–30.

¹⁰¹ See in addition to the authorities cited above the data in CRESCAM.

¹⁰² Soph. fr. 10; Aen. Tact. 31.24; Lykoph. *Alex.* 1141–73, with scholia ad 1141 = Kallim. fr. 35, 1155 = Timaios *FGH Hist* 566 F 146a; Strabo. 13.1.40; Plut. *De sera num. vind.* 12 p. 557c–d (quoting Euphorion (?) fr. 187); Ael. fr. 47 Hercher; Apollod., *Epit.* 6.20–2; Iambl. *VP* 8.42; schol. *Il.* 13.66 = Kallim. fr. 35; Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 1.41.

¹⁰³ S. R. West, *ZPE* 82 (1990) 1–3.

tribute. The fact that the sources differ on basic points—Strabo even says (13.1.40) that the tribute did not *commence* until after the Persians conquered Ionia—suggests they had no real authority for their information.¹⁰⁴ Certainly they had no knowledge of an actual ritual (contrast Herodotos 7.197 on the shrine of Laphystian Zeus; → §6.1.1). Though the papyrus leaves many questions unanswered, it could suggest that the mythographers were already discussing these matters in the classical period. People like Kallimachos in his *Aitia* and Lykophron in the *Alexandra*, as well as Apollodoros, got their material from somewhere. In this light, the Hellenistic revival of the ritual¹⁰⁵ could have been based on nothing more than doubtful antiquarian recollection and invention, and would tell us little about the original form of the ritual, if it even existed.

§18.5.6 SKYLLA'S VICTIMS (Pher. fr. 144)

That Pherekydes offered to name all Odysseus' men dispatched by Skylla (Pher. fr. 144) shows not only that the spirit of naming Homer's unnamed characters antedates Porphyrios' book by some seven centuries, but that Pherekydes provided a quite extraordinary amount of detail in his work—which, after all, comprised ten books. The number of six victims comes from Homer (*Od.* 12.90), where Skylla has six heads—one victim each (so also Apollod. *Epit.* 7.21, Hyg. *Fab.* 125.14). The artistic tradition, by contrast, does not offer any example of a Skylla with six heads; her canonical figuration was that of a young woman above the waist, with fish tail or tails below and dogs at the waist varying in number from one to three. Scenes of her devouring Odysseus' men are well attested, but not until the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹⁰⁶

Sinon was a companion of Odysseus in Polygnotos' *Iliupersis* (Paus. 10.273); there was a settlement Sinope in Campania (Pliny *NH* 3.59), and some way offshore an island Sinonia (Plin. 3.81, Pomp. Mela 2.121; *Barrington Atlas* 44 E3, D4). If relevant, we may suppose that these names are further examples of the localization of Odyssean heroes in Italy in the early archaic period, and that Pherekydes' Sinopos (=Sinon?) rests on some authority.¹⁰⁷ None of Pherekydes' other names leads anywhere.

¹⁰⁴ Did Strabo's view derive ultimately from Akousilaos?

¹⁰⁵ Inferred from an inscription of the early 3rd c. BC: *IG IX.1* 3.706; text also in Schwyzler, *DGEE* 366 and Schmitt, *Staatsverträge* 3.118–26 no. 472, with bibliography. A. Wilhelm's 1911 treatment is a classic (*Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur griech. Inschriftenkunde in den Jahresheften des Österr. Arch. Inst.* (1898–1948) 1 = *Kl. Schr.* 2.1373–466).

¹⁰⁶ M.-I. Jentel, *LIMC* 8.1 1145 (see also N. Icard-Gianolio and A.-V. Szabados in *LIMC* Suppl. 2009 s.v. Skylla I).

¹⁰⁷ Immisch, *Roscher Lex.* s.v. Sinon col. 935. E. Maass, *Hermes* 23 (1888) 618, supposed that 'Sinon' was an abbreviation of 'Sinopos'; linguistically there could be some link to Sinope in Pontos (→ §6.4.5), but mythologically there is none, unless we suppose that Sinopos was earlier the name of an Argonaut, and this was transferred to the Odyssean saga. The names would all fit into hexameters.

§18.5.7 THE PHAIAKES (Akous. fr. 4; Hellan. fr. 77)

Alkaïos fr. 441 and Akous. fr. 4 say that the Phaiakes sprang from the blood of Ouranos (see §1.6.2 for this mythological idea).¹⁰⁸ Homer, as usual more restrained in such matters, says nevertheless that the Phaiakes are 'near the gods' and makes them descendants of Poseidon and the daughter of a Giant (*Od.* 5.35, 7.56 ff., 206, 13.130). 'Drepane' ('Sickle') was the alternative name of Korkyra from an early time (Hellan. fr. 77, Arist. fr. 512 and Timaios *FGrHist* 566 F 79 ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.982–92g, Kallim. fr. 14), presumably from its shape in the first instance, but a mythical aition was soon added; Apollonios' explanation that the sickle with which Kronos castrated Ouranos was concealed under the island is already implied by Akousilaos and Alkaïos. Aristotle and Apollonios both know another sickle story involving Demeter (fr. 14 of Kallimachos is silent on the point). Timaios, followed by Lykophron (*Alex.* 761–2), says the sickle under Korkyra was that with which Zeus castrated Kronos (cf. *Orphic.* fr. 154); Lykophron at 869 places the other sickle at Drepanon in Sicily, whereas Kallimachos (fr. 43.69) puts it at Zankle, another word for sickle (Thuc. 6.4.5). Zankle was named by Hekataios in the *Europe* (*FGrHist* 1 F 72) but the citation does not make clear what explanation he gave. The equation of Korkyra with Scheria must also have happened early, as did similar equations in Sicily and Italy.¹⁰⁹

'Korkyra' has usually been thought to be the pre-Greek name of the island (signalled by the instability of the first vowel), perhaps also meaning 'sickle'.¹¹⁰ Hellanikos' explanation of the name is conventional, after an eponym Kerkyra daughter of Asopos, acknowledging the claims of the Corinthians, who had been there since the late eighth century.¹¹¹ Poseidon is the only possible mate for Kerkyra, given the statements in the *Odyssey*. Since Phaiax is father of Alkinoos, king of the Odyssean Scheria, the Corinthian genealogy involved the anachronism that the island was already called Korkyra not Scheria; accordingly, Apollonios of Rhodes (4.567–71) claims Poseidon took her to a different Kerkyra. Konon, *Dieg.* 3, says the Phaiakes were autochthonous, which is what the older version of Alkaïos and Akousilaos also signifies. Their myth of birth from the blood of Ouranos is altogether more sinister than the tame, postcolonial Corinthian genealogy, and in keeping with the eerie and slightly threatening atmosphere of Scheria in the *Odyssey*.

§18.5.8 PHORKYS' HARBOUR (Herod. fr. 65)

Odysseus makes his landfall in Ithake at Phorkys' harbour, which receives a typically Homeric description (see Hoekstra ad loc.). The scholia provide a *historia* from the

¹⁰⁸ For the miraculous return motif in the larger story-type (the Homecoming Husband, Aarne-Thompson 974), see Hansen, *AT* 207.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen* 171; Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes* 283–93.

¹¹⁰ On the form of the name in epigraphic and literary sources see *IACP* p. 361.

¹¹¹ For Kerkyra daughter of Asopos see §15.1. Where her mate is named, it is always Poseidon (Hellan., Korinna *PMG* 654, Paus. 5.22.6, Ap. Rhod. 4.568, schol. *Od.* 13.130).

Mythographus Homericus attributed to 'Herodotos'. If the correction 'Herodoros' is right (Herod. fr. 65), the rationalist here has no qualms accepting the existence of a sea-daimon;¹¹² but rationalism is not the same as euhemerism, and there is nothing in his fragments to suggest that Herodoros did not believe in divinities (rather the opposite in fr. 23, 49, 62; he represents his heroes as believing in them at fr. 28, 34, 47, 48. Prometheus is humanized in fr. 30, as perhaps also was Cheiron in fr. 43.) The *historia* does not amount to much of a story: Phorkys first lived in 'Arymnion' in Achaia, then in Ammos in Kephallenia, then in Ithake. If modern scholars think they can identify the Ithakan site,¹¹³ the previous two domiciles are quite mysterious. 'Ammos' denotes a sandy beach and could be anywhere on Kephallenia; curiously, it is not a common place-name (one in Cyprus, *Barrington Atlas* 72 E3, and a fort on the mainland opposite Rhodes, Aischin. *Epist.* 9.1, 12.11). 'Arymnion' is Barnes's emendation, which he says he found in a manuscript, of the codices 'Aryenion' and 'Aphyenion', neither of which is a known location; but neither is Arymnion. It is worth wondering whether all of these are corruptions of 'Hyrmine', which is an Epeian city in *Il.* 2.616; Strabo says that it no longer existed, but there was a mountainous promontory near Kyllene called Hormine or Hyrmine (8.3.10, where see Radt; E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* 563). This is the nearest point on the mainland to Kephallenia. However, it could only be called part of Achaia by an unusual westward extension of the region's boundaries; perhaps the scholiast has been influenced by the Roman province. What motivated Herodoros to produce these arcana, and on what authority he linked Phorkys to these obscure places, is unknown.

§18.5.9 ITHAKOS AND NERITOS (Akous. fr. 43)

In the epic tradition Mt Neriton was the most conspicuous landmark of Ithake (*Il.* 2.632, *Od.* 9.22, 13.351). At *Od.* 17.207, the poet refers to a fountain built by Ithakos, Neritos, and Polyktor; the D scholia append a *historia* for which their authority is Akousilaos. The *historia* involves only the first two brothers, sons of Pterelaos of Kephallenia;¹¹⁴ the BQ scholia add that Polyktor was a third, and that the place Polyktorion on Ithake was named for him. This is mentioned nowhere else and looks like *ad hoc* invention by the scholiast. The reason for their departure from their homeland is said to be merely that it pleased them so; if one had to supply a different motive, it would be the loss of Kephallenia to Kephelos after the defeat of the Teleboans (§8.2). At all events, Kephallenia and Ithake are closely related, and are both parts of Odysseus' kingdom (*Il.* 2.631–2). For the difficulties surrounding the identification of these landmarks, see the Homeric commentaries and E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe*. 'Nerikon' in *Od.* 24.377 has nothing to do with Neriton (for which see Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* 243–7).

¹¹² For whom see §1.6.4.

¹¹³ Stubbings in Wace and Stubbings, *A Companion to Homer* 416 (Gulf of Molo or part of it).

¹¹⁴ For the father see §8.2, 16.2.2. *ne-ri-to* occurs as a personal name in Linear B, PY Cn 131.4.

§18.5.10 TELEMACHOS (Hellan. fr. 156)

Posthomeric poets completed the *Odyssey* by telling the story of Odysseus' further wanderings, and his offspring. Eugammon of Kyrene is credited with the authorship of the *Telegony*; the *Thesprotis* covered some of the same ground, and may have been a source of, or part of, the *Telegony*, if it was not a separate poem. These poems were spun out of hints in the *Odyssey*, such as the prophecies of Teiresias in Book 11, and a desire to fill out the biographies of his characters; independent traditions also played a role, deriving for instance from Greek colonization of Thesprotia. In these poems, Telegonos was son of Odysseus and Kirke;¹¹⁵ Odysseus marries Kallidike of Thesprotia and fathers Polypoites; he has another son Ptoliporthes by Penelope (Apollod. *Epit.* 7.35, Paus. 8.12.6; 'Arkesilas' according to Eugammon, like the king of Kyrene); Telegonos accidentally kills his father; Kirke puts everything right by making the entire cast of characters immortal/sending them to the Isles of the Blessed, with Telegonos wedded to Penelope, and Telemachos wedded to Kirke.¹¹⁶

Hellan. fr. 156 is nearly alone in saying that Telemachos married *Nausikaa* (otherwise only Arist. fr. 506 and Diktys 6.6), and this must be related to FGrHist 4 F 170 = 323a F 24, where he says that the orator Andokides was descended from Telemachos and Nausikaa. Diktys gives the name of the son as 'Ptoliporthos' instead of 'Perseptolis', but both names are merely variants deriving from Odysseus' standing epithet *πολύπορθος*. (Hesiod fr. 221 used the name for Telemachos' son by Polykaste daughter of Nestor.) The genealogy springs not from archaic epic, but from Athenian invention expressing their interest in the region; it is known to Hellanikos from personal contact. According to one tradition, Kephelos of Kephallenia was father of Arkeisios, Odysseus' grandfather (→ §16.2.2). One may compare Theseus' look-out, Phaiax, honoured at Phaleron in the Kybernesia.¹¹⁷

§18.5.11 THE DEATH OF NEOPTOLEMOS (Pher. fr. 64, 135A)

Most accounts of the death of Neoptolemos portray him in a very unflattering light, perpetuating the savage portrait of the Epic Cycle.¹¹⁸ Pindar in the sixth *Paeon* (112–17) says that Apollo swore he would die for his sacrilegious murder of Priam and so killed

¹¹⁵ Already in Hes. *Th.* 1014, albeit interpolated.

¹¹⁶ For details see Frazer on Apollod. *Epit.* 7.34–7; Gantz 710–11; Robert, *GH* 1438–49; M. L. West, *Greek Epic Fragments* 18–19, 164–71. The puzzling lines in Lykophron, *Alex.* 805–11, on one interpretation imply a story in which Telemachos subsequently murders Kirke and is killed in turn by his half-sister; see Hurst and Kolde ad loc. S. R. West, 'Lykophron Italicised' 138–9 and others take the person who 'dies a second death' to be Odysseus; she regards the passage as interpolated. Parthenios 10, attributed to Soph. *Euryalos*, offers further twists (see Lightfoot's commentary); see also Aisch. fr. 275, Soph. fr. 453–61a.

¹¹⁷ Philochoros FGrHist 328 F 111; R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 475.

¹¹⁸ E.g. *Little Iliad* fr. 18, 25; *Iliupersis Argum.* 2. The killing of Priam at the altar was proverbial for sacrilege (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 2.526–53), and the catalogue of his violent deeds is as long as it is gruesome (Robert, *GH* 1255–63). For the art see Gantz 654–7.

him at Delphi (so also Paus. 4.17.4). Elsewhere he is represented as coming to Delphi with the impious intention of remonstrating with the god for the death of his father, or to despoil the sanctuary.¹¹⁹ The actual death may occur in an unseemly fracas over meat at a sacrifice.¹²⁰ An alternative tradition, however, first represented in Pindar's *Nemean* 7.40–7, seeks to put the record straight: Neoptolemos came to Delphi bringing offerings; in the fight over the meat, he was on the side of good order. This more positive portrait is reflected in Euripides' *Andromache*, according to which Neoptolemos made a second visit to ask forgiveness for his behaviour on the first; in his report of the murder, the messenger is at pains to stress Neoptolemos' blamelessness, and the perfidy of both the Delphians and Orestes, who egged them on. Diktys (6.12) says Neoptolemos went to Delphi to thank Apollo for the death of Paris. The motive in **Pher. fr. 64a** is also innocent: he goes to ask about Hermione's childlessness, a common reason in real life for consulting the oracle. Also in Pherekydes Neoptolemos intervenes to stop what he takes to be an abuse of the sacrifice. Thus far, Pherekydes would seem to belong to the defenders' team.

What happened next in Pherekydes is obscured by a difficulty in the text. Usually Neoptolemos is said to be killed by an anonymous Delphian or Delphians, or by Machaireus, 'Knife-Man', whose name identifies him as a sacrificant; in Asklepiades *FGrHist* 12 F 15, he is son of 'Daitas', 'Feast-man', ancestor of the priests at Didyma (Kallim. fr. 229.7, Strabo 9.3.9). Asklepiades claims that 'nearly all the poets' agree that Machaireus did the deed.¹²¹ Sometimes Neoptolemos is said to have been killed merely by the sword (*φάσγανον*, Eur. *Andr.* 1074, 1118, 1150; *ξίφος* Or. 1656), but in Pindar's seventh *Nemean* the word is *μάχαιρα*, the sacrificial knife. As the paradosis stands, Pherekydes appears to say that Neoptolemos killed himself with a *μάχαιρα*. Most editors have emended this to say that Machaireus killed Neoptolemos, which would accord with other testimonies just mentioned, and probably also Sophokles in his *Hermione*, since both Eustathios and Schol. *Od.* 4.4, in referring to this play, mention Machaireus.¹²² Stephanopoulos also notes that the scholion introduces the quotation with the words 'Pherekydes says Neoptolemos was killed' (*ἀνααιρεθῆναι*), which is an

¹¹⁹ Demanding justice: Soph. *Hermione* (p. 192 Radt); Eur. *Or.* 1657, *Andr.* 53; Strab. 9.3.9; Apollod. *Epit.* 6.14; schol. Pind. *Nem.* 7.58. Attacking the sanctuary: Paus. 10.7.1; Strab. loc. cit.; Apollod. *Epit.* 6.14; schol. Pind. *Nem.* 7.58.

¹²⁰ Pind. *Paeon* 6.118–20, *Nem.* 7.42; Pher. fr. 64a; cf. Paus. 10.24.4.

¹²¹ Machaireus also at schol. Eur. *Andr.* 53, 1151; Strabo 9.3.9; Euseb. a. 859.2 p. 54 Schoene; Georg. Synkell. p. 200.4 Mosshammer, 'Philoxenidas', another speaking name, is the killer in schol. Eur. *Andr.* 53 = Soudas *FGrHist* 602 F 9, where other guesses are offered. In that scholion there is no warrant for supplementing <Φερεκύδης>; apart from other names, <οἱ μὲν πλείστοι> is an obvious possibility.

¹²² Sommerstein regards the *Phthiotides* as identical with the *Hermione*; see his 2006 edition of Sophoclean fragmentary plays (with detailed discussion of the mythographical tradition), and *The Tangled Ways of Zeus* 67–70.

odd way to introduce a suicide.¹²³ The emendation would certainly produce a more obviously motivated narrative, but Pherekydes can be elliptical, and the emendation involves considerable rewriting. Sommerstein in his edition of Sophokles' *Hermione* simplifies Leopardus' emendation by retaining *μάχαιρα*; nonetheless, this still requires three changes to the paradosis. The very oddity of the text might be thought to defend it. Kleomenes is the obvious parallel, the Spartan king who went mad and killed himself with a knife (*μάχαιρα*). People up and down Greece had theories about the cause of his madness; apart from the Spartans, who had an interest in denying it, everybody said his sacrilege was to blame (Hdt. 6.75.3, 6.84). This could be the idea in Pherekydes, the sacrilege being the murder of Priam at the altar in Troy; but perhaps Pherekydes intimates too that his behaviour at Delphi was improper.

If (as must remain uncertain) this reading is correct, it may help to understand Pherekydes' handling of the story if we consider its link with aetiology. Whether Neoptolemos is said to have caused or prevented the disorderly distribution of the portions, disorder is the keynote. There is an important parallel in the life of Aesop, who mocked the Delphians for their manner of sacrifice: when a foreigner came to make a burnt offering, the locals circled the altar, each with a *μάχαιρα* concealed about his body; after the burning of the entrails they fell upon the meat and hacked away in a frenzy, each man getting as much as he could, so that sometimes the person offering the victim got nothing.¹²⁴ The Delphians took offence, and arranged for Aesop to be executed on a false charge; they were duly punished by the god, and instituted a cult of Aesop as compensation. The myths work as negative exempla for the proper conduct of the sacrifice, which Neoptolemos in death guarantees as overseer (Pind. *Nem.* 7.46–7). A familiar pattern obtains, of which Oidipous is a prime example: though he committed great offences, he was a great hero, so after life receives proportionate honours. Neoptolemos was buried under the very threshold of the temple, says Pherekydes.¹²⁵

¹²³ *Umgestaltung des Mythos durch Euripides* 61 n. 12.

¹²⁴ Perry, *Aesopica* 221; Burkert, *Gnomon* 38 (1966) 439–40, *HN* 119–20; Woodbury, 'Neoptolemos at Delphi' 108–9; Most, *The Measures of Praise* 163; Suárez de la Torre, 'Neoptolemos at Delphi'; I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans* 313–15; Kurke, *Aesopic Conversations* 75–94 (who argues that Neoptolemos' Thessalian connections make sense in the context of 6th-c. Hellenic politics).

¹²⁵ On the pattern see M. Visser, 'Worship Your Enemy'; Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual* 130–9. Asklep. *FGrHist* 12 F 15 says that according to nearly all poets he was subsequently moved elsewhere in the precinct; this was the shrine mentioned by Pindar and seen by Pausanias (10.24.6; cf. Paus. 9.3.9). The previous burial beneath the threshold is then of purely mythical/symbolic significance; as to what that significance might be, one can only speculate. Like Frazer, *Apollo* 2.256, I can find no exact parallel in Greek legend for this burial. The tomb of Aitolos was at the gate of Olympia (Paus. 5.4.4; → §4.2); the tomb of Laomedon was above the gate at Troy (Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 2.241), and Troy was safe so long as he was. Theoklymenos buried Proteus 'at the door' so he could always address him going out and in (Eur. *Hel.* 1165–8). Laomedon at least has a clear apotropaic and defensive function, like a herm and other rituals of the doorway; perhaps Neoptolemos was thought of as a key protector of the sanctuary (does *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 538 reflect all this? Note the knife at 535.) Cf. Ogle, 'The House-Door in Greek and Roman Religion and Folk-Lore'. L. Weiser-Aall in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 7.1511 has some examples from other cultures of actual burial under the threshold. Curiously, Virgil dwells on the image of the berserk Neoptolemos standing on the threshold of Priam's palace (*Aen.* 2.469, 485, 500).

Even in versions where he comes to Delphi with honourable motives he is slain as he deserves to be. Whatever version of the myth is told, there will be this mix of good and bad, innocent and culpable; the only question is the balance. So there is no difficulty in supposing that Pherekydes has positive (or at least neutral) as well as negative things to say about Neoptolemos. The difficulty arises from the abruptness of his account, which may in turn arise from an awareness of the ritual link, aetiological myths often being more concerned to reflect the emotional dynamic of the ritual than polish a narrative. If the text is emended to introduce Machaireus, the balance swings back more to the positive; but Neoptolemos' previous offences remain on the record.

Neoptolemos' childlessness with Hermione is the reason for his visit to Delphi also in schol. Pind. *Nem.* 7.58, and in Euripides' *Andromache* Hermione thinks Andromache has made her barren with potions (32–3). This is a fixture of the tradition (cf. Paus. 1.11.1); apart from the unknown and doubtless late tragedian Sklerias no one says they had children (schol. Eur. *Andr.* 32, em. Schwartz; *TrGF* 213 F 3). Teisamenos, son of Orestes and Hermione, had an important role in the story of the return of the Herakleidai and was buried (ultimately) at Sparta (Paus. 7.1.8); one may suppose that Spartan propaganda succeeded in suppressing memory of any other descent, if there was any such tradition. The marginal Molossians might have liked to claim the pure Greek Hermione as their ancestor, but had to content themselves with the Trojan Andromache as Neoptolemos' partner.

The conflict between the two would-be husbands made the story attractive to playwrights, beginning with Sophokles in his *Hermione*, and continuing through Euripides and other, lost tragedians to Rome; in this tradition we eventually find the idea that it was Orestes who killed Neoptolemos.¹²⁶ Sometimes the sequence is that Orestes was betrothed to Hermione before Menelaos went to Troy, where he changed his mind and gave her to Neoptolemos instead; but we also hear that she was given to Orestes by Tyndareos first during the war (so e.g. Sophokles). The tattered state of *Pher. fr. 135A* is enough to show that Pherekydes was aware of the double wedding, but not to tell us his version of events.

§18.5.12 CHILDREN OF ELEKTRA (Hellan. fr. 155; Pher. fr. 180)

Pylades' genealogy is reported by Pausanias from the archaic poet Asios (fr. 5): he is son of Strophios, son of Krisos, son of Phokos; the last two are eponyms of the city Krisa and the region Phokis (Hes. fr. 58). Pylades is not so far attested in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*,

¹²⁶ Philokles *TrGF* 24 F 2, Theognis *TrGF* 28 F 2 and other writers quoted by schol. Eur. *Andr.* 53, Livius Andronicus and Pacuvius (see Sommerstein and Talbot, *Sophocles: Selected Fragmentary Plays* 1.22–5), Verg. *Aen.* 3.330–2 (the first surviving source to say that Orestes killed Neoptolemos), Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 3.297, 3.330, 11.264, Vell. Pat. 1.1.3, Hyg. *Fab.* 123, Justin 17.3.7, [Liban.] *Prog. Narr.* 14 (8.42 Foerster), Diktys 6.13; also Apollod. *Epit.* 6.14, Heliod. 2.34.3, Georg. Synkell. p. 200.3–4 Mosshammer. Cf. Robert, *GH* 1467.

but his mother Anaxibia, Agamemnon's sister, is there (fr. 194).¹²⁷ This genealogy, or something like it, recurs in *Pher. fr. 180*, though the ascription depends on a somewhat adventurous emendation; the MSS read 'Krates', now fr. 86 Broggiato, which the editor is inclined to accept as genuine. The scholion is corrupt in other ways too; Kydragora, an alternative name for Anaxibia in the note on l. 33, has intruded, and an oddly worded afterthought says it was in fact Strophios' father who married Kydragora.

The young avenger maturing in exile is a common enough figure in real life as in folktale; he need not acquire a bosom companion—in the *Odyssey* Orestes acts alone—but he often does, and such an accomplice is useful for many purposes. Gilgamesh and Enkidu are the ancient archetype. Pylades and Orestes head the list of those *qui inter se amicitia iunctissimi fuerunt* in Hyg. *Fab.* 257.¹²⁸ They are together in Proklos' summary of the *Nostoi*, and appear next in Pindar, *Pyth.* 11.15. Pylades would not have been missing in Stesichoros' *Oresteia*. Orestes' betrothal of his sister Elektra to Pylades is attested, apart from *Hellan. fr. 155*, first in Euripides, and thereafter becomes standard;¹²⁹ but the sons Strophios and Medon are mentioned only by Hellanikos, a scholion on Eur. *Or.* 1654, and Stephanos of Byzantium, who omits Strophios and calls the other son 'Medeon' (p. 439.19 Meineke). (Pausanias 3.1.6 knows there were children but does not name them.) Stephanos appears to say he was the eponym of the city in Boiotia (*Il.* 2.501), but he mentions the Phokian city as well (Strabo 9.2.26, Paus. 10.3.2; *IACP* no. 186), and this must be the place to which this Medeon was attached. The information probably figured also in Hellanikos, given mythographers' liking for eponyms.

§18.6 Aineias (Akous. fr. 39; Dam. fr. 3; Hellan. fr. 31, 84; Menek. fr. 3)

According to the Mythographus Homericus, Akousilaos related the familiar tale of Aphrodite and Anchises (*Akous. fr. 39*). If the details may be relied on, he asked a good question: why, if Aphrodite wanted the house of Priam to fall, did she fight on the Trojan side? It was a feint, to ensure that they did not give Helen back straight away, and thus met with utter destruction. This is a bleak view of the gods' motives and actions, comparable to Homer's. In the *Iliad* it is clear that Zeus will bring Troy down for its defiance of his laws. The Trojans try to excuse themselves, blaming the gods for their troubles (*Il.* 3.156, 164–5); but when the obvious proposal is made to return Helen, Paris rejects it,

¹²⁷ One could do with better authority for Hesiod than Tzetzes (Weizsäcker, Roscher, *Lex. s.v.* Pylades; C. Robert, *Oidipus* 2.139), and since 'Anaxibios' perhaps appears in fr. 195 as a brother, a sister 'Anaxibia' as well may be unlikely. See also schol. Eur. *Or.* 765; the sister is named 'Kydragora' in schol. Eur. *Or.* 33, 'Astyochea' in Hyg. *Fab.* 117. Further Eur. *IT* 917–19, Arist. fr. 640.42, Apollod. *Epit.* 6.24, Hyg. *Fab.* 119 etc.; Radke, *RE* 23.2 2078. In Aisch. *Agam.* 880, Strophios is only a family friend.

¹²⁸ Cf. Xen. *Symp.* 8.31; Robert, *GH* 1305 n. 1.

¹²⁹ Eur. *El.* 1249, 1340, *Or.* 1092, 1207, 1658–9; Apollod. *Epit.* 6.28; Hyg. *Fab.* 122.

and Priam meekly supports him. While Zeus acts to enforce his laws of justice, the other gods take every opportunity to further their own interests. Aphrodite in Akousilaos is no different. She acts on the basis of intelligence received: an oracle has said that the descendants of Anchises would rule Troy; craving honour like any god, she takes steps to ensure that this works to her advantage.

The prophecy is one that Poseidon pronounces in the *Iliad* (20.307–8) and Aphrodite herself in the Homeric hymn (196–7). Akousilaos, thinking once again about the actual sequence of events, realizes that the prophecy must have preceded both these pronouncements, so puts it first in his narrative. Another detail is Anchises' age at the time of his encounter with the goddess: 'already past his prime'. If one asks why Akousilaos thought this was so, the answer could well lie in the tradition that Aineias carried his aged father out of Troy during the sack. Akousilaos thus becomes the oldest literary witness to this, unless one accepts, on the evidence of the *Tabulae Iliacae*, that the story was in Stesichoros (*PMGF* 205).¹³⁰ In the Homeric hymn, by contrast, Anchises' vigorous beauty is repeatedly emphasized (55, 77; cf. 200–1, 218–19 on his family).¹³¹ The story is well represented in art from the second half of the sixth century, especially on the coins of Aineia, which Aineias is supposed to have founded (*IACP* no. 557; Gantz 715; *LIMC* Aineias nos 59–87; Erskine, *Troy Between Greece and Rome* 93–8). It is hard to see what else the striking image of Anchises on Aineias' back would convey if not the son's piety.¹³²

The prophecy has most often been understood as glorifying a clan of historical Aineiadaí ruling in the Troad. Recently it has been a trend to deny this; but though the evidence for the existence of this clan is less strong than once thought, the two prophecies are striking, and require an explanation outside the texts in which they are found.¹³³

¹³⁰ Even if no Roman elements figured in the representations doubt would be in order about the subscription, which is in principle no different from 'the story is in X' in the *historiai* of mythographic scholia. For discussion of the *Tabula* and Stesichoros see Horsfall, 'Stesichorus at Bovillae?' and 'The Aeneas-Legend' 14–15 (sceptical); Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus* 191–4 (broadly accepting). Squire, 'Texts on the Tables', makes somewhat different points. See also Gantz 714–15.

¹³¹ The hymn is probably the innovator here; the poet also innovates in making Zeus the instigator of the affair (see Faulkner's commentary, p. 136). The hymn and Akous. are the only connected accounts surviving; though the story was well known, all references are mere passing allusions (e.g. Hes. *Th.* 1008–10; Simias fr. 6 Powell; Theok. *Id.* 1.105–6 with scholia, 20. 34; Longus 4.17.6; *AP* 6.76, 16.168, 16.357; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.141; Nonn. *Dion.* 15.210; Verg. *Aen.* 1.617; Ov. *Her.* 16.203–4; perhaps Prop. 2.32.33–40; see further Graf in *BNP*, Wörner in Roscher, *Lex.* s.v. Anchises). The story that Anchises bragged about his affair and was punished by Zeus with a thunderbolt (Soph. fr. 273, Verg. *Aen.* 2.649, Hyg. *Fab.* 94, Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 1.617) was probably known to the *Ilias Parva*, which suggests that in some of the vase paintings he is meant to be crippled, not old (or not only old). See Faulkner on *Hymn. Hom. Aphr.* 286–8.

¹³² Cf. Xen. *Kyneg.* 1.15 (if genuine); Horsfall, 'Some Problems in the Aeneas Legend' 384–5; 'The Aeneas-Legend' 13–14. In Hellan., Aineias does not carry Anchises on his back (p. 169.31). He does take the 'ancestral gods' with him, but this does not indicate contamination from Roman tradition in Dionysios' report; cf. the Phokaians in Hdt. 1.164.3.

¹³³ Faulkner, op. cit. 3–18, and Bugno, 'Enea e gli Eneadi in Troade', provide thorough reviews of the arguments and literature.

Menek. fr. 3 may be thought to imply this tradition *e contrario*: Aineias, thinking himself insulted by Alexandros, overthrows Priam and 'became one of the Achaioi': a variant born of malice. There are parallels for this dishonourable behaviour in Dares (39) and Diktys (4.18, 22; 5.1), who say that Aineias and Antenor together led a treasonable rebellion against Priam to make peace with the Greeks. Dionysios (*Ant. Rom.* 1.48.4) reports other versions, also hostile, in which Aineias was entirely absent from Troy for one reason or another, and so missed the whole thing.

Since the story of Aineias' departure from Troy was fixed already in the archaic period, to make the prophecy about his progeny work one of two solutions was adopted: either (i) that Aineias did not go any farther than Ida; or (ii) that he went somewhat further afield, but his son returned to the Troad to establish the dynasty.

(i) Although none of the testimonies is complete, it looks as though there was a tradition that Aineias established a community on Ida, which was subsequently ruled by Askanios (*Iliupersis Argum.* 1, Soph. fr. 373, Konon *Dieg.* 41, Strabo 13.1.53 after Demetrios of Skepsis fr. 35 Gaede = *FGrHist* cont'd 2013 F 35).¹³⁴ Demetrios said that Askanios was son of Aineias, if Strabo is already following him at 13.1.52.

(ii) Aineias goes as far as Chalkidike, and founds Aineia; one of his sons returned later to Troy or to a place near Troy. This is what we find in **Hell. fr. 31**, in which the son in question is the eldest, Askanios. In Hellanikos the temporary dwelling-place of Askanios is Daskylion near Kyzikos (cf. Lysimachos *FGrHist* 382 F 9), where his father had sent him for safe-keeping. The name of Askanios is known from the epic tradition as a Trojan ally (*Il.* 2.862–3, 13.792), who comes from Askania in Mysia (cf. 'Lake Askania' in Hellan. fr. 31, p. 170.22). Hellanikos is the first surviving source to make him a son of Aineias, followed by Demetrios of Skepsis (above). Demetrios, like Hellanikos, conjoins Skamandrios and Aineias, referring to the dominion of the two γένη, which suggests that not only Aineiadaí but Hektoridaí claimed to rule in the Troad; this contradicts what Homer implies in the Hektor–Andromache scene of Book Six, as well as the *Iliupersis* and vase-paintings which show the death of Astyanax. A similar tradition is implied by Xanthos the Lydian, *FGrHist* 765 F 14, who says that after the war Skamandrios led an emigration from Phrygia to (presumably) the Troad.¹³⁵

The evidence for (ii) is older than for (i), but the impulse behind both is the same, and it would be no surprise if an old inscription or coin turned up to corroborate (i). The idea that Astyanax survived the sack is attributed to οἱ νεώτεροι by schol. *Il.* 24.735b, which sometimes means the authors of the Epic Cycle, but not in this instance. As a

¹³⁴ In the *Iliupersis* and Soph., Aineias goes to Ida after the death of Laokoon; we do not learn if he and his descendants stayed there, so it is possible that, as in Hellanikos, they were forced out by the Achaeans. In that case the *Iliupersis* and Soph. belong with solution ii.

¹³⁵ On this tradition see also Anaxikrates *FGrHist* 307 F 1, Abas 46 F 1, Nik. Dam. 90 F 26, Strabo 14.5.29, Konon *Dieg.* 46, schol. Eur. *Androm.* 10, Steph. Byz. *α.426*; Wilamowitz' 121 n. 3, *Die Ilias und Homer* 83, 293; Robert, *GH* 986 n. 7; Schmidt, *RE* 3A.1 427; Radt on Strabo 13.1.25 p. 593C.

resident of the region, Hellanikos must have drawn on local tradition, whether oral or written. Dionysios' account of fr. 31 is coherent and based on Hellanikos, but for one detail, the remark at 1.47.2 about Elymos and Aigestos, which contradicts Hellan. fr. 79b (→§175) but accords with other accounts favoured by Dionysios. This was easily added. The extremely circumstantial narrative may owe something to Dionysios' embellishment, but if so he was only exaggerating a tendency we see in other fragments of Hellanikos such as 28, 71, or 125.¹³⁶

In this tradition not only did Skamandrios survive, but Neoptolemos allowed him to return, after taking him and other sons of Hektor as captives to Greece. The sack of Troy was proverbially brutal, with Neoptolemos at the fore; his unexpected clemency leaves no other trace in archaic literature and art, and must be a function of the larger requirement to keep Skamandrios and others alive. His willingness in fr. 31 to negotiate with the refugees on Ida may be part of this portrait. Possibly Sophokles' sympathetic depiction of the young Neoptolemos in his *Philoktetes* drew inspiration from such passages, although it has all the hallmarks of idiosyncrasy.

Perhaps too Neoptolemos played some part in the astonishing story in Hellan. fr. 84, that Aineias came from the Molossoi to Italy with Odysseus; Molossia was of course Neoptolemos' kingdom (*Nostoi* Arg. 4; Pind. *Nem.* 7.38; Eur. *Andr.* 1248; Apollod. *Epit.* 6.12–13). The fragment is attributed by Dionysios to 'the writer who compiled the list of priestesses at Argos and the events in each one's tenure', which must be Hellanikos; no competitor is known.¹³⁷ Dionysios so designates him here because the paragraph is about chronology. Damastes (fr. 3) is said to agree with Hellanikos, with whom he is conjoined also in Dam. fr. 1, 5 and 11b, quoted by three different authorities. Dionysios is a good source, who read Hellanikos, and speaks here unambiguously; the agreement of Damastes also forbids hyperscepticism. The reading 'with Odysseus' is confirmed by Eusebios and Georgios Synkellos; 'after Odysseus' is a *lectio facilior*, almost bound to occur. This is therefore as firm a testimonium as one could expect; it is rejected only by scholars who find it *a priori* impossible to believe that Hellanikos could have said anything about Rome.

The fragment is regrettably unclear in one respect: in the Greek, do the words μετ' Ὀδυσσέως belong with ἐλθόντα or with οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι? Is Hellanikos saying that 'Aineias came from the Molossoi to Italy and with Odysseus founded the city', or 'Aineias came from the Molossoi to Italy with Odysseus and founded the city'?¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Aineias continued his journey, as we learn from fr. 84; there is no contradiction with fr. 31 (Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus* 196). Two small details in the account are worth noting: Ophryinion (pp. 169.4, 170.5) was later believed to be the site of Hektor's grave (Lykoph. *Alex.* 1208–13; Strab. 13.1.29 with Radt; Jacoby on Anaxikrates *FGrHist* 307 F 1, esp. n. 12); the hospitable Krousaioi (p. 170.32) recur in Dion. Hal. 1.49.4 and Konon *Dieg.* 46.

¹³⁷ In the new test. **14A (see Part B = Hek. test. 17A), Theon designates Hellanikos by the same phrase.

¹³⁸ Solmsen, "Aeneas Founded Rome with Odysseus" 95 accepts the first with little argument; Prinz 155–6 and Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus* 195 n. 88 accept the second.

Word-order favours meeting in Molossia. As a search through his text easily confirms, Dionysios treats γενέσθαι in indirect discourse as a weak word occupying an unstressed place in its colon, most commonly the second.¹³⁹ If a colon is to begin with μετ' Ὀδυσσέως we must regard μετ' Ὀδυσσέως οἰκιστὴν as closely cohering, almost a single lexeme. But it is harsh to do so, because there are two pieces of information here: Aineias founded the city, and he did so with Odysseus. Any one of three alternatives would be a more natural way of expressing this idea: οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως μετ' Ὀδυσσέως, οἰκιστὴν τῆς πόλεως μετ' Ὀδυσσέως γενέσθαι (moving the verb all the way to the end), or οἰκιστὴν τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι μετ' Ὀδυσσέως ('city-founder' being a single concept). So on grounds of idiom one prefers to understand a story that Aineias and Odysseus somehow linked up in Epeiros before getting to Italy.¹⁴⁰ Aineias founded and named the city, but he came there with Odysseus, who must therefore have had business in Latium.

It would not be difficult to concoct a story of their meeting in Epeiros, for Odysseus had dealings after Troy with this general region and with Neoptolemos in particular. According to the *Telegony* (*Argum.* 2) Odysseus was king of Thesprotia for a while; according to Apollodoros, *Epit.* 7.40 (cf. Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 14 p. 294c–d) Neoptolemos acted as arbiter in the dispute between Odysseus and the suitors' families after the slaughter, as a result of which Odysseus was exiled, and went to Italy. Aineias himself called on Helenos and Andromache in Molossia en route to Italy (Agathokles *FGrHist* 472 F 5a, *Aen.* 3.209–505); Dionysios (*Ant. Rom.* 1.50–1) describes in detail his progress up the coast of the Ionian Sea, founding sanctuaries of Aphrodite as he went. Varro (ap. Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 3.256) says that Aineias consulted the oracle at Dodona; Simias of Rhodes (fr. 6 Powell) claims Neoptolemos took him back to Greece as a prisoner.¹⁴¹ An enterprising mythographer, confronted with two traditions, one involving Aineias as founder of Rome and the other involving Odysseus' activity in Latium, might have combined them thus. He might also have chosen to have them meet first in Italy; this is the version of Lykophron (*Alex.* 1242–5), where Kassandra prophesies that the 'dwarf' (νᾶνος), though an enemy, after much wandering will join in friendship with Aineias in

¹³⁹ E.g. *Ant. Rom.* 1.10.3 μυθολογοῦσιν αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι; 1.11.3 λέγεται κατ' ἀρχὰς γενεῶν; 1.14.5 λέγεται χρηστήριον Ἄρεος γενεῶν (χρηστ. Ἄρ. a single word; Ἄρεος could follow γενέσθαι if it were receiving special emphasis); 1.27.1 λέγοντες ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Γῆς Μάνην γενεῶν (a genealogy of several generations, headed by Manes); etc.

¹⁴⁰ Rudolf Kassel adds (*per litt.*) to this argument: 'Wäre es nicht auch seltsam, daß mit ὀνομάσαι δ' αὐτὴν κτλ. nur von Aineias als handelndem Gründer gesprochen wird, wenn er einen zweiten neben sich hatte?'

¹⁴¹ For Epeiros, Thesprotia and the *Odyssey* see Malkin's detailed discussion, *The Returns of Odysseus* 120–55; for the textual problem in Simias (transmitted by Tzetzes as a fragment of the *Little Iliad*) see Perale, *Il. Parv.* fr. 21 Bernabé. Simias' idiosyncratic story is no warrant for thinking that Aineias was a prisoner in Hellanikos. The joint venture of Odysseus and Aineias suggests he was not.

Italy. Since antiquity this has been taken to refer to Odysseus, short of stature (Il. 3.193, Od. 6.230).¹⁴²

Odysseus himself is nowhere else founder of Rome, but he was father by Kirke of the founder Rhomos according to the Hellenistic historian Xenagoras (*FGrHist* 240 F 29 = 840 F 17), father of Rhomanos according to Plutarch *Rom.* 2.1, also with Kirke. The tradition that Kirke and Odysseus were parents of Italian eponyms goes back to the ending of the *Theogony* which, whether Hesiodic or not, is at all events archaic; there, he is father of Agrios, a name of disputed reference, and Latinos (1013). The Ausones are his descendants too in a variety of sources.¹⁴³ Rome itself appears in the Greek literary tradition as early as Antiochos fr. 6 (→§17.5), then in Aristotle and Herakleides of Pontos.¹⁴⁴ In all probability the Greeks were aware of the treaty between Rome and Carthage of the late sixth century, which had great significance for Sicily.¹⁴⁵ Other Trojans such as Aigestos (→§17.5) or Helenos (above) or Kapys (*Hek. FGrHist* 1 F 62) founded cities on the periphery of the Greek world. Aineias was almost as much-travelled as Odysseus: various traditions bring him, among other places, to Crete, Delos, Arkadia, Sicily, and especially Etruria.¹⁴⁶ So there would be no difficulty in saying that either one of these heroes founded Rome; and if Hellanikos had nominated one of them, it would be unremarkable. But to involve *both* in the story implies that neither could be ignored, and a moment's reflection reveals the probable implication of this: if Aineias was there already, chauvinism must have insisted that a Greek had to be involved too; but if Odysseus was there first, why add Aineias? The inference is that both traditions had enough traction in Hellanikos' day to require this construct.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² They nearly meet in Italy under different circumstances in a story mentioned by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 12.16.1, Festus s.v. Saturnia (p. 432 Lindsay) and the *Origo gent. Rom.* 12.2 (ascribed to 'Marcus Octavius'; cf. Plut. *Aet. Rom.* 10 p. 266c-e). 'Nanas' is the name of the Pelasgian king who emigrated to Italy in Hellan. fr. 4 (→§2.1 at n. 31); whatever Hellenistic scholar-poets might have made of this coincidence, one need not excogitate a theory that Hellanikos' Nanas was really Odysseus. On the problem, see Horsfall's succinct judgement, 'Some Problems in the Aeneas Legend' 381. For an overview of the complicated traditions of Odysseus in Italy see Phillips, 'Odysseus in Italy'; Prinz 153-7; S. R. West, 'Lycophron Italicised' 138-41; Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus* 178-209.

¹⁴³ Ps.-Skymn. 229; Verrius Flaccus ap. Fest. p. 16 Lindsay; Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 8.328; schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 44; Eust. *Od.* 1379. 20 and on Dion Perieg. 78; *Etym. Magn.* 171. 15. On Kirke's localization see Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus* 187-9.

¹⁴⁴ Fr. 609-10 = *FGrHist* 840 FF 13, 23; Herakleides fr. 102 Wehrli = *FGrHist* 840 F 23. Jacoby thought Alkimos of Sicily might have been 4th c. (*FGrHist* 560 F 4); also Dionysios of Chalkis (*FGrHist* 840 F 10). The date of Xenagoras, *FGrHist* 240, is undeterminable (Higbie, *The Lindian Temple Chronicle* 74). Strasburger (*Studien zur alten Geschichte* 2.1023-4) and others have argued that, though he himself is later, the legend he reports in 240 F 29 reflects a 5th-c.-BC state of affairs. By the 3rd c. the list of Greek writers who mention Rome is long.

¹⁴⁵ Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus* 201-2 after Walbank.

¹⁴⁶ Robert, *GH* 1516-26; Horsfall, 'The Aeneas-Legend' 13.

¹⁴⁷ Momigliano, 'Interpretazioni minime' 109: 'la combinazione di Enea e di Ulisse ha l'aria di un compromesso tra due versioni, una che faceva di Roma una fondazione troiana e l'altra che la faceva greca'.

Possibly, the Greek neighbours of Latium held this view about Aineias, and it somehow found its way back to Hellanikos, perhaps by way of Antiochos, who was also a source for Thucydides. Hellanikos elsewhere reveals his knowledge of native (south) Italian tradition (fr. 111; →§8.4.11). That the myth of Aineias was established in some form already at this date among the Latins and/or Romans is, however, a possibility worth considering seriously. Greek myth including that of Aineias was well known in Etruria and Latium for two centuries before Hellanikos wrote.¹⁴⁸ Hercules was worshipped in the Forum Boarium *Graeco ritu* from at least the end of the sixth century. Archaeology shows that the Etruscans freely adopted and radically modified Greek legends to suit their own purposes, and one would expect the same procedure among the Latins. Appropriating such stories allowed them to claim a place in the larger world; they bought into the Greek myths, but changed them to make them their own. We cannot prove that the Romans themselves, whatever other Latins thought, had adopted Aineias as their founder; among later Romans only Sallust says this (*Cat.* 6.1), and Roman tradition placed Aineias in Lavinium. On current evidence we cannot prove that Aineias was known in Rome of the fifth century BC, but we can say that it was possible, and that Hellanikos could well have known that they knew.¹⁴⁹

The other part of Hellanikos' story is the tale of Rhome and the burning of the ships. This is a roving anecdote, variously localized, though it is always part of the Nostoi, and Trojan women are always the perpetrators, whether as free women or captives in a Greek fleet.¹⁵⁰ The claim of southern Italy and Sicily is perhaps strongest, and may be

¹⁴⁸ Horsfall, 'The Aeneas-Legend' 18-19; Wiseman, *JRS* 79 (1989) 131-2 = *Historiography and Imagination* 26-9; Ampolo, 'La ricezione dei miti greci nel Lazio'; Lowenstam, *As Witnessed by Images* 124-73.

¹⁴⁹ The bibliography on the founding of Rome, about which ancient traditions are bewildering in their variety (30-plus known versions), is immense. The following may be cited, which also provide further bibliography: Perret, *Les Origines de la légende troyenne de Rome*; Bickerman, 'Origines Gentium'; Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome* and 'Aeneas in Latium'; Cornell, 'Aeneas and the Twins' and *The Beginnings of Rome* 48-80 (64-6 on Hellanikos); Poucet, *Les Origines de Rome* 184-92; Solmsen, 'Aeneas Founded Rome with Odysseus'; Horsfall, 'Some Problems in the Aeneas Legend' and 'The Aeneas-Legend from Homer to Virgil'; Bremmer, 'Romulus, Remus, and the Foundation of Rome'; Canciani, *LIMC* 1.1 381-96; Momigliano, 'How to Reconcile Greeks and Trojans'; Ampolo, 'Enea ed Ulisse nel Lazio'; Gruen, *Cultural and National Identity* 6-51; Wiseman, *Remus and Unwritten Rome* 231-3; Ballabriga, 'Survie et descendance d'Enée'; Erskine, *Between Greece and Rome* 23-7, 145-8.

¹⁵⁰ Strabo (6.1.14) already comments that the incident is placed in many locations; cf. Arist. fr. 609 ap. Plut. *Aet. Rom.* 6 p. 265b. Hellan. as reported by Dion. Hal. does not say they are free, but probably they were; cf. Plut. *Virt. Mul.* 1, *Rom.* 1.2, Polyainos 8.25.2. These writers like Hellan. put the incident at or near Rome; others place it in Sicily (Segesta): Verg. *Aen.* 5.604-99, and τῶς in Dion. Hal. 1.52.4, both with free Trojans; the *Origo Gent. Rom.* 10.4 says Caieta, citing Caesar and Sempronius. With captive Trojans: at Rome, Herakleides Lembos ap. Fest. p. 329 Lindsay (*Solinus Coll.* 1.2, Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 1.273) = *FGrHist* 840 F 13b (on the initiative of Rhome); in the land of the Opikoi, at a place called Latinion (!), Arist. fr. 609 = 804 F 13ac; at Setaion near Sybaris, Steph. Byz. s.v. Σηταίων, Lykoph. *Alex.* 1075; at the river Nauaitchos/Neaitchos near Kroton, Lykoph. *Alex.* 921 with Tzetzes ad loc. citing Apollodoros (*Epit.* 6.15c), Strabo 6.1.12, schol. Theok. 4.24 (perhaps with Philoktetes; cf. Robert, *GH* 1500); at Pisae, Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 10.179; at Pallene (Skione), Strab. 7 fr. 14a; Konon *Dieg.* 13 (with Protesilaos); Steph. Byz. s.v. Σκίωνη; Polyainos 7.47.

taken as archaic; but Hellanikos' Latium could also go back to early Greek settlers, looking for ways to understand the half-barbarian tribes on their periphery, as they did in Sicily. He was followed by Aristotle¹⁵¹ and Aristotle's epitomizer Herakleides Lembos. The name of the Trojan woman who initiated the arson, if she was named at all, cannot have been Rhome, who is simply the eponym of the city. For some reason Hellanikos put these two pieces of information together, not as one might think altogether convincingly. The story never gained any purchase among Romans, for whom Romulus was the city's eponym by an early date (known to Eratosthenes as Aineias' grandson, *FGrHist* 242 F 45).¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ In spite of 'Opikoi'; 'Latinion' seems decisive.

¹⁵² Rhome as eponym (but not as a ship-burner) turns up in various sources, who are obviously speculating: a daughter of Askanios who dedicated the temple of Fides on the Palatine upon arrival in Rome: Agathokles *FGrHist* 472 F 5a = 840 F 18a (cf. 472 F 5b = 840 F 18b); daughter of Evander: anonymi in 840 F 40d; a prophetess: others, *ibid.*; daughter of Odysseus and Kirke: Serv. Dan. on Verg. *Aen.* 1.273; daughter of Telemachos: Kleinias 819 F 1, 'Galitas' 818 F 1; daughter of Italos and Leukaria (or of Telephos son of Herakles), and married Aineias (some say Askanios): Plut. *Rom.* 2.1; wife of a Trojan refugee Latinus: Festus p. 329 Lindsay = 840 F 14b; daughter of a Trojan woman of the same name, married Latinus son of Odysseus, mother of Rhomylos: Plut. *Rom.* 2.1, cf. 'Galitas' 818 F 1. She competes with Rhomos, who is son of Kirke and Odysseus, or of Rhome and Latinus (son of Odysseus), or of Italos and Leukaria (as Rhome in Plutarch loc. cit.), or of Emathion, or of Askanios, or of Aineias, or even of Zeus: Xenagoras *FGrHist* 240 F 9 = 840 F 17; Alkimos 560 F 4 = 840 F 12; Kallias 564 F 5 = 840 F 14a; Hegesianax 45 F 9 = 840 F 21, 45 F 10 = 840 F 40b; Dionysios of Chalkis, 840 F 10; anonymi, 840 F 11 (from Dion. Hal. 1.72.6); other anonymi in Plut. *Rom.* 2.1; *complures* in Agathokles 472 F 5a = 840 F 19; Antigonos 816 F 1; *τινές* in Dion. Hal. 1.73.2. For the vexed problem of the relationship between Rhomos, Rhomylos, and Remus, see Wiseman, *Remus*, who translates the sources in his appendix. The story of the twins is native Roman.

§19

THE MIGRATIONS

§19.1 Introduction

IN southern Anatolia, particularly at Miletos, the archaeological record is sufficiently rich to prove Greek settlement already in the Mycenaean period; further north, however, the finds need indicate no more than regular trading contacts or Mycenaean outposts.¹ After the fall of Mykenai, some evidence for continuous habitation can be advanced (Miletos has the strongest claim), but it is clear that new migrations began in the twelfth century, in most cases after a break in Greek occupation or presence.² The mythological tradition reflects this new start, but predictably reduces a drawn-out and complex process to a series of one-off ventures by heroic figures. Any attempt to decode these into history beyond the most basic level is futile. Occasionally, broad correlations can be made; for instance, clear links between the material culture of Ionia and Athens in the Geometric period *prima facie* support the literary tradition of their ethnic identity. But given that the migrations preceded the advent of our written records by centuries, one has to cope with all the usual effects of oral traditions upon these sources, which change continually to reflect contemporary concerns. Their liberal deployment of favourite motifs such as misunderstood oracles also shows that the story-telling is the main concern, not the preservation of a historical account.³

What we have in the stories is a basic structure whereby autochthonous and barbarous folk (often with a somewhat complicated history) give way to the Greeks and their stable, secure poleis. This progression from barbarian to Greek, from chaos to order, matters more than the history; indeed, it is notable that the memory of Greek presence

¹ C. Mee in Shelmerdine, *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age* 373; S. Deger-Jalkotzy, *BNP* 3.560–1; Greaves, *Miletos* 56–9; Niemeier, 'Minoans, Mycenaeans, Hittites and Ionians' 10–20. Extensive bibliography in S. Blakely's *BNJ* commentary on Konon *Dieg.* 2.

² Vanschoonwinkel, *L'Égée et la méditerranée orientale* 180, 398 and 'Greek Migrations to Aegean Anatolia'; Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* 27–8 (noting the claims also of Kos and Rhodes); Greaves, *Miletos* 63–5, 75–6 (with some caution); Lemos, 'The Migrations to the West Coast of Asia Minor'. Crielaard, 'The Ionians in the Archaic Period' 55–7 argues for more continuous inhabitation than usually allowed, and questions the amount of migration.

³ Greaves, *The Land of Ionia* 223.

prior to the migrations has often been altogether erased. An earlier settlement from Crete is the form this memory seems to take in the case of Miletos, Kolophon, Erythrai, and Chios; Minyans from Orchomenos in the case of Teos. However, both Minyans and Cretans are somewhat ambivalent signifiers of Greekness: they are in the Greek fold in important ways (Cretans under Idomeneus fight for the Greeks in Homer, who also knows of Greeks from 'Minyan Orchomenos'), but Cretans, at any rate, have no connection whatever with Hellen, and both geographically and symbolically the island is on the edge of the Greek world, connoting Greekness in the myths ambiguously at best (→§11.1).⁴ Moreover, many scholars have preferred to see the Cretan stories rather as a reflection of the Minoan presence on the Anatolian coast; the tradition is particularly strong at Miletos. But in that case, the Mycenaean have dropped out of the picture altogether, for the tradition records the Ionians as the next inhabitants.⁵ Minyas' place in the genealogies is thoroughly obscure, though the Minyans are casually subsumed among the Aioliens in various ways (→§5.5).

The process of oral deformation continued well into the classical period, from which most of our mythographical fragments come or descend. Though these fragments can yield insights into archaic history, they yield more immediate results if considered as documents of their own age, and examples of retrospective construction of history and/or myth. By the classical period we have sufficient contemporary evidence to begin, however tentatively, to assess the impact of these stories precisely on their contemporary audiences, and make some informed guesses as to why they take the form they do. The striking thing is that they present the foundations neither as collectively Greek nor as the work of individual cities, but as Ionian, Dorian, or Aiolian. For the Ionians, it is notable that the migration involved peoples from many different cities, but that somehow in the end, the new cities were all Ionian. Though the story-pattern reflects the historical nature of many such expeditions, the rosters in our sources are hardly passenger-lists drawn up at embarkation, but rather make the point that this was a collective venture out of which a single new identity emerged. The colony is at once a motley group of people forming a single identity, and one city in a group comprising the

⁴ For Kolophon, Pausanias explicitly says that the Cretan founder Rhakios was Greek; another source says he came from Mykenai (below, n. 55). Miletos, Erythrai and Chios were settled by descendants of Minos.

⁵ Archaeology establishes the sequence aboriginal Anatolian, Minoan, Mycenaean, Hittite, Greek (see Greaves, *Miletos*; Niemeier 'Minoans...' and 'Milet und Karien'; Davis in Shelmardine, *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age* 199); Karians do not form a discrete stage in the material record. In the *Iliad* (2.868) Miletos fights on the Trojan side, perhaps a reflection of the Hittite stage. Sakellariou (*La Migration grecque* 366) thinks the literary data combine to suggest four stages according to local tradition: first Leleges, then Cretans, then Karians, then Ionians; even if his reconstruction withstands scrutiny, the result omits Hittites and Mycenaean. A pointless exercise, as Càssola (*La Ionia nel mondo miceneo*) already realized, and to some extent Wilamowitz ('Panionion' and 'Über die ionische Wanderung'). Cogent observations on the general subject by Osborne, *Greece in the Making* 47–51.

new ethnos. Contrast the autochthony of the ancient mainland cities. The migration was the making of the Ionian ethnos, whatever its character might have been before then.⁶ In the case of the Dorians, the evidence for the migration (which is less plentiful) suggests that the settlement of the eastern cities was more straightforward: they are simply said to have been settled by Dorians, i.e. people already Dorian, and no others. The birth of the Dorians had in fact seen the same progression from *multiplex* to *simplex*, only earlier on the mainland during the return of the Herakleidae; they were the older ethnos. The Aioliens of Asia Minor told a story of an extended and fragmentary migration, involving several generations, various way-stations, and multiple starts before everyone finally reached their new home. This ethnos seems less concerned to assert its identity and unity than the others; in the classical period, even the mainland Aioliens were less inclined to assert themselves as Aiolian than as Boiotians, say, or Thebans, or Thessalians, in contrast with the strong identity implied by the *Catalogue of Women*.⁷ Politically, the Aioliens were overshadowed by the others, especially in Asia Minor. The stronger assertions of the Ionians and Dorians reflect their dominance of the international stage and their struggle for primacy on it.

A primary concern of these stories is therefore ethnicity. Herodotos and Thucydides in many passages reveals the importance of ethnicity in Greek self-understanding and in contemporary politics. In the catalogue of those who fought at Salamis, for instance, Herodotos is careful to report with due ceremony every city's ethnic affiliation (8.43–8). When the eastern potentate Kroisos first makes contact with the mainland Greeks, the historian straight away gives his account of their ethnicity (1.56–8). This well-known passage is prime evidence that ethnicity was not only important in itself, but a topic of intellectual debate in the fifth century (→§2.1). In this discussion, Herodotos divides the Greek world into Ionians and Dorians, and it is through the lens of the fifth century's bitter conflict between these groups that he was bound to read the history of the Persian Wars. The filter is most visible in his account of the Ionian Revolt, which he places at the very centre of the *Histories*' pedimental structure, and relates together with the foundation of the Athenian democracy. Symbolic meaning rather

⁶ The name 'Ionian' itself could derive from an Anatolian designation for the people of the region: O. Szemerényi, *Scripta minora* 3.1354–6, cf. 1451 (specifically Luwian); J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity* 70–1. As is well known, the Persians called all the Greeks of Asia Minor 'Ionians'; the name is attested in many languages of the region (see Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 'Yaunā by the Sea and across the Sea'). It occurs possibly also in Linear B (i-ja-wo-ne[KN B 164.4, Xd 146.4; Jorro, *DMic.* 1.273) apparently denoting a band of mercenaries—if from Anatolia, not necessarily Greek. Against the Anatolian origin is the suggestion that contact with Protoegeometric Euboians introduced the name to eastern languages; furthermore, the apparent occurrence also of 'Aioliens' in another Linear B text, also it would seem as mercenaries (KN Ws 1707; →§5.1), raises doubts—are these also not Greek?—but the reading is not certain. Against the post-migration acquisition of the Ionic name see Smarczyk 'Die Ionier'; Crielaard, 'The Ionians in the Archaic Period' 42–3. Further references in Hirschberger on Hes. fr. 10a 23 (her fr. 5); Bremmer, 'Myth as Propaganda' 10–11, and GRC ix n. 1.

⁷ Fowler, 'Genealogical Thinking'.

than strict chronology governs the narrative here. In Herodotos' interpretation, the revolt was the cardinal moment in Greek history, essentially linked to the founding of the Athenian Empire, whose history is the unspoken framework in which the discussion takes place. The irony was that the city which freed Ionia had itself become a tyrant, her empire consisting largely of Ionian cities. The whole multi-layered, ambivalent account of the revolt resonates deeply with contemporary events. Sparta the tyrant-slayer too has a deeply problematic role in the story on account of her eviction, and attempted restoration, of the Peisistratids in Athens.⁸ This general context needs to be borne in mind when attempting any fifth-century version of the migrations.

§19.2 The Ionian Migration (Aethl. fr. 3; Hek. fr. 11–12; Hellan. fr. 48, 71, 101; Herod. fr. 45; Ion fr. 1, 3; Kreoph. fr. 1; Metrod. fr. 3A; Pher. fr. 102, 155, 163; Simon. fr. 2)

§19.2.1 OVERVIEW⁹

Fifth-century anxiety about Ionia is revealed by the fantasy that history could have been quite different had the Ionians been evacuated en masse, either after the conquest of Harpagos (Hdt. 1.179) or the victories of 479 (9.106). The rise of the Athenian Empire, intimately connected as it was with the fate of Ionia and the greatest event of Greek history—their defining moment, instantly mythologized, a constant point of reference in matters great and small—established a new and heavily politicized context for ethnicity in the fifth century. It is clear that the Delian League was perceived as an Ionian entity even though it included non-Ionian members. The choice of Delos alone tells a tale. In rejecting the Spartan suggestion to evacuate the Ionians, the Athenians vigorously protested that the Ionians' welfare was their concern as the mother city, not Sparta's (Hdt. 9.106). Thucydides 1.95.1 makes a similar point.¹⁰

It is in this light that Herodotos' well-known diatribe against the Ionians should be read (1.146–8). He pours scorn on the pretensions of the Twelve Cities to be the purest of

⁸ Fowler, 'Herodotus and Athens'.

⁹ The bibliography is large. In general see Momigliano, 'Questioni di storia ionica arcaica'; Barron, 'Chios'; Bremmer, 'Myth as Propaganda'; Cook, *CAH* 2.2.782–90, 796–804; Crielaard, 'The Ionians in the Archaic Period'; Deger-Jalkotzy, 'Ionic Migration', in *BNP* 3.559–62; Emlyn-Jones, *The Ionians* ch. 2; Fromentin and Gotteland, *Origines Gentium*; Greaves, *Miletos and The Land of Ionia* esp. 219–30; Herda, 'Karkiša-Karien und die sogenannte Ionische Migration' (extremely thorough); Huxley, *The Early Ionians*; Prinz 314–76; Niemeier, 'Minoans, Mycenaean, Hittites and Ionians' and 'Milet und Karien'; Cobet *et al.*, *Frühes Ionien*; Rubinstein and Greaves in *IACP* pp. 1053–1107; Sakellariou, *La Migration grecque*; Smarczyk, *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik*; id., 'Die Ionier Kleinasien'; Sourvinou-Inwood, *Hylas* 59–63, 268–309; Vanschoonwinkel, *L'Égée et la méditerranée orientale* ch. 9; Wilamowitz, 'Panionion' and 'Über die ionische Wanderung'.

¹⁰ For the league as Ionian cf. also *ML* 36, Paus. 5.10.4, *Ar. Lys.* 582, *Th.* 6.76–7, 82.3, 757.4; Tausend, 'Theseus und der delisch-attische Seebund'; important nuances in Kowalzig, *Singing for the Gods* 105–8.

Ionians, noting that at the time of colonization the Ionians were joined by many tribes—Abantes, Dryopes, Kadmeans, Phokians, Minyai, Molossians, the inevitable Pelasgians, and even some Dorians. Even the noblemen of Miletos, he says, who claimed to have come straight from the Prytaneion in Athens, brought no wives with them but married Karian women after murdering their menfolk; their descendants were therefore half-barbarian. Whatever force this aetiological tale had for the Milesians themselves (it explains, says Herodotos, why women dined separately from men, and never called their husbands by name), Herodotos has cited it for a less than benign purpose.¹¹ Their kings, he says further, were Lycian in some instances, in others from the Athenian family of the Kodridai. The sons of Kodros in the great majority of our sources are the founders of the Twelve Cities; where other parties are mentioned (and might be read as echoes of different versions), the myths nevertheless always insert the Athenians in order to legitimize the city's Ionic claims (see below). No other classical source mentions these Lycian kings, and it is interesting that of the Kodridai Herodotos remarks that in Messenia they had been Kaukones, a barbarian race according to Hek. fr. 119, Trojan allies in Homer. This is a subtle jibe, and accords with Herodotos' theory elsewhere that unlike the purely Hellenic Dorians, the Ionians had not always been Greek, but had had to convert (→§2.1). Herodotos goes on to say that the true Ionians are those who came from Athens, and celebrated the Apatouria. He immediately undercuts this by pointing out that the Ephesians and Kolophonians are excluded from the festival because of murders. At 1.142 he says that the Ionians spoke four different kinds of Greek. In a famous passage (8.144) he defines Greeks as united by religion, language, genealogy, and custom; three of these four criteria he denies to the Ionians.

The gentleman protests too much: we infer that someone was forcefully making the opposite case, and that it was a hot contemporary issue. Herodotos' target is not likely to have been the Athenians, for he concedes the Athenian connection as the criterion of Ionic ethnicity. Therefore Asiatic Ionians. Perhaps his uncle or cousin Panyassis was a target, whose narrative elegy¹² on the Ionian foundations pushed the party line that Neleus son of Kodros led the expedition along with his brothers. But a private quarrel

¹¹ Segregated dining was hardly unique in the Greek world (e.g. Spartan and Cretan *syssitia*, Makedonian banquets in Hdt. 5.18.3). Frazer on Paus. 7.2.6 and M. M. Westington, *CJ* 40 (1944–5) 495–6 cite anthropological parallels. Cf. Coldstream, 'Mixed Marriages', 96–8. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Hylas* 303, momentarily forgets where this datum comes from: Hdt. most certainly is problematizing the ethnicity of the Milesians. Finkelberg, *Greeks and Pre-Greeks* 105–6, attractively places the story of acquiring foreign wives in the context of a new beginning for the *ethnos* (cf. above, p. 570); stories in which wives accompany the colonists suggest continuing links to the homeland, and sometimes underpin the status of the colony's aristocracy. For the archaeological evidence of mixed marriages in colonies see the references in Herda, 'Karkiša-Karien' 36 n. 59.

¹² Doubtless the meaning of *ἐν πενταμέτρῳ* in his *Suda* entry (Panyas. test. p. 188 West); see Matthews, *Panyassis* 26. I have excluded Kadmos of Miletos from *EGM* as a later forgery, but I mention here that he was credited with a work *κτίσις Μιλήτου καὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἰωνίας ἐν βιβλίοις* 8' (*FGH* 489 T 1).

would have meant nothing to Herodotos' audience; though the family connection is intriguing, it will be Panyassis' favourable reception that mattered. That Herodotos' own Dorian city, from which tradition says he was exiled, was itself thrown out of the Dorian hexapolis (1.144), and that this city had a strong Ionic element, the dialect in which he writes, gives him a reason to have personal views on this subject, but he must also be responding to public issues.¹³ The Twelve Cities, one infers, were asserting their Ionicity. That they were an exclusive corporation in itself makes the point.¹⁴ In the mid-fifth century such a statement would be hard not to read as one of solidarity with the League.

The question arises whether this sense of solidarity was first invented in the context of the League, or merely strengthened by it; more deviously, such assertions might have been mere kowtowing to the Athenian master, masking actual hostility or at least proud independence.¹⁵ While it is obvious that the issues became acute in the fifth century, the evidence for Ionic-Athenian ethnicity already in the archaic period is sufficient to discount the hypothesis that it was all made up after 479. The genealogy Xouthos = Kreousa → Ion and Achaïos, as we now know from a papyrus find, was in the *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 10a 20–3). Solon (fr. 4a 2) calls Athens 'eldest land of Ionia', which probably implies the story that Ionia was colonized from Athens; other interpretations seem forced. It is hypersceptical to deny that the Athenians of *Il.* 13.689 are the Ionians of l. 685. In sixth-century Athens noble families traced their descent from the Neleidai of Pylos; this could reflect the belief that the Kodridai were of this stock, and probably implies the role of the younger Neleus in the foundation myth.¹⁶ Other references are

¹³ R. Thomas, 'Herodotus, Ionia and the Athenian Empire', stresses that Herodotus' account must spring from Ionian political tradition; it is to be read against the background of continuing Ionian importance as well as recriminations in the immediate aftermath of the revolt.

¹⁴ Other Ionian poleis such as Magnesia or Phygela (catalogue in *IACP*) clearly had lower status than the Twelve, though perhaps thought to be represented by them in the Panionion rather than excluded from it; there is some evidence that Phygela enjoyed partial isopolity with Miletos in the classical period (*IACP* p. 1094). The foundation stories of the other cities, where known, do not take the trouble to find links with Athens: Magnesia was founded, predictably, by Magnes from Thessaly (*CEG* 2.855; Konon *Dieg.* 29 with Brown), and Phygela was founded by soldiers left behind by Agamemnon suffering from a disease of the *πυγή* (Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 59; Strab. 14.1.20: the tale seems more likely to be learned speculation or comic poetry than proud local tradition, though there was a tribe Agamemnonis, *SEG* 4.513). On Magnesia see also Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.178–99.

¹⁵ A possibility raised by Elizabeth Irwin (pers. comm.). Ion's genealogy of Oinopion (below, p. 589) could have been quite idiosyncratic, arising from his personal connections with Kimon and others, rather than reflecting general opinion on Chios. That he is named Ion is a pleasing coincidence; the name is first borne by historical persons in the 5th c. (*LGPV*), bespeaking a flourishing of pride in the ethnos. Doros-names are fairly common and found already in the archaic period. Aiolos-names are rare and mostly late.

¹⁶ *Hdt.* 5.65. See the detailed discussion of Smarczyk, *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik* 339–59, who also argues from *Hdt.* 1.145–6 that Ionian nobles vaunted their pure Athenian ancestry in the archaic period. The shrine of Neleus and Basilé at Athens is not attested until 418/17 (*IGP* 84), though the decree is about the improvement of an existing site; N. Robertson, *GRBS* 29 (1988) 231. The names Neleus (*ne-e-ra-wo*), Melanthos (*me-ra-to*) and Kodros (*ko-do-ro*) all occur in Linear B at Pylos (Jorro, *DMic.* s.vv.).

less helpful: Mimnermos (frr. 9–10) told how Kolophon was settled by Andraimon from 'Nelean' Pylos; unfortunately we do not know whether he had the colonists go by way of Athens, but at least when he says 'we conquered Aiolian Smyrna', he means 'we Ionians', and makes it an ethnic matter. The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (147) mentions the Ionians celebrating their god on Delos; again, no Athenians mentioned, but it is a forceful statement of Ionic ethnicity. Thus far the direct literary evidence for Ionicity, and its links with Athens;¹⁷ when we add to this the manifold similarities in cults, festivals, month-names, material culture, and of course the dialect, it is reasonable to acknowledge the essential unity of the ethnos in the archaic period, and the decisive role played by Athens.¹⁸ It is noteworthy too that in spite of the violent events of the fifth century, this feeling continued to exist in the fourth century.¹⁹

If the prevalent belief in Ionia had been that Athens was not the mother city, the general tenor of our tradition would have been quite different, given that the environment was still predominantly oral and fluid in the classical period. We should therefore assess the fifth-century stories against a general background of continuity. When Panyassis wrote his poem in the early years of the League, recounting 'the story of Kodros and Neleus and the settlement of the Ionian colonies' (thus the bare summary in the *Suda*), this could be read as an enthusiastic endorsement of the new venture, an enthusiasm many other Ionians would have shared in those days. When the Samian colonists in Pausanias' version stop over in Athens (a story of uncertain date, unfortunately), one can suspect some (non-Samian?) mythographer's scholarly attempt to reconcile data; Samos of all the cities of the empire had reason to resent Athens, so here if anywhere we might expect divergence from the party line (note too that the Ionians in this story were not accepted with open arms). But it could have been old tradition too; we do not know, any more than we know whether Athens figured in the earliest traditions about Kolophon.²⁰ The assertiveness of the Twelve Cities could have been a response as much to internal as external doubts, which would have offered an easy

¹⁷ There is a possible reference to 'the cities of Ionia' at Sappho fr. 98.12, depending on the supplement.

¹⁸ Sakellariou, *La Migration grecque* 32, gives a good list, which he then tries to discount; but most of his arguments rely on essentialist notions of ethnicity. He argues at length the case that the myth of Athenian origins was invented under the Empire; Schachermeyr, *Die griechische Rückerinnerung* 296–9, and Alty, 'Dorians and Ionians', protested vigorously. See also Bremmer, 'Myth as Propaganda'. Smarczyk's two works are thorough and fundamental.

¹⁹ An inscription of 373/2 BC (Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI* 29) at ll. 5–6 reveals the 'colonies' still sending offerings to the Dionysia and Panathenaia; *IG* ii² 456.14 (307/6 BC), decreeing honours for the Kolophonians, also refers to the colonial relationship.

²⁰ Below, pp. 584, 586. The inscriptions on Samos marking a precinct of 'Ion at Athens' (*IGP* 1496) post-date the revolt, and are probably to be interpreted in a sinister light: Smarczyk, *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik* 58–153; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 144–5. A cult of Neleus on Samos in the late 6th c. is worth noting (*SEG* 28.716); but which one, Athenian or Pylian? See Smarczyk 351 n. 53. Semonides of Amorgos wrote a poem (probably an elegy) on the history ('Archaeology') of the Samians, of which we possess only the title.

handle to critics. In Athens, where favourable and unfavourable attitudes towards their fellow Ionians mixed in different proportions at different times, and could change instantly according to context (e.g. for Athenians only, or for broader consumption), feelings were ambivalent.²¹ But in general, when the foundation myths suggest non-Hellenic substrata in the population of the Ionian cities, when they speak of a multitude of non-Ionian cities participating in the foundations, or when they are unclear about (or deny) Athenian involvement, it is a mistake to infer that Ionian-Athenian ethnicity was a fiction; to privilege, that is, the non-Athenian details as somehow giving the lie to the oppressive imperial propaganda, and the non-Ionian and non-Hellenic details as revealing the true multi-ethnic nature of the cities. Sociologically, mixed populations very frequently support a single *ethnos*—a point which Herodotos does not acknowledge or concede in his diatribe, but which he works with implicitly throughout his narrative. (Admittedly, one must bear the correlative in mind, that a list of common characteristics such as that given above for Ionia and Athens—dialect, festivals, etc.—does not instantly guarantee ethnicity; but the sum of the evidence listed above, including the genealogy and many explicit statements, is more than sufficient.)

§19.2.2 THE TWELVE CITIES AND SMYRNA

To move now to the details of the tradition, Strabo (8.7.1, 14.1) and Pausanias (7.1–5) are our most comprehensive sources for the birth of the Ionians, and their migration.²² In broad outline, the tradition is that Xouthos, son of Hellen, came to Athens from Phthia, and marrying Kreousa daughter of Erechtheus fathered Ion and Achaïos. Ion made himself useful to the Athenians in the war against Eleusis, in recognition of which they called themselves Ionians (so also Hdt. 8.44). He also created the four Ionic tribes (so also Hdt. 5.66.2). The Ionians colonized that part of the Peloponnese eventually known as Achaia, arranging themselves in twelve cities.²³ After the return of the Herakleidai,

²¹ For examples see Alty's important article 'Dorians and Ionians', and Wilson, 'The Sound of Cultural Conflict' 190–5; Euripides' *Ion*, written at a time when Athens sorely needed the allies' help, boosts the Athenian credentials of Ion, cutting Xouthos out altogether, and proclaims the role of Ion's sons in establishing the old Ionian tribes, and founding the cities of the islands and Asia (1575–94). (The genealogy could, however, be an invention of the mid-5th c., if some vase paintings can be identified as showing Ion and his father Apollo: Shapiro, *LIMC* Suppl. 2009.1.295–6.) Herodotos famously says (1.143.3) that outside the Dodekapolis, Ionians (including the Athenians) shunned the very name; but as Alty (8) points out, the curious phrase 'even now' suggests a contemporary view that some people 'particularly outside the ἀρχή might think that Athens now exulted in common Ionianism even though she had not before'. Athens' pride in autochthony made it difficult for them to relate to the myths of Ion in any straightforward way: their ancient independence did not permit genealogical membership in any group larger than the polis; hence the myth of an Ionian sojourn in Athens before emigration, which marks the real beginning of their Ionicity.

²² Aelian *VH* 8.5 adds some details.

²³ The memory of Achaian origins, like the Pylian, could be thought to weaken the Athenian claim, but the link between Achaïos, Ion and Athens is already in the *Catalogue of Women*. Herodotos (1.145–7, 9.97) accepts both that the Dodekapolis reflects the twelve Achaian cities, and the leadership of Athens.

they were displaced by the Achaïans, and returned to Athens in the time of King Melanthos, freshly evicted from Pylos in Messenia by the Herakleidai. Not many years later Medon and Neleus, the two eldest sons of Kodros, fell out over the succession to the kingship; the Delphic oracle was consulted and gave the palm to Medon in spite of his lame foot (presumably the grounds on which Neleus disputed the succession, being the younger according to Hellanikos).²⁴ Neleus then gathered about him all who wished to participate in his great expedition—but mostly it was the Ionians.

At this point Strabo and Pausanias exhibit a serious difference. Strabo follows Pherekydes (*Pher. fr. 155*) in claiming that Androklos, legitimate son of Kodros, founder of Ephesos, was the leader of the expedition as opposed to his brother Neleus, founder of Miletos (Paus. 7.2.1).²⁵ Rivalry between these two great cities obviously lies behind this statement, a rivalry which would have gone back to the archaic period. A report in the *Suda* s.v. Ἀπίστραρχος (α3894) that the Ephesian 'relatives' summoned a man of this name from Athens to rule the city in the mid-sixth century is too sketchy to yield any inferences about Ephesian ethnicity or foundation legends. There was an Attic *genos* Androkleidai (Hsch. α4750), which might or might not be relevant to Pherekydes' version. It is hard to imagine Pherekydes advancing the Ephesians' claim any time soon after the Ionian revolt, in which they were conspicuously unhelpful; to the extent that that inference is sound, it supports the date for Pherekydes' activity in the mid-460s, by which time rehabilitation might have been possible.²⁶ The destruction of Miletos in 494 had of course removed the competition.

Pausanias says that the expedition consisted, apart from Ionians and Athenians, of Thebans who came with Philotas, a descendant of Peneleos,²⁷ Minyans from Orchomenos

²⁴ Parke–Wormell nos. 300–1 = L68–9 Fontenrose, Jacoby on *FGrHist* 323a F 11 = Hellan. fr. 48 (where the Kodrid who founded Erythrai is nameless) notes that on a strict interpretation Hellanikos' 'older' of Medon and 'younger' of Neleus excludes the existence of others; he regards the run of words in Paus. 7.2.1 (Medon's lameness, then 'Neleus and the other sons') as more or less conceding that the rest were invented, a process he attributes to the 4th c. (momentarily forgetting Androklos). It is clear that some sons were more important than others in our tradition (some indeed were illegitimate, perhaps signifying lesser status in the Dodekapolis), but the sources hardly permit Jacoby's inference. The evidence all points towards an early date for the general tradition. Lame kings unfit for office: Bremmer, 'Medon'.

²⁵ Radt ad Strab. 632.17–18 argues that ἀρξαι means 'began' not 'led' the colonization, comparing 582.16–17; but in this context either translation connotes primacy. On Ankaïos king of the Leleges see below, p. 586.

²⁶ Jacoby (on *Pher. fr. 155*) argued that Strabo's citation of *Pher.* ended at Ἐφεσίου κτίστην, and that what follows derives from Artemidoros of Ephesos, so that Pherekydes said nothing about a king of the Ionians in Ephesos; later, on Kreoph. fr. 1 (*FGrHist* 417 F 1, n. 8), he allowed that he had been 'wohl zu skeptisch' (cf. Smarczyk, *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik* 332 n. 7 and Luraghi, 'Appunti sulla Ionia nella *Geografia* di Strabone' 364–5; below, p. 583). He also argued (on *FGrHist* 323a F 11 = Hellan. fr. 48) that the idea of a single foundation of all the cities by Neleus is an improvement of Hellanikos' doing (a view reflected in the *Marmor Parium* *FGrHist* 239 A 27 and Ael. *VH* 8.5). Tidying up is indeed characteristic of Hellanikos, but the migration was a single movement with a leader also for *Pher.*, even if others were involved. See below, p. 586.

²⁷ Captain of the Boiotoi in the *Catalogue of Ships*, II. 2.494 (mentioned seven other times in the fighting).

on account of their kinship with the sons of Kodros (alluding presumably to Chloris, Neleus' wife, who came from Orchomenos: Strabo 8.3.19), Phokians of all sorts except the Delphians, and Abantes from Euboea. Upon reaching Asia, the expedition split up, heading to their several destinations.

Before considering the individual cities we may pause to discuss **Pher. fr. 163**, which belongs to the first stage of the story. Pherekydes is cited for the alternative form 'Arhypes' of the north Peloponnesian city Rhypes (*IACP* no. 243).²⁸ *Ἀρυπες* is also the ethnic, which is how Pherekydes would seem to have used the word, as the fragment goes on to say 'the Achaioi are called Rhypes'. There is some confusion or compression here, as this one polis was not synonymous with all of the Achaioi; it is one of the twelve *μέρεα* (Hdt. 1.145). There is a similar confusion in Theognostos *Anec. Ox.* 2.98.4. But the collocation is probably sufficient to show that Pherekydes spoke of Achaians in this part of the world, which means he referred to their migration there after the Dorian invasion.

The traditions concerning the individual cities of the Dodekapolis and Smyrna are as follows. In the surviving fragments our mythographers figure in most, but not all cases; but they may be presumed to be in the background of all.

Miletos. The scholion on Apollonios which quotes **Herod. fr. 45** reflects the two choices offered by our tradition regarding the pre-Ionian foundation and naming of Miletos: either by the eponymous Miletos (son of Euxantios son of Minos, or son of Apollo and Areia daughter of Kleochos; in either case Cretan);²⁹ or by Sarpedon, son of Zeus, after the Cretan city of the same name (*Il.* 2.647). The first is supported by Aristokritos *FGrHist* 493 F 1 (third century BC?) in our scholion, Nikander fr. 46 Schneider ap. Ant. Lib. *Met.* 30 (where Miletos' mother is called rather Akakallis,³⁰ and is daughter of Minos), Nikainetos fr. 1 Powell ap. Parth. *Amat. Narr.* 11.2, Ov. *Met.* 9.443–9 (where the mother is Deione), Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5, Pausanias 7.2.5, schol. Dion. Per. 825,³¹ schol. Theok. 7.115–18b, and *Etym. Magn.* s.v. *Μίλητος*; the second by Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 127 (who is probably the scholion's source). The local historian Leandrios tells us that Kleochos was buried in the Didymaion (*FGrHist* 491–2 F 10), a sanctuary which Pausanias is careful to note is older than the Greeks' arrival; thus native tradition

²⁸ Steph. Byz. α466 *Ἀρύπη πόλις, ἧς οἱ πολῖται Ἀρυπες, ὡς Ἡρωδιανός* (2.168.7 Lentz). Theognost. *Anec. Ox.* 2.98.4 *Ἀρυψ [voluit Ἀρυπες] οἱ ἀπὸ δύσεως μέχρι Ἰσθμοῦ Ἀχαιοί*. Steph. Byz. p. 584.4 Meineke *Ῥύπαι, πόλις Ἀχαϊκή. λέγεται καὶ Ῥυπαίη . . . ὁ πολῖτης Ῥύψ*. Hdt. 1.145 and Aisch. fr. 284.2 have *Ῥόπες*. Diod. Sic. 8.17.1 has *Ῥόπη*, Strab. 8.7.4–5 has *Ῥόπες*. For the form and accent see the comment on Pher. fr. 163 in Part B.

²⁹ Son of Asterios in Nonn. *Dion.* 13.546. The genealogy with Euxantios makes him brother of Akontios (cf. Xenom. fr. 1): Kallim. fr. 67.7 with Pfeiffer. The Cretan connection is still acknowledged in *IMilet* 37a (223/2 BC).

³⁰ See §11.1 at n. 11 for this figure.

³¹ In these last two sources, Miletos founds rather the nearby Oikous; in the latter, his son then founds Miletos. For the relationship between the two cities see Lightfoot on Nikainetos 1. 1.

would seem to support the first version. The sources, betraying poetic invention, give different reasons why Miletos left Crete; Sarpedon, who left Crete to rule Lycia (Hdt. 1.173; → §5.3.6, §11.2.4), figures incidentally in the versions of Antoninus and Apollodoros. Aristokritos has the added detail that Miletos gave his name to a site on Samos; in what context, friendly or hostile, such a story was invented, cannot be determined, though hostile seems likelier in view of the two cities' normal rivalry. It is anyone's guess what, in the jumble of information in the scholion, Herodotos 'attests'. Jacoby notes that if, in his *Argonautika*, Herodotos like Apollonios brought the Argonaut Erginos from Miletos, he might have paused to say something of the city's foundation. The genealogy of Erginos in the scholion could be his. He is more likely to have related one of the prosaic and rationalized stories about the eponymous Miletos in the scholion than the erotic one known from Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6, which probably figured in earlier mythology (→ §10.1).

The tradition that Miletos had a series of earlier names means that Miletos was actually the last founder before Neleus. Our scholion gives Pityoussa or Asteria, then Anaktoria, then Miletos; Didymos, *Symposiaka* fr. 6 (p. 374 Schmidt) ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μίλητος* and Pliny *NH* 5.112 give Lelegeis, Pityoussa, Anaktoria, Miletos. Pausanias (7.2.5–6), claiming local authority, says the country was ruled first by the autochthonous Anax, then by his son Asterios; then came Miletos, and Cretans and Karians lived harmoniously together until the arrival of Neleus, whose Ionians murdered the menfolk and married the women, as in Herodotos. Asteria or Asterios are names employed by mythographers in various contexts, but it is commonly linked to an *Urzeit*; note that Didymos makes Anax a son of Ge and Ouranos.³² That Asterios is one of the twelve sons of the Pylian Neleus (*Il.* 11.692, Hes. fr. 33a 10) could indicate that this tradition already existed in the early archaic period.³³ Didymos relates the name Pityoussa not only to the presence of pines in the region, the usual explanation,³⁴ but to the use of pine boughs in the Thesmophoria, that signifier of civilization.³⁵ 'Lelegeis' reflects the idea that Leleges and not Kares were the previous inhabitants (semiotically equivalent, cf. n. 38); thus Didymos, Pliny, Alexander Aitolos fr. 5.27 (ap. Parthen. 14), Aristoboulos *FGrHist* 139 F 6. The Kares are however much better attested (e.g. *Il.* 2.868, Hdt. 1.142, Pher. fr. 155).

³² Asteria is daughter of the Titans Koios and Phoibe and mother of Hekate (Hes. *Theog.* 404–11, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9); in Crete Asterios is stepfather of Minos and his brothers (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5; → §11.2.1). For other instances see Roscher, *Lex.* s.vv. Asteria, Asterion, Asterios.

³³ The link between the twelve sons and the twelve cities has also been drawn, but the number is probably generic.

³⁴ Didymos (assuming it is he; the text is lacunose) claims as well that the pine was first planted there. Apart from various islands still so called in historical times, Pityoussa was supposedly the former appellation of Salamis (Strab. 9.1.9), Chios (id. 13.1.18) and Lampsakos (Strab. loc. cit.; Deilochos *FGrHist* 471 F 3).

³⁵ For the general point about agriculture see e.g. Calame, 'Spartan Genealogies' 159 and Graf, *Eleusis* 37–9; for the Thesmophoria in particular e.g. schol. Luc. *Dial. meretr.* 2.1 p. 276 Rabe.

Whatever role he might or might not have played in founding other cities, Neleus' association with Miletos is very firmly established.³⁶ His tomb was located outside the gate on the road to the great sanctuary of Didyma (Paus. 7.2.6) and his cult was of central importance to the city (Hdt. 9.97; *IMilet* 269; Kallim. *Hymn* 3.225–7; Sourvinou-Inwood, *Hylas* 302). Sourvinou-Inwood notes that the foundation tales at Miletos suggest a more decisive break, and violent takeover, from previous non-Greek inhabitants (in spite of the harmonious relations that actually existed between Karians and Milesians in historical times) than do the stories in other Ionian cities (specifically Kolophon and Erythrai); the reason could be ideological, a desire to state emphatically the superiority of Greek culture as represented by the arch-founder.

Ephesos.³⁷ The site, says Pausanias (7.2.7), was named after Ephesos son of the river Kaystros (for an Amazon, says Strabo 12.3.21). The native population were Leleges and Lydians.³⁸ Androklos son of Kodros (legitimate son, says Strabo/Pher. fr. 155) evicted them;³⁹ Strabo says vaguely that 'most' of the inhabitants were removed, but Pausanias says they were removed only from the 'upper town', while those living around 'the sanctuary'—the famous Artemision, about 1200 m from the city—were left unmolested. Oaths were exchanged, and all parties lived together harmoniously. Pausanias is clear that the sanctuary had been founded by the autochthonous Koresos and Ephesos, son of the river Kaystros (not Amazons, as others claimed).⁴⁰ Already existing, the great shrine was treated with due respect.

Strabo (14.1.4, 14.1.21) gives a precise description of the topography, which was based on a personal visit (14.1.23). He says that Androklos settled most of his people near the temple of Athena and the Hypelaïos spring, as well the plateau 'around' and 'above' Koressos known as Tracheia. His object in 14.1.4 is to identify the location of old Smyrna, said by Hipponax (fr. 50 West) to be 'between Tracheia and Lepre Akte'. It is generally agreed that the latter is the elevation to the south-west of the city (modern Bülbüldağ) while the former is the flank of the greater elevation lying to the east (modern

³⁶ Literary references in Càssola, *La Ionia nel mondo miceneo* 88–9; for his cult, A. Herda, *JÖAI* 67 (1998) Hauptblatt 1–48 (possibly relevant at Thuc. 8.84.5, where see Hornblower).

³⁷ Plentiful references on the city are provided by Radt on Strabo 14.1.21 p. 640.10 (add Rubinstein in *IACP*, no. 844).

³⁸ Strabo quoting Pher. fr. 155 simply says that the population around Miletos, Myous, Mykale and Ephesos was Karian, whereas the Leleges occupied the region further north, but at 14.1.21 he says that Ephesos was occupied by Kares and Leleges; Pausanias on Ephesos has it both ways by saying that the Leleges were a branch of the Karians. For this deep-rooted confusion see §2.2.

³⁹ For the occasional later literary and epigraphical testimonies to King Androklos see Sakellariou, *La Migration grecque* 124. Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 126 speaks of internal stasis between his descendants and other clans.

⁴⁰ On the traditions concerning Amazons at Ephesos see Sakellariou, *La Migration grecque* 389–95. The earliest monumental foundations at the Artemision date to the 8th c. It is common for sanctuaries to be taken over in these stories (cf. Apollo at Delphi); Pausanias says the same about the temple and oracle at Klaros (7.3.1), of Hera at Samos (7.4.4), and of Apollo at Didyma (7.2.6).

Panayirdağ).⁴¹ Between them was low ground, terminating at its western end at the old harbour on the Kaystros. The Tracheia and the low ground are the sites of the oldest settlements, and of the famous later city, although by then the settled area had expanded outwards towards the Artemision.

When Strabo mentions the temple of Athena, the Hypelaïos, Tracheia, and Koressos it is hard not to think that **Kreoph.** fr. 1 lies behind him, if at a distance. While this is probable, scholars have not quite appreciated that what Strabo says is not consistent with what Kreophylos says. From a native of Ephesos, Kreophylos' account may be taken as authoritative. The fragment opens by saying that the colonists were becoming desperate for a place to settle; the reason may have been insurmountable resistance from the indigenous peoples wherever they tried. An oracle advised them to settle where a fish and a wild boar showed the way; there follows the story of how this unlikely prophecy was fulfilled.⁴² The topography is clear: the fishermen are having lunch by the Hypelaïos and the 'sacred harbour', i.e. the oldest and principal harbour until it silted up, after Kreophylos' time, though the process was already under way (Hdt. 2.10.1). The boar, startled from its lair, 'ran a considerable distance up'⁴³ the mountain which is called Tracheia. He was hit by a javelin and fell where the temple of Athena now stands.⁴⁴ Strabo in 14.1.3 says 'the city was anciently near the Athenaion which is now outside the polis, by the so-called Hypelaïos' and at 14.1.21 'Androklos settled his people around the Athenaion and the Hypelaïos, appropriating also some of the uplands around Koressos', i.e. Tracheia; 'Koressos' in Strabo's day was the name of the central inhabited district, mostly in the low ground but also encroaching on the slopes. Perhaps reading carelessly, Strabo has put the temple of Athena and the Hypelaïos together, whereas from Kreophylos it is clear that they were some distance apart. It is also obvious from Kreophylos' narrative that the temple of Athena was built, appropriately, on the acropolis—the Tracheia—marking the religious centre of the new city. This is the πόλις of l. 3 of the fragment: the ancient settled centre. Kreophylos goes on to say that the Ephesians crossed over to the mainland from their island camp where they had lived for twenty years,⁴⁵ built their second town (the first having been on the island) on Tracheia (or Trecheia, as he calls it) and 'the area towards Koressos'; 'Koressos' is for him the harbour and its immediate environs, as it is also for Herodotos (5.100),

⁴¹ See H. Engelmann, *ZPE* 89 (1991) 275–95 (on Tracheia esp. 275–86); Radt on Strabo 14.1.4 p. 633.35. For further discussion of the topography see the references given by Radt on Strabo 14.1.21 p. 640.10 esp. W. Alzinger, *RE Suppl.* 12.1588–1704 with plans and maps. The *Barrington Atlas* is slightly misleading here.

⁴² No. 234 Parke–Wormell = L54 Fontenrose.

⁴³ Genitive of motion towards; *LSJ* ἐπὶ A I 3b.

⁴⁴ Androklos killing the boar was depicted on Ephesian coins (*LIMC* Androklos no. 2); cf. Momigliano, 'Questioni di storia ionica arcaica' 394–5.

⁴⁵ By Pliny's time the island (called Syrie) was conjoined to the mainland (*NH* 5.115).

Xenophon (*Hell.* 1.2.7–10), and the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (1.1 Chambers).⁴⁶ These landmarks, the harbour and the acropolis, defined the two extremities of the old town. The fragment finishes by saying that the Ephesians built a temple of Artemis beside the Agora, and a temple of Pythian Apollo by the harbour (he is therefore the god who gave the oracle). The former is not the famous Artemision, which already existed and is nowhere near the agora; the agora of course lay between Tracheia and the harbour. The temples and the Hypelaïos have not been identified, as they were effaced by the later city; this explains why Strabo might get this part wrong, while being perfectly clear about Tracheia and Lepre Akte.

In another point both Pausanias and Strabo are contradicted by Kreophylos. His narrative implies that the land was previously uninhabited, or at least the site where the Ephesians established their permanent settlement. Both Strabo and Pausanias tell of violent evictions; the latter's 'upper city' is the Tracheia. This is the symbolic centre an alien conqueror logically heads for.⁴⁷ Kreophylos' tale is therefore interesting for its elision of conflict; this must have been important at the time that he was writing. Relations with the locals are a perpetual theme in the literature of colonization, no doubt reflecting ongoing interaction, sometimes amicable and sometimes not.⁴⁸ We have noted above Pausanias' remark that care was taken to ensure peaceful relations with some of the natives.

Androklos, says Pausanias, also drove the newly-arrived Samians from Samos, which he held temporarily with some neighbouring islands. After the return of the Samians Androklos helped the Prienians in a war against the Karians, and fell in battle (cf. the similar report in Steph. Byz. β68 = Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 126, which also appears to establish a connection between the Attic deme Euonymon and an Ephesian tribe Euonymoi; but the text is suspect). Pausanias saw Androklos' grave at Ephesos.

In quoting Pher. fr. 155 Strabo mentions that owing to Androklos' leadership the kingship of the Ionians was granted to Ephesos, and that in his day there was still a clan of βασιλεῖς enjoying various privileges in 'the rites of Eleusinian Demeter', i.e. its priesthood.⁴⁹ Even if in this sentence Strabo is no longer following Pherekydes, it is clear that in the archaic period leading γένη of the Dodekapolis proclaimed their descent from Kodros and Neleus.⁵⁰ Their political power declined but they retained various marks of

⁴⁶ Engelmann, loc. cit. 287; Knibbe, *Ephesos* 76; Kerschner, Kowalleck, and Steskal, *Archäologische Forschungen zur Siedlungsgeschichte von Ephesos*. To date no ceramics pre-dating the 8th c. have been found in the site of the archaic city; however, there appears to have been an earlier settlement dating to the mid-11th c. on the elevation near the Artemision. This had been forgotten by Kreophylos' time.

⁴⁷ R. Parker, *Cleomenes on the Acropolis* 24–6.

⁴⁸ Cf. the story below, n. 69.

⁴⁹ For this cult see Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 274–7.

⁵⁰ Arist. *Pol.* 5.5.4 p. 1305b 19 (cf. Hippias of Erythrai *FGrHist* 421 F 1); Antipatros 91 Gow-Page (*AP* 9.790); Baton *FGrHist* 268 F 3; Toepffer, *RE* s.v. Basilidai; Smarczyk, *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik* 352 n. 55. On βασιλεῖς generally J. M. Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World* 119–44. On the extent of the quotation of Pher., above, n. 26.

honour, and religious responsibilities. The Archon Basileus at Athens presents a similar evolution, though the precise analogue of the Basilidai (Kodridai, Neleidai) of Ionic cities would have to be the Medontidai, even if they seem to have survived only as a phratry.⁵¹ A fourth-century inscription suggests that at the Panionion 'kings' came as representatives of the various cities; the king of the Ephesians receives special mention, as if to confirm his ancient pre-eminence. By this time the Panionian festival had been moved back to Mykale; according to Hornblower's influential thesis, it had been relocated precisely to Ephesos during the fifth century, and is identical with the Ephesia mentioned by Thucydides at 3.104.3 (see his commentary ad loc.).⁵²

Myous. Founded by Kyaretos son of Kodros (Kydrelos, illegitimate son of Kodros says Strabo 14.1.3),⁵³ who evicted the Karians. A tradition preserved in Pliny (*NH* 5.113) says that Myous was the first city founded by the *Iones Athenis profecti*; some local historian presumably disputed the priority of Ephesos and Miletos.

Priene. Founded by Ionians and Thebans together, under the leadership of Philotas descendant of Peneleus, and Aipyrtos son of Neleus (one can speculate on whether there is any point to this downward adjustment in the chronology vis-à-vis other cities: possibly it indicates somewhat lesser status, like Myous' being founded by an illegitimate son of Kodros). Strabo (14.1.3) says that Aipyrtos came first, Philotas later; at 14.1.12 he says that some people call Priene 'Kadme' because its founder Philotas was Boiotian; cf. *Hellan.fr.* 101 Καδμεῖον οἱ Πιρηνεῖς and Phanodikos *FGrHist* 397 F 4b ap. Diog. Laert. 1.83, who says that Bias was descended 'from the Thebans who colonized Priene'. Hdt. 1.146 has Kadmeioi among those who participated in the Ionian migration. Some scholars have argued that Mykale, the eventual site of the Panionion, points to Mt Mykalessos in Boiotia, just as the koinon's cult of Poseidon Helikonios could point to Mt Helikon (except that the claim of Helike in Achaia was stronger in the Greek *imaginaire*).⁵⁴

⁵¹ R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 326.

⁵² For the inscription, PEP Priene 11, see Kleiner, Hummel, and Müller-Wiender, *Panionion und Melie* 49–63.

⁵³ Huxley, *The Early Ionians* 27 n. 54, and before him Koraes, would emend Pausanias' Kyaretos (7.2.10) to Kydrelos. If Kydrelos and similar names that figure in early Ionian history (Kydrolaos at Samos (below, n. 69); Kydrides (?) at Klazomenai, Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 25) are in fact cognate with Kodros, it could be evidence of old aristocratic Attic-Ionic connections. (If the root is actually pre-Greek, the variation in the vowel in Greek would be easier to explain. A bearer of the name on Thasos is now attested, *LGPN* 1.278.) Cf. Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* 2.129–31; Càssola, *La Ionia nel mondo miceneo* 86–7, 126–7; Sakellariou, *La Migration grecque* 76, 380, 384. Wilamowitz, 'Über die ionische Wanderung' 160 n. 3, on Myous suggests a link with the tribe Kydreloioi on the island of Kalymna in the Sporades (which would point rather to Dorian Argos). But note that Kodros' aristocratic descendants in Attica are Medontids rather than Kodrids, which must be the primary datum of Attic tradition; Kodros has been grafted on to them (Wilamowitz 131, Càssola 85), and the link with Ionia could be artificial and as late as Panyassis, based on the perceived identity of names, or on something quite unrecoverable.

⁵⁴ If Kadmos' name was in fact Karian/Phoenician, or similar names were heard in the region, it might have suggested this Boiotian claim; cf. §10.1 and Latte, *RE* 10.2. 1463. The location of the archaic Panionion remains controversial; see most recently Herda, 'Karkiša-Karien' 38 (42 on Helikon); Crielaard, 'The Ionians in the Archaic Period' 65–6, 70.

Kolophon. Rhakios was the first Greek here, from Crete, and managed to secure the coastline, but the Karians occupied the hinterland. Refugees from the fall of Thebes subsequently arrived, among them Manto daughter of Teiresias (cf. Paus. 9.33.2); Rhakios married her and took the people in.⁵⁵ Mopsos, their son, evicted the Karians. The Ionians arrived, led by Damasichthon and Promethos, sons of Kodros, and formed a polity on equal terms with the Kolophonians. Thus Pausanias (7.3.1–3); Strabo, following Mimnermos fr. 9–10, simply says that Andraimon from Nelean Pylos founded the city (14.1.3). At 14.1.27 he has the story of Kalchas arriving at Klaros near Kolophon and dying after being defeated by Mopsos in a contest of prophetic skill (→§18.5.2).

Lebedos. Strabo (14.1.3) names the founder as Andropompos, status and descent unspecified. Andropompos is father of Melanthos in Hellan. fr. 125 and Paus. 2.18.8, 7.1.9; cf. Paus. 9.5.16 (where read <Μέλανθος> ὁ Ἀνδροπόμπου?). Schachermeyr (*Die griechische Rückerinnerung* 308, 311) imagines an earlier settlement directly from Messenia to Lebedos, like that of the Kolophonians from Pylos; but it is easier to diagnose confusion in the sources, or posit a second Andropompos.⁵⁶ Pausanias, however (7.3.5), says that Andraimon and the Ionians evicted the Karian natives of Lebedos. We may take Mimnermos of Kolophon as authoritative for that city's tradition that Andraimon was its founder; Pausanias' revision to the history of both Kolophon and Lebedos may derive from Attic sources, which had a different role for Andropompos.

Teos. First settled by Minyans from Orchomenos with Athamas (a descendant of Athamas son of Aiolos), mingling with the native Karians. Apoikos, great-grandson of Melanthos (counting 'fourth generation' inclusively in Paus. 7.3.6), brought the Ionians to Teos; the merger was entirely friendly, as was the reception given to the Athenians (led by Damasos and Naoklos, sons of Kodros) and Boiotians (led by Geres) who arrived not many years later.⁵⁷ Strabo (14.1.3) says that it was first founded by Athamas, whence Anakreon (a native) calls the city 'Athamantid' (PMG 463); then in the time of the Ionian migration Nauklos (*sic*) illegitimate son of Kodros; then by the Athenians Poikes and Damathos, and Geren the Boiotian.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ The archaic *Epigonoí* (fr. 4) has a slightly different version whereby Manto, dedicated by the Epigonoí to Delphi, meets there Rhakios son of Lebes from Mykenai and goes with him to Kolophon, where she founds the oracle of Klaros. Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.85; Mela 1.17 (88). The scholion to Apollonios which cites the epic says that 'Lakios' is an alternative for 'Rhakios' (cf. Hsch. *λάκη* *βάκη*, *Κρήτες*), which can lead to idle speculations in the direction of Argos or Rhodes (cf. Philostephanos fr. 1 Capel Badino ap. Athen. 7.51; Heropythos *FGHHist* 448 F 1) or Athens (Lakiadai being an Attic deme). See Eitrem, *RE* 14.2.1355–9; Sakellariou, *La Migration grecque* 163f., 166.

⁵⁶ Cf. Prinz 330 n.42. Sylburg conjectured <Μέλανθος> Ἀνδροπόμπου; Wilamowitz, whose low opinion of Pausanias is well known, diagnoses 'eine seiner gewöhnlichen Flüchtigkeiten' (*Aristoteles und Athen* 2.129 n.8).

⁵⁷ Strictly speaking the sons of Kodros belonged to the generation before Apoikos; hence probably Pausanias' 'not many years later' (7.3.6), to make the chronology work. Strabo's sequence is easier (14.1.3).

⁵⁸ All three names as given above; see Radt's edition.

Athamas is the founder also in **Pher. fr. 102**; the citation does not tell us whether this Athamas was the son of Aiolos, or a descendant as in Pausanias, or someone else. It is not typical of the earliest mythography to worry about fine details of chronology, but note that the great-grandsons of Aiolos belong to the generation of the Argonauts, among whom was Ankaïos of Samos (Pher. fr. 155; see n. 66). Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.84) tells how Athamas son of Aiolos left Boiotia and settled Athaman(t)ia in Epeiros.⁵⁹ Perhaps the usual Athamas was too firmly associated with Boiotia or Thessaly to have crossed the Aegean, so a second one was required; but the Teians probably meant the first Athamas, and would not have acquiesced in a mythographer's invention.

Ion fr. 3 also seems to relate to the early stages of Teian history. The fragment is quoted from his *Foundation of Chios* by Orion for the Ionian word *λόγχη* 'lot' (= *λάχος*; cf. *λέλογχα*), which also occurs on a Chian inscription of the fourth century BC (*SIG³* 1013.12 = Schwyzler, *DGEE* 695.12). The meaning appears to be that from the Teian allotment initially assigned to the colonists, somebody made 50 allotments;⁶⁰ this is usually taken to be Athamas, ordering the life of the new polis. We happen to know that the word in Teos itself for a feudal estate was *πύργος*;⁶¹ in using a Chian equivalent, Ion may be underscoring links between the two cities which are also suggested by the homonymous Athamas in his story of Chios' foundation (fr. 1; see below, p. 588). (That the latter might be effectively the same Athamas, no longer a descendant of Aiolos but son of Oinopion, setting out from Chios to found Teos, seems too bold a hypothesis.)

Erythrai. The city was founded by Erythros son of Rhadamanthys from Crete.⁶² They shared the city with Lycians (who were their kinsmen by way of Sarpedon), Karians (ancient friends of Minos), and Pamphylians (also Greeks, being the descendants of those who came with Kalchas after the fall of Troy). 'Kleopos' son of Kodros (usually corrected to 'Knopos') subsequently arrived with Ionians whom he had collected from all of the cities of Ionia. Thus Pausanias (7.3.7); Strabo (14.1.3) says only that the city was founded by Knopos, illegitimate son of Kodros.⁶³

⁵⁹ On the Argonautic Athamas see §6.1.1. Sakellariou, *La Migration grecque* 280–2, discusses the ethnicity of the Teians; the 'fact' of the eponym, he says, shows however that, in a generally Ionic city, part of the populace was north-west Greek. In fact, we can know only the representations, which hold Athamas to be Aiolian or Minyan, and that the city was subsequently made Ionian; and the ethnicity, as historical reality, must be closer to these representations in the period in which they were made than any insecurely reconstructed essence surviving from prehistory in the genes. Sakellariou also conscientiously tracks down all known details of cult and topography and, where matches are found with mainland cities, infers ethnic links. One might at most infer the representation of such a link, but even that inference is shaky; cults and toponyms get adopted for many other reasons (Graß, *Nordionische Kulte* 144; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* 157).

⁶⁰ Huxley, 'Ion of Chios' 36.

⁶¹ D. W. S. Hunt, *JHS* 67 (1947) 68–76.

⁶² Erythros figures also in Epimen. fr. 4(79) and *IErythrai* 61, 142, 144. He is depicted as founder on the city's coins, possibly as early as the 5th c.: Head, *Hist. Num.* 578–9; Rubinstein, *IACP* p. 1076.

⁶³ For the name in this form cf. Hippias of Erythrai *FGHHist* 421 F 1, Polyainos 8.43, Steph. Byz. ε131 citing Hek. *FGHHist* 1 F 228.

Hellán.fr. 48 only superficially contradicts these versions when he says that Erythrai was one of the twelve cities founded by Neleus (cf. fr. 125). Obviously he bolstered the role of Neleus and, with his liking for tidiness, made the expedition a single, highly coordinated expedition.⁶⁴ It would be quite easy to work the received stories of the individual founders into such a framework: one needed only to say they did their work at Neleus' behest.

Klazomenai. Not previously inhabited. A wandering group of Ionians took the Kolophonian Parphoros as leader and after two false starts elsewhere founded Klazomenai. Most of these 'Ionians' were in fact refugees from Kleonai and Phlious who had fled the Dorians. Thus Pausanias (7.3.8–9). Strabo simply says it was founded by Paralos, not further described. According to an uncertain emendation in Stephanos (citing Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 25), a district in Klazomenai was called 'Lampsos' after a son of Kodros.

Phokaia. Not previously inhabited. Founded by Phokians who came with the Athenians Philogenes and Damon to Asia. They acquired their territory by concession from the people of Kyme.⁶⁵ They were not admitted to the Panionion until they accepted Kodridai as kings, says Pausanias. (Strabo 14.1.3 simply says it was founded by Athenians who came with Philogenes.)

Samos. Asios (fr. 7 = *FGrHist* 545 F 1), cited by Pausanias (7.4.1), relates that Astypalaia and Europe were born to Phoinix and Perimede daughter of Oineus; Ankaïos was son of Astypalaia and Poseidon, and ruled the Leleges. Pherekydes (fr. 155) also has Ankaïos king of the Leleges on Samos, as well as on Chios and the coast; **Simon. fr. 2** has the same genealogy as Pausanias.⁶⁶ Ankaïos, continues the periegete, had by Samia (daughter of the river Maiander) sons Perilaos, Enoudos, Samos, and Alitherses, and a daughter Parthenope, on whom Apollo fathered Lykomedes. Prokles son of Pityreus and descendant of Ion son of Xouthos arrived with Ionians from Epidauros, having been evicted by the Dorians; Pausanias makes no mention of Athens here, but at 2.26.2 he tells us that Pityreus took the refugees there first. Dorians (*sic*) from Epidauros participated in the Ionian migration according to Hdt. 1.146.⁶⁷ When Prokles arrived in Samos, the natives accepted them by compulsion, not freely. This Prokles is probably

⁶⁴ If this was not already the case in Panyassis; above, p. 575. Hdt. (9.97) makes Neleus founder of Miletos alone.

⁶⁵ Paus. 7.3.10. The story looks to be the same as the fuller version of Nikolaos of Damaskos *FGrHist* 90 F 51 (even if he has included a Roman name in the cast of characters); he says these Phokians were exiles, who joined the Ionians emigrating from Athens. Phokians are in Herodotos' general list at 1.146. The city's name inevitably suggested a link with Phokis; that it did so truly is not a necessary inference.

⁶⁶ Cf. Ap. Rhod. 1.185–8 with scholia (= Herod. fr. 45, above, p. 578); Steph. Byz. α506; schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 488. He appears as a king of Samos in the fr. of Aristotle (fr. 571; Herakleid. *Pol.* 30 Dilts = Arist. fr. 611.30, where he is mentioned in the same breath as the *νήϊδες*, Euagor fr. 1), but Apollonios appears to be the first unequivocally to make this Ankaïos a Greek hero.

⁶⁷ Hera is the main goddess of both Samos and Argolid; similarities in the cults have been thought to support the hypothesis of historical links (Sakellariou, *La Migration grecque* 101; but see n. 59).

the one mentioned by **Aethl. fr. 3**, in whose time the aniconic image of Hera in the famous sanctuary became anthropomorphic.⁶⁸ It was Prokles' son Leogoros whom Androklos of Ephesos attacked (above, p. 582), on the pretext that the Samians had assisted the Karians against the Ionians: this story of treason was remembered. Some of the fleeing Samians settled Samothrace, previously Dardania (contradicted by Strabo 10.2.17). The others fortified Anaia on the mainland and managed to return ten years later and evict the Ephesians. Strabo (14.1.3 = Pherekydes?) says only that Samos was founded first by Tembrion then by Prokles; at 14.1.15 he says it was first called Parthenia when inhabited by the Kares, then Anthemous, then Melamphyllous, then Samos either after a local hero (who would have to be the son of Ankaïos) or an oilist who came from Ithake and Kephallenia, which is called Samos or Same by Homer (cf. 10.2.17).⁶⁹ An isolated report in the Townelean scholia to the *Iliad* (15.341b) says that Samos was settled by descendants of the Deiochos mentioned in that line; no further details are given, and nothing more is known about this Deiochos.

Chios. Pausanias (7.4.8) abridges **Ion fr. 1**, who will have drawn on his own local traditions. Poseidon and a nymph had a son Chios on this previously uninhabited island; the snow that fell during the birth gave him his name. (**Metrod. fr. 3A** says the island was named for a nymph Chios. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Χίος* calls her a daughter of Okeanos, logically enough; in the same entry he quotes Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 141 but one cannot say whether the genealogy, or the snow explanation also quoted there, is Hekataios'.) Thereafter Poseidon mated with another nymph and fathered Agelos and Melas. In time came Oinopion from Crete with his sons Talos, Euanthes, Melas, Salagos,

⁶⁸ There is some confusion in the sources. Pausanias 7.4.4 says that according to some people Prokles brought the carved image with him from Argos; he then reports the tradition that the sculptor was Smilis, a contemporary of Daïdalos, i.e. well before Prokles' time. Kallimachos calls him Skelmis (fr. 100 Pf.; surely the same person: both names are formed from words for 'knife', viz. *σκάλη* and *σμίλη*; see Harder *ad loc.*); interesting here to note the Daktyl Kelmis (→§1.7.3 n. 162). The *Diegesis* *ad loc.*, in words recalling Clement's quotation of Aethlios—probably Kallimachos' source (Alpers, 'Hellenikos von Lesbos' 20–1)—mentions the advent of the anthropomorphic image, and appears to say that Prokles had the *aniconic* image, which had been made out of wood brought from Argos, reworked into its new form. This looks like an accurate account of the tradition, and we may assume confusion in details by Pausanias' day (and a natural synchronism of one famous sculptor, Skelmis, with another, Daïdalos). If Tembrion and Prokles are both ancient tradition, the change of image allows each one to found the sanctuary, as *ktistai* should do. On the anthropomorphic (and in this case, wooden) xoanon which succeeded the aniconic *σανίς* (as also Kallim. *loc. cit.*) see Avagianou, *Sacred Marriage* 54 n. 157; Manakidou, *Beschreibungen* 222–4; Casadio, 'Hera a Samo', 139–41; on xoana and the history of anthropomorphic statues B. Dietrich, *Grazer Beiträge* 12–13 (1985–86) 180–2; Donohue, *Xoana* (195–6, 202–3 on this case); Lightfoot on Luc. *De Dea Syr.* 2. On dedications of statues by heroes cf. G. Tosetti, *Unione divino-umane* 402–10 (his material also suggests that a second Prokles might have been considered too late for such a foundation, in terms of mythical logic). A xoanon figures also in Akous. 28, if the word is his (→§5.3.3).

⁶⁹ Themistagoras (*FHG* 4.512; date unknown), cited in the *Etym. Gen.* and *Etym. Magn.* s.v. *Ἀστυπαλαία*, has an edifying version whereby Tembrion and Prokles arrive together, reach a friendly rapprochement with the Karians, and divide the population into two tribes Schesia and Astypalaia. Diod. Sic. 5.81.8 claims that Samos was founded by Kydrolaos son of Makareus of Lesbos; Sakellariou (*La Migration grecque* 96) and others suspect patriotic fiction by Ephoros here. Iambl. *VP* 3 lists Athenians among the colonists, but this late version is a scholarly compilation.

and Athamas.⁷⁰ During Oinopion's reign, Karians and Abantes from Euboia settled on the island. Later came Amphiklos from Histiaia in Euboia at the behest of Delphi, and took over the kingship from Oinopion's sons.⁷¹ Amphiklos' great-grandson Hektor killed or evicted the Karians and Abantes, then 'remembered' that he ought to belong to the Panionion, which therefore already existed; the Chians are thus marked as late-comers. How this fits with Ion's Athenian genealogy of Oinopion, discussed below, is not immediately clear. It is an obvious guess that Athenian/Ionians arrived between Amphiklos and Hektor, though this is not mentioned by Pausanias. The original Chian tradition, on this assumption, did not involve Hektor 'remembering', but joining the league for some other reason, maybe one that left Athens altogether out of account. Strabo (from Pherekydes?) says only that Chios was founded by one Egertios, not further described, leading a motley group. (At 13.3.3 following Menekrates of Elaia *FGH* 2.342 he reports that the Chians say they were descended from Thessalian Pelasgians.)

Several of these names—Melas, Oinopion, Euanthes—are related to Chios' famous wine production. μέλας οἶνος is a formula in the *Odyssey*, e.g. 5.265; more particularly, 'black wine' as a type was first produced by the Chians according to Theophrastos *FGH* 115 F 276, taught to the people by Oinopion. Melas is attested in a Chian dedication on Delos of the mid sixth century (*CEG* 1.425; Μέλας πατρώϊον ἄστυ). Chios is 'Oinopion's city' in Kritias fr. 2.6 West; his shrine is attested in a fifth-century inscription,⁷² and Pausanias (7.5.13) saw his tomb there. He is traditionally a son of none other than Dionysos (see below), and proverbial for drunkenness in Alexis fr. 113 K.—A. Oinopion may count as the first real founder, with numerous progeny and some surviving mythology;⁷³ his predecessors Melas and Agelos—the latter presumably 'herdsman' (though the text may be unsound)—symbolize the island's basic sources of livelihood. The Cretan connection, reflected also in the alternative father Rhadamanthys (Epimen. fr. 4(79)), may have arisen either from historical recollections of Minoan influence, or the availability of Crete as a symbol of pre-Greekness, or both. Oinopion's son Talos bears another Cretan name. Athamas is interesting as marking a claim to Aiolian connections amongst the earliest strands of the population; the Chian dialect in fact contains some Aiolisms.⁷⁴ Of Salagos we can say nothing (Kontoleon, below, notes the modern place-name 'Salagonas' on Chios and speculates that there was one in antiquity).

It is worth mentioning the variant genealogy in an inscription of the second or first century BC published by Kontoleon, *RPh* 23 (1949) 5–9, and again by Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften* 40–1 (T 9): Oinopion arrived in Chios

⁷⁰ If Ion gave any credence to the tradition that Makar of Lesbos settled Chios (Hellan. fr. 71; → §17.8), it would have been in the time before Oinopion (and omitted here by Pausanias).

⁷¹ Hippias of Erythrai (*FGH* 421 F 1) names Amphiklos and Polyteknes as coeval tyrants of Chios.

⁷² Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* 126.

⁷³ For his antagonistic relationship with Orion see Gantz 116, 271–2.

⁷⁴ There must be some link to fr. 3 on Teos (see above).

(from where, does not survive in the inscription) accompanied by his sons Athamas, Kretheus, and Arselos, and companions Babras, Kaukasos, Salagos, and Hegeus; he had two wives, Kritopheme, daughter of Deukalion and mother of Athamas, who did not come to Chios with him, and Nike, sister of Babras, who did, and was mother of Kretheus, Arselos, a third son Εὐδελ[ξ]ος and a daughter Liro. We find here a reinforcement of the Aiolian connection (Kretheus) and note connections with the place-names Kaukasa (Hdt. 5.33.1) and Babranteion (Polyb. 16.40.1 ap. Steph. Byz. β3);⁷⁵ otherwise we can say little. These Hellenistic chronicles sometimes reflect research into old authors, and in any case reveal the continuing dynamic of genealogies.

Pausanias closes by saying that he was unable to learn from Ion's account how the Chians were Ionian. To us moderns it might seem obvious that the Euboians provided the link, but Pausanias was probably looking for a genealogical connection which Ion failed to give. Possibly the reason for his silence about ethnicity, however Ion conceived it, was tact, if the issue was sensitive.⁷⁶ We happen to know that he forged a link with Athens via another route, and in doing so provides a clear example of modification of myth in the interests of contemporary concerns. From an elegy quoted by Plutarch (fr. 29 West), we learn that, astoundingly, he made Oinopion and Staphylos sons of Theseus. The usual and canonical version, in view of the connection with viticulture, was that both Oinopion and Staphylos were sons of Dionysos and Ariadne.⁷⁷ The link is very strong indeed when one recalls that Ion was a member of Kimon's circle, whose use of Theseus for propaganda purposes is well known (→ §16.3.1). We have no idea whether this innovation found any favour amongst Ion's contemporary countrymen, but Theopompos, writing at the time of rebellion against the second Athenian league, was having none of it.⁷⁸

Finally it is worth noting that the fragment succinctly describes all the key stages of the island's history and aspects of its constitution, including its primeval state of nature, its principal source of livelihood, the several steps towards fully civilized inhabitation (Kares are no more than half-civilized; Minoans are better, but not yet Greek), and its political institutions.⁷⁹ Xenomedes' history of Keos reveals a similar structure (→ §17.6).

Smyrna. Here Strabo has a fuller account than Pausanias. He says (14.1.4) that a part of Ephesos was originally called Smyrna after an Amazon; these 'Smyrnaia' issued from Ephesos and seized the territory of their new city from the Leleges. They were then pushed out by the Aiolians, and took refuge with the Kolophonians; with some of these

⁷⁵ Kontoleon must be right to equate this with Parbas, known from the Klytidai inscription A36, B31 (McCabe and Brownson, *Chios Inscriptions* no. 75).

⁷⁶ Fowler, 'Early *Historiē* and Literacy' 111–12.

⁷⁷ E.g. Hes. fr. 238; Anakr. (if genuine) *PMG* 505(e); Epimen. fr. 4(79); Theopompos (a Chian) *FGH* 115 F 276; Apollod. *Epit.* 1.9; schol. Ap. Rhod. 3.997–1004a; Schol. Arat. *Phain.* 636. Dionysos and Ariadne were parents of Oinopion, Staphylos and Euanthes, among others.

⁷⁸ Ferretto, 'Bnopia fra mito e propaganda'.

⁷⁹ Schepens, 'Ancient Greek City Histories' 18–19.

they retook Smyrna, which was subsequently admitted to the Panionion at Ephesos' instigation (Strabo quotes Kallinos fr. 2 West). Behind this lies Herodotos (1.150), although he says that the Kolophonian aggressors were exiles from their own city who were first taken in by the Smyrnaians, and subsequently captured the city by a stratagem. Pausanias (75.1) says merely that Ionians from Kolophon took the city from the Aioliens, and that the Ionians later admitted it to the Panionion.

Concerning the latter, Wilamowitz was the first to relate the founding of the league to Vitruvius 4.1.4 ('Melite' destroyed on account of its hybris by the other cities of the league, which henceforth became twelve) and *IPriene* 37 on the Melian war (citing Euagon test. 1A and Kreoph. test. 1);⁸⁰ he has found much assent. Whatever form the league might have had before or at the time of the war (usually dated to c.700), the event could have acted as its aetiology in the late archaic and classical periods.⁸¹ **Hek. fr. 11**, from the final book, refers to Melie as a Karian city; the context might have been the Ionian migration,⁸² or the Nostoi.

§19.3 The Dorian Migration (Ag. /Derk. fr. 9; Hek. fr. 12; Hellan. fr. 137, 200; Herod. fr. 62)

The first stage of the Dorians' migration was their movement from the north of Greece to the south, the so-called Dorian Invasion; this has been discussed in §9.1. After their arrival in the Peloponnese, some of them moved eastward across the Aegean. In places such as Crete, Rhodes, and Kos, they found that other sons of Herakles were there ahead of them, which is somewhat awkward if 'Herakleidai' and 'Dorian' are meant to be conterminous, and to have started their careers together.⁸³ In fact, as also discussed in §9.1, this story of subsequent migration of Dorians from the Peloponnese can be seen as an attempt precisely to allow the eastern Herakleidai to join up with the western ones and become Dorian after all. Crete underwent a similar process (→§11.1), as did the islands of Nisyros, Kalydna/Kalymna, Karpathos, and Kasos.⁸⁴ Knidos is a slightly different case (→§5.2.3); it was indeed previously settled, not however by Herakleidai but by Thessalians. Lakedaemonians in due course arrived (Hdt. 1.174.2, Diod. Sic. 5.9.2).

⁸⁰ Wilamowitz, 'Panionion'.

⁸¹ Smarczyk, *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik* 357 n. 64; Cook, *CAH* 2¹ 803; Pownall, *BNJ* comm. on Douris of Samos, *FGrHist* 76 F 25. On the early days of the league see briefly Jeffery, *Archaic Greece* 208–9; in detail, Kleiner, Hommel, and Müller-Wiener, *Panionion und Melie*. J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity* 67–8, sounds a sceptical note.

⁸² I do not see why Jacoby rules this out. For the Nostoi he compares Podaleirios who settled on 'the Karian Chersonese' (Apollod. *Epit.* 6.18, Paus. 3.26.10, Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἰόπρις*); note also the story about Phygela, cited n. 14.

⁸³ →§8.5.8, §9.1 (Tlepolemos and Rhodes); →§8.5.4 (Thessalos and Kos); →§9.1 (Tektaphos and Crete).

⁸⁴ *Il.* 2.676–7; Hdt. 7.99.3; Diod. Sic. 5.54. Syme appears to be a dependency of Rhodes in the *Catalogue of Ships*, where its people are led by the fair Nireus (*Il.* 2.671–5). Mnaseas fr. 12 (*FHG* 3.151) says that Syme was daughter of Ialysos and Dotis; Steph. Byz. p. 591.19 says that Aigle was a previous name of the island, and Aiglaie is the name of Nireus' mother.

In many places, however, our sources (not plentiful, to be sure) say simply that the Dorian poleis were colonized from mother cities in the Peloponnese, recording no such complications. Halikarnassos was founded from Troizen;⁸⁵ Astypalaia from Megara (ps.-Skymnos 551); Iasos from Troizen (Polyb. 16.12.2), even if it eventually became Ionian; Myndos from Troizen (Paus. 2.30.9); Melos from Sparta (Hdt. 8.48, Thuc. 5.84.2, Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.3); Thera also from Sparta (Hdt. 4.147–8); and so on.⁸⁶ In strong contrast to the stories of the Ionian migration, these expeditions consist only of Dorians.⁸⁷ As noted above in §19.1, the ethnos was not created during and as a result of the migration; it existed before.

Often the newcomers displace a Karian population.⁸⁸ For that reason, one might suggest the Dorian migration as a possible context for **Hek. fr. 12** (from Book 4), from which we learn that Mygissos was a Karian city. Similarly, **Hellan. fr. 200** says that Kos was previously called Karis. It was once thought that Mygissos was recorded in the Athenian Tribute Lists in the Karian district, but this was based on a false reading (*ATL* 1.173). In some cases Ionians displaced Karians (as in **Hek. fr. 11**, above §19.2.2, *ad fin.*), so Mygissos could just as well be Ionian. We know nothing else about it.

Concerning Rhodes our sources offer a more circumstantial history than for other cities.⁸⁹ For the earliest period under the Telchines, see §17.4. They were succeeded by the Heliadae, children of Helios and Rhodos. Rhodos' father is normally Poseidon except in Epimen. fr. 11 (§17.4 n. 42); but according to a scholion on *Od.* 17.208, she was a daughter of Asopos and bore Phaethon and other children to Helios. The scholion cites 'the tragedians', and scholars have conjectured that Aischylos' *Heliades* is at least one of the sources (*TrGF* 3.185). Rhodos' mother is either Aphrodite (Pind. *Ol.* 7.14, **Herod. fr. 62**) or Amphitrite (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.28, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.2); Diodoros makes her daughter of Halia, one of the Telchines (5.55.4). The children of Helios and Rhodos, or Rhode as Hellenikos calls her (**Hellan. fr. 137** ap. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.132a), were Kerkaphos, Aktis, Makaros, Kandalos, Triopes, and Phaethon 'the younger, whom the Rhodians call Tenages'. These are repeated several times with inconsequential variants by the scholia to Pindar; Pindar himself does not name them, but says that one of them was father of Ialysos, Kameiros, and Lindos, eponyms of the three main Rhodian towns. This was Kerkaphos. The other brothers exist mostly to support chauvinistic appropriations: Aktis, 'Sunray', the supposed founder of Heliopolis in Egypt (Steph. Byz. 79), is

⁸⁵ Hdt. 7.99.3, Kallim. fr. 703, *SIG*³ 1020 (1st cent. BC), Apollod. *FGrHist* 244 F 291, Strabo 14.2.16, Paus. 2.30.9, 2.32.6 (Strabo 14.2.6 also mentions some Megarian immigrants). The colony was established after the Return of the Herakleidai (Paus. 2.30.10). Vitruvius (2.8.12) says it was founded from Argos and Troizen, and Mela (1.85) from Argos. See Jameson, 'Troizen and Halikarnassos in the Hellenistic Era'.

⁸⁶ For the traditions concerning the Dorian islands, see Craik, *The Dorian Aegean* 149–92.

⁸⁷ Only Thera, to be discussed below, has some hitchhikers in the form of some stray Minyai—but they were already resident in Lakonia.

⁸⁸ Bresson, 'Karien und die dorische Kolonisation'.

⁸⁹ Diodoros' lengthy treatment draws on Zenon of Rhodes *FGrHist* 523 F 1, where see Jacoby's detailed commentary; Wiemer, *Rhodische Traditionen* chs. 8–9.

the most obviously artificial; Triopes is the Knidian founder-figure (→§5.2.3); Makar is the same for Lesbos (*Il.* 24.544; →§17.8). Kandalos went to Kos, where his name has been related to Cape Skandarian;⁹⁰ there was probably other mythology about him on the island. The occasion for the emigrations was the murder of Tenages. To be murdered is thus his *raison d'être*. Ochimos and Kerkaphos did not participate in the crime, so did not emigrate; but as we learn from Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 27 p. 297c, the brothers quarrelled, in an incident that served as an aition for sacrifice to the local hero Okridion.

This period of stasis was followed by the stability of the three Dorian cities. Because of *Il.* 2.655–68, it was hard to avoid the inference that they were founded by Tlepolemos; but the difficulty of calling him Dorian was obvious, and is reflected both in the role assigned to Kerkaphos as father of the three eponyms, and in the conflicting stories about the Dorian settler Althaimenes of Crete (or was it Argos?), founder of the important cult of Zeus Atabyrios.⁹¹

There is no way of knowing the age of the stories about the brothers, and whether the list is taken from Hellanikos. He is quoted only for calling their mother 'Rhode' not 'Rhodos'; normally that means the rest of the scholion comes from somebody else. Diodoros/Zenon is the main source, and it is notable that he/they replicate the scholiast's list of Heliadae, but omit the information that Tenages was the alternative name of 'the younger Phaethon', and add a sister Elektryone, a cult figure in her own right with a sanctuary in Ialysos.⁹² Since Hellanikos put Elektryone on Samothrace (*fr.* 23; →§18.1.1), this suggests he is not the source here. But his hand may be detectable behind this younger Phaethon; doubling figures is one of his known mythographic devices. The older Phaethon could be the son of Helios and Rhode (above), or of Eos and Kephalos (*Hes. Th.* 984–91), or of Helios and Klymene (*Eur. Phaethon*).⁹³ It is probably safe to assume that this older one was the famous driver of Helios' chariot, but it is not quite certain: one could suppose that Hellanikos followed Hesiod's story about the older one (kidnapped by Aphrodite; nothing to do with Helios), and that it is the younger one who made the fatal journey, perhaps rationalized. Since he is identical with Tenages, this would preclude the murder story, and mean that Hellanikos is drawing on quite different traditions from Zenon. Another reason for thinking that the list of sons in the Pindaric scholion is not Hellanikean is the possibly different treatment of Makar in his history of Lesbos (see §17.8); but there too our information is less than certain.

It is economical to suppose that Zenon borrowed the names from Hellanikos, but knew from local tradition that Alektrona was also a daughter of Helios; he also knew that Phaethon was Hellanikos' own fancy. (The theoretical possibility that they both drew on a third, earlier source is less likely; we cannot name a written source, and if the

⁹⁰ Strabo 14.2.19; Bethe, *Hermes* 24 (1889) 431 n. 2.

⁹¹ See Jacoby on *FGH Hist* 523 F 1 (56.2–58.3, pp. 438–9) and Blakely's and Brown's commentaries on Konon *Dieg.* 47.

⁹² *IG XII.1.677*, from the 2nd c. BC; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.1–4; Zusanek, *Rhodos und Helios* 77–82.

⁹³ On these figures see Collard and Cropp 2.324, following Diggle in his 1970 edition and Gantz 31–2.

source was local oral tradition, it would show more variation.) If that is the case, we may suspect that Hellanikos is using a device typical of Herodotos: when he quotes local authority ('the islanders say' that the younger Phaethon is identical with Tenages), he means that it is what they *should* say according to his researches, or *would* say if you asked the right ones.⁹⁴ Whether he had any good information about Phaethon on Rhodes cannot be said, though it is plausible enough given Phaethon's connection with Helios.⁹⁵ In *fr.* 23 Hellanikos has exactly the same locution regarding Elektryone, 'whom the locals call Strategis', which may strengthen the inference that this Rhodian equation is his work.

The true Rhodian founder is of course Tlepolemos.⁹⁶ His previous history has been discussed in §8.5.8 and §9.1. The reason for his exile from Tiryns was his murder of his great-uncle Likymnios. In Pindar (*Ol.* 7.20–30) he killed him deliberately; in the *Iliad* (2.653–70) the situation is unclear. Pindar could not have said this if it did not chime with local belief. In time the Rhodians seem to have changed their minds. *Ag./Derk. fr.* 9 said it was an accident; the precise circumstances then became a matter for free invention.⁹⁷

Concerning Thera and Melos we have some further information that has quite interesting implications for early mythography. Herodotos (4.147–8) says that Theras, the eponymous founder of the island, had been guardian of Prokles and Eurysthenes, the two young sons of Aristodemos. About this man the Spartans disagreed with the rest of the Greeks, who thought he had died during the Dorian Invasion before reaching Lakedaimonia; the Spartans insisted he had reached the new homeland alive (*Hdt.* 6.52.1, cf. Paus. 3.1.6; →§9.1). When the boys, now resident in Sparta, grew up, Theras was not content to relinquish his rule, and so emigrated to Thera, then called Kalliste, and inhabited by Phoenicians (Kadmeians) to whom he was related as a descendant of Polyneikes of Thebes. He took with him Spartans from the various *phylai*, and also some of the Minyai who had been evicted from Lemnos by the Pelasgoi; they had been taken in by the Lakedaimonians, but had caused trouble. Pausanias (3.1.7–8) says that Prokles and Eurysthenes, though bitterly at odds over everything else, were strongly supportive of their uncle and former guardian Theras in his colonial venture.⁹⁸ Whether Aristodemos died before or after reaching Lakedaimon, this colony was sent out in the very earliest days of Spartan settlement. The story of his death, of Theras' disappointment, and the trouble with the Minyai, and of course the hatred of the twins for each

⁹⁴ Luraghi, 'Local Knowledge in Herodotus' *Histories* and 'Meta-history'.

⁹⁵ Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 1.142.

⁹⁶ He appears in the Lindian chronicle; see Higbie's commentary, pp. 80–1, 210–11.

⁹⁷ *Diod. Sic.* 5.59.5; *Apollod. Bibl.* 2.170; schol. *Pind. Ol.* 7.36c; schol. *D Il.* 2.662; Gantz 466. Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization* 120–35 sees the motif of murder and purification in this story and other similar ones as a reflection of the violence inflicted by colonists on the indigenous people; contested at least with respect to Likymnios by J.-P. Wilson, 'Ideologies' of Greek Colonization' 40–2.

⁹⁸ Also Paus. 3.15.6; 4.3.4; 7.2.2; schol. *Pind. Pyth.* 4.88b; schol. *Ap. Rhod.* 4.1760–64c (all dependent on Herodotos). On the colonization of Thera see Malkin, *Myth and Territory* 89–111.

other all suggest memories of stasis and ongoing tension in the royal houses in the historical period.

Now in his Melian Dialogue, Thucydides (5.112.2) represents the Melians as stating that the foundation had occurred 700 years before, i.e. in 1116 BC. The colonization must have happened after the region of Lakedaimonia was properly settled, and appears to have been a straightforward matter. Thucydides' date tells us something also about the chronological framework which historians were beginning to construct in his time, indeed before it, as Herodotos already had some views on the date of Herakles.⁹⁹ Thucydides elsewhere (1.12.3) says that the Boiotoi were evicted from Thessaly 60 years after the fall of Troy, and that the Herakleidai took possession of the Peloponnesos 80 years after the fall. Strabo (9.2.3 = Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 119; → §5.4.1) adds that at the same time the Aiolian emigration was about to depart from Aulis under the sons of Orestes. If we put Herodotos' genealogy of Theras together with Thucydides' dates, we obtain the following table:

Oidipous	Herakles		
Polyneikes	Hyllos		
Thersandros	Kleodaios	Agamemnon	Fall of Troy
Teisamenos		Orestes	
	Aristomachos		
Autesion		Teisamenos; other sons of Orestes	Boiotoi (60 years after Fall)
	Aristodemos		Return of the Herakleidai (80 years after Fall)
Theras			
	Prokles, Eurysthenes		

The 60- and 80-year intervals in Thucydides have sometimes been thought to result from two separate generational calculations, one with a 30-year and one with a 40-year generation, but that would be a strange thing to find in a single author; stranger still if Thucydides combined two such calculations from different authors. Rather, the opening of a gap, with consequent disturbance in the alignment, resulted from several data in the tradition: (i) a belief that the Return of the Herakleidai happened after the migration of the Boiotoi; (ii) the story (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.172) that Aristomachos had fallen in battle with Teisamenos son of Orestes; (iii) the synchronism nonetheless of the Return, in the time of Aristodemos son of Aristomachos, with the reign of Teisamenos son of

⁹⁹ See my 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 74–5. I argued there that, once one removes the false premises on which Meyer built his thesis of a 40-year generation, the only trace of such a thing left in early writing was this passage of Thucydides; the present analysis shows that that too is illusory. Panchenko, 'Democritus' Trojan Era', seeks to show, wrongly as it seems to me, that the three-generations-to-a-century rule is Hekataios', and that Herodotos used a 40-year generation.

Orestes (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.176, Paus. 2.18.7, 3.1.5, 4.3.3, 7.1.7). There is, moreover, a general vagueness in the whole tradition about the alignment of the first two columns in the chart both with each other and with the date of Troy. The Epigonoι are the generation after Polyneikes, and the sack of Thebes had already happened by the time of Troy; yet many of the characters in the latter story have ancestors who were contemporary with the Seven, and three of the Epigonoι (Diomedes, Euryalos, and Sthenelos) also fought at Troy. It is perhaps awareness of this that led Pausanias to state (9.5.15) that Teisamenos, son of Thersandros, was too young to go to Troy (cf. *Il.* 2.494). In this perspective the first two columns in their entirety could be shunted downwards by part of a generation vis-à-vis the third. Thucydides' 60 and 80 years, then, signify simply 'two generations plus a bit'. The interval of twenty years is simply an arbitrary number; one that felt right, and reconciled all the data so far as was possible. We have therefore evidence for a 30-year generation (comparable to Herodotos' three generations to a century at 2.142), not for a 40-year generation, which has always seemed to fly in the face of ordinary Greek belief about the age at which men start families. This sort of reasoning would have been congenial to Hellanikos, from whom Thucydides may be borrowing; see further below in §19.4 on the date of the Aiolian migration.¹⁰⁰

Returning now to the date of Melos' foundation, 1116 BC, the difficulty is that we do not know in what generation the colony was sent out from Sparta. It must be after Prokles and Eurysthenes. If we assume it was in the very next generation, that dates the twins to 1146 BC, their father to 1176 BC, and the fall of Troy to 1256 BC.¹⁰¹ It cannot have been much earlier. Herodotos (2.145.4) had dated Herakles' ἀκμὴ to about 1330 BC, and the birth of Pan son of Penelope to about 800 years before his time, just after the war (ibid.). This gives a date of about 1300 BC for the Fall or slightly later. Given that the 700 years may be a round figure, this result is effectively the same for both authors.¹⁰²

There is more. At some time towards the end of the fifth century, Demokritos (ap. Diog. Laert. 9.41 = *Vors.* 68 A 1, test. 6 Taylor) published his *Lesser Diakosmos*, which he said he had written 730 years after the Fall. Where did this much lower date come from? It looks like a generational count of $(7 \times 3) + 1 = 22$. This accords very well with the Spartan king-list as given by Herodotos (7.204, 8.131), in which there are 21 generations separating the kings of 480 BC from Herakles, counting inclusively. Subtract one

¹⁰⁰ D. W. Prakken, *AJP* 64 (1943) 417–23, similarly concludes that Hellanikos had a thirty-year generation (and three to the hundred), and lies behind both Thucydides and Strabo. Mele, 'Cuma eolica' 381–2, argues that the calculations made allowance for the fact that the heroes who went to Troy were 20 years old at its start. Orestes was quite young at the start of the war, so the second generation after him is only 60 years after the war.

¹⁰¹ Panchenko, 'Democritus' Trojan Era' 34, notes that the war with the Helots took place in the next generation (Strabo 8.5.4 = Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 117), but he is incorrect to state that Plutarch, *Mor.* 247c–d, dates the foundation of Melos to the time of this war; Plutarch is talking about the trouble with the Lemnian refugees, which have been transferred here from the Theran story.

¹⁰² Further on the colonization in Melos, including later variants in Konon and Plutarch, see Malkin, *Myth and Territory* 74–8.

generation for the space between Herakles and Troy (his own son Tlepolemos was one of the warriors; he himself sacked Troy in the time of Laomedon, and in the company of Telamon, father of Aias): 480 is 20 generations after Troy. There were two more kings in each line between 480 and the end of the century, Pleistarchos and Pleistoanax in the Agiad line, Archidamos and Agis in the Eurypontid; these last are in the 22nd generation after Troy. Pleistoanax reigned from 458 to 408/7, and Agis reigned from 427/6 to 400. Demokritos tells us, according to Diogenes Laertius (9.41), that he was young when Anaxagoras was old. Apollodoros placed the birth of Anaxagoras in 499/8, so this all fits together well.

It seems to me very possible that Demokritos has taken his date for Troy from Hellanikos.¹⁰³ The mainstream of later chronography, beginning with Ephoros and continuing to Eratosthenes, followed this lower dating. Panchenko, 'Democritus' Trojan Era', argues that they were following Demokritos, but it seems far likelier that they were following Hellanikos, who was the authority in these matters. As is well known, Herodotos' dating of Herakles—900 years before his time (2.145)—is at odds with a date that would be produced using his own principle of three generations to a century (2.142) and his own Spartan king-lists. The explanation is that the figure of 900 years was arrived at by different means, and Herodotos did not notice the contradiction.¹⁰⁴ Hellanikos did, and revised the calculation. Thucydides may have followed him for the date of the Aiolian migration (hard to resist, as it was associated with the sons of Orestes), but he clung to the older view for the date of Troy's defeat.¹⁰⁵

We may be able to say yet more. Apollodoros dated Demokritos' *Lesser Diakosmos* to 421/0. This could be based merely on his statement that he was young when Anaxagoras was old. Apollodoros would then have dated Demokritos' birth to the ἀκμῇ of Anaxagoras, his 40th year; if the former was born in 499/8, the latter was born in 460/59. He further assumed that Demokritos wrote his own *Lesser Diakosmos* in his own fortieth year, which is 421/0. But this is not 730 years after Apollodoros' date for Troy. Accordingly, Mansfeld argued that the figure had been corrupted (from 763).¹⁰⁶ He notes further indications of revision of Apollodoros' original book in the paragraph in Diogenes, and points out that if the figure of 730 years derives from Demokritos himself, Apollodoros could not have used it to date his ἀκμῇ. But subtracting 730 years from Apollodoros' date for Troy produces the year 454/3, which is the date given for Demokritos' ἀκμῇ by Diodoros of Sicily (14.11.5). So here is another testimony to the

¹⁰³ Burkert, 'Lydia between East and West' 142 = 225 briefly floats this suggestion.

¹⁰⁴ See my 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 74–5. On Hellanikos' date for Troy see also §20 on Hellanikos, fr. 5.

¹⁰⁵ Thucydides' date for the migration of the Sikelois to Sicily (300 years before the Greeks arrived there: 6.2.5) cannot derive from Hellanikos, who put their migration before the Trojan War (fr. 79:→§17.5). Nor does it derive from Antiochos, who gave no date, unless we think Dionysios was mistaken (Antioch. fr. 4:→§17.5, and Part B). Greek historiography is characterized from beginning to end by a desire to disagree.

¹⁰⁶ Mansfeld, 'Apollodoros on Democritus'.

number 730, which was obviously in the system; but Diodoros cannot be right, for this makes Demokritos contemporary with Anaxagoras, not young when he was old. Mansfeld naturally argues that Diodoros' source was already working with the corrupted Apollodoros, and recalculated the date. This is all getting rather complicated, though unfortunately that is normal in ancient chronography. It matters for present purposes, however, to know whether Demokritos gave a figure. He could not have given 763, which is based on Apollodoros (Eratosthenes') date for the fall of Troy. If he gave a figure at all, it was 730.

Add to this now Panchenko's observation that the archon for 454/3 was Ariston, and the archon for 421/0 was Aristion. These are our two dates above. Each name gets corrupted to the other in various sources. Panchenko argues that 421/0 was the approximate date of the *Lesser Diakosmos* and that whoever got it wrong, writing 'Ariston' for 'Aristion', introduced a permanent and deep-rooted confusion into the chronographic tradition, in which we are often given a choice between two dates, one generation apart, for the same event. If Panchenko is right, much of archaic Greek history—the career of Solon, for instance—needs rewriting. We need not concern ourselves here with this startling consequence, or Panchenko's analysis of the subsequent tradition. For our purposes, the interesting point is that Demokritos' formula somehow allowed the inference that he was writing in the late 420s. This would, in turn, tell us when Hellanikos published his date for the fall of Troy. The work in which he did this was the *Hiereiai* (see fr. 79b, in which he dates an event both in relation to Troy and the 26th year of a priestess). There are other indications that he published this book at the end of the 420s (→Part B), so this fits too.

There are other ways of explaining the data, and much is uncertain. If all that Demokritos said was that he was young when Anaxagoras was old, and the link to the Trojan epoch was added later, then we know no more about Hellanikos than we did before. But if Demokritos gave a figure of 730, and this is derived from Hellanikos, then he dated the fall of Troy to 1150 BC.¹⁰⁷

§19.4 The Aiolian Migration¹⁰⁸

Strabo says (13.1.3) that the Greek colonies were a subject of much discussion, but none more so than the Aiolian. He gives three reasons: the unusually broad geographic

¹⁰⁷ Pearson, *The Local Historians of Attica* 12 argues for a date of 1240 BC, on the basis of Hellan. fr. 47a (1020 years from Ogygos to the first Olympiad according to Philochoros (FGH Hist 328 F 92a), Hellanikos, and several others); he also assumes that Philochoros' 189 years from Ogygos to Kekrops came from Hellanikos. Kekrops was according to Hellanikos eleven generations before Troy. It is not at all certain that either interval can be attributed to Hellanikos (or even to Philochoros: see Jacoby ad loc., Text p. 383).

¹⁰⁸ Comprehensive discussions and bibliography in Mele, Napolitano, and Visconti, *Eoli ed Eolide*. The early archaeology is surveyed by Vanschoonwinkel, 'Greek Migrations to Aegean Anatolia in the Early Dark Age' and Rose, 'Separating Fact from Fiction in the Aiolian Migration'. On the Aiolian ethnos see also §5.1.

spread of Aiolian settlement (from Kyzikos to the Hermos); the antiquity of the migration (four generations before the Ionian); and its extension over much time. It is true that the Aiolians were more dispersed, and regarding the chronology already Pherekydes (fr. 155) was clear that the Aiolian migration preceded the Ionian, since the catalyst for the latter was the disruption in the Peloponnese caused by the returning Herakleidai; by this time the Aiolians were already under way. That the migration took several generations was perhaps not always agreed. The historic clan of the Penthelidai on Lesbos regarded themselves as descended from Orestes, and the oldest references to the migration suggest that he had led it personally: thus, apparently, *Hell. fr. 32*, and Lykophron, *Alex.* 1374–7. Earlier, Pindar (*Nem.* 11.34) had said that Aristagoras of Tenedos was descended from Peisandros of Sparta, who came with Orestes from Amyklai. A straightforward foundation story such as that would suit the aristocratic clans. Yet there was a strong and old tradition that Orestes had died in Arkadia (Pher. fr. 135, Hdt. 1.67–8; → §14.4). The compromise, found in Strabo, was to say that, though Orestes died in Arkadia, his sons led the migration. A third tradition, surviving in the scholia to Lykophron (*Alex.* 1374c; the ancient scholia, not Tzetzes), says that Orestes did lead the expedition, but died shortly after arrival on Lesbos. He was thus unable to found his city; 100 years later, i.e. three generations, his descendant Gras succeeded. As Jacoby saw (comm. on fr. 32), this could well be Hellanikos' version; the report in fr. 32 is extremely brief, and not inconsistent with the Lykophron scholion by any means (it is, to be sure, not easily reconciled with Lykophron himself, who says that Orestes would 'burn to ashes a foreign land', *καταιθαλώσει γαίαν ὀθνεῖαν*, which cannot obviously mean either that he died in Arkadia or founded Lesbos).

Hellanikos, being Lesbian, would know the island's traditions. One supposes that the model was the return of the Herakleidai: like them, the Aiolians were rebuffed at first, but rewarded for persistent effort. The length of the process can thus be seen in a positive light. Yet there may be more to it than this. There is a crucial difference from the Herakleidai in respect of ethnicity. In spite of the obviously artificial way in which Herakleidai are combined and equated with Dorians, the artificiality was not admitted: the Dorians insisted they were unified from the start. It was otherwise with the Aiolians. Lykophron says that Orestes came with a host of 'many tongues' (*πολύγλωσσος*) or, as we should say, dialects. Pindar in the passage cited above says that Aristagoras was also descended on his mother's side from Thebans. Strabo says (9.2.5) that so many Boiotians joined the sons of Orestes that the colonization was known as 'Boiotian' as well as 'Aiolian'. It is in fact a real question how Orestes came to be considered Aiolian at all: he is Pelopid. The Lykophron scholion confronts this directly: it says that Orestes gathered people from all over, whom he called Aioleis because they came from a variety of places (*ἐκ ποικίλων τόπων*; the middle term is *αἰόλος*).¹⁰⁹ This looks like a Hellanikean

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Eust. and schol. Dion. Per. 820; Menekles *FGrHist* 270 F 10.

etymology; it also quietly abandons the more obvious explanation, found for instance in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, that the Aiolians were all descended, at least metaphorically, from Aiolos.¹¹⁰ It does not even allow the acquisition of a name by virtue of association, in the way the Kadmeioi became Boiotoi. This is a wholly new beginning.

The contribution of many groups to the migration is reminiscent of the Ionian experience. In that case, the ethnos really was created by the migration itself, and some scholars have argued the same for the Aiolians (→ §5.1); although that is to overstate the case, the Aiolian ethnogenesis was a collaborative effort of ancestral mainlanders and overseas colonists during the era of migration. The process was not straightforward. 'Many-tongued' and 'lasting four generations' are equivalent signifiers. But in one important respect the Ionians are closer to the Dorians: while they admitted the composite nature of the expeditionary force, their conquest was effected more quickly. These claims are reflections of ethnic self-consciousness in the era in which they were made rather than of the actual history; the Ionian migration did not happen overnight any more than did the Aiolian. The Ionians also retained (or developed) a stronger sense of unity with the old country, perhaps because of the dominance of Athens in the fifth century.

The sequence of the migrations may also reflect awareness of an early presence of Aiolians in these parts. The history of the Trojan epics, and the dialects in which they were sung, suggests as much; the Aiolic phase of the epic tradition is no longer in doubt, and it has long been surmised that originally separate stories about the northern hero Achilles and his exploits in the region were attached to the southern story of Agamemnon's expedition.¹¹¹ The wealth of epic, citharodic, and lyric (especially Lesbian) poetry performed in the archaic period would have kept this knowledge of ancient heroes alive.

Geography also raised questions about the cohesion of the ethnos. Outside the area of the so-called Aiolian Dodekapolis (Hdt. 1.149), the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos, and the Mytilenean colonies, the Aiolian character of some cities in the region and even the extent of their Hellenization is often in doubt (Rubinstein, *IACP* p. 1033). Already the ancients argued about the boundaries of the Aiolis, a discussion that continues to this day. Herodotos restricts it to the region occupied by the twelve cities (itself suspected of being an artificial catalogue, imitating the Ionian Dodekapolis; three of his cities—Killa, Notion, and Aigiroessa—can no longer even be located). The definition is bound up with the extent of the Troad; Herodotos regards the Aiolian settlements there as belonging to a separate category (1.151.1, *κεχωρίδεται γὰρ αὐταί*; his reason is not stated but it is not purely geographical). One of a variety of opinions about the boundaries of the Troad reported by Strabo is that of Damastes (*Dam. fr. 9*), that it stretched from

¹¹⁰ Those who said Makar was a son of Aiolos seem to be deploying this argument: §17.8.

¹¹¹ Most recently M. L. West, *The Making of the Iliad* 43–4.

Parion in the Propontis (IACP no. 756) to Cape Lekton.¹¹² Some of these disagreements may have arisen from political circumstances no longer visible to us; others may have arisen just from a desire to disagree.

The two regions developed separately, with the Mysians intervening between them.¹¹³ This separation is retrojected onto the story of the migration. According to Strabo it was first led by Orestes, but he died in Arkadia. His son Penthilos led the emigrants as far as Thrace, about sixty years after the fall of Troy.¹¹⁴ His son Archelaos led the expedition over to Daskylion in the region of Kyzikos. Gras, Archelaos' youngest son, proceeded to the Granikos, organized his forces and launched the conquest of Lesbos. Earlier than this, in Penthilos' time, Kleuas son of Doros and Malaos, 'themselves also descendants of Agamemnon', had assembled a host, but had lingered in Lokris near Mt Phrikion while Penthilos proceeded on to Thrace; they crossed much later and founded Kyme, called 'Phrikonian' after the Lokrian mountain (cf. Hdt. 1.149.1 *Κύμη ἡ Φρικωνὶς καλεομένη*). We have no other information about Kleuas and Malaos, so do not know in what relation they stood to Orestes himself, but Pausanias' account (below) suggests that they might have descended from Teisamenos.¹¹⁵ At 13.3.3 Strabo provides a little more detail about this last phase; the area was occupied by Pelasgians, whose stronghold required reduction by siege. The matter was also discussed by Hellanikos (fr. 80), from the second book of the *Priestesses*;¹¹⁶ the Phrikaneis for whom he vouches are probably those of Asia Minor, although *αὐτόθι* refers to Lokris in the fragment as preserved.¹¹⁷

With Strabo's account we can compare Pausanias'. At 3.2.1, he says that Achaia was colonized by Lakedaimonians in the time of Eurysthenes son of Aristodemos (see the chart above, p. 594); at the same time they joined Gras son of 'Echelas' son of Penthilos son of Orestes in his colonization of the Aiolid (still so-called in his day, says Pausanias; he is referring to the region around Kyme, like Herodotos). He adds that Gras's ancestor Penthilos had already colonized Lesbos. At 7.6.2, Pausanias is again discussing the settlement of Achaia, previously occupied by the Ionians. The sons of Teisamenos were most powerful in the region: Daimenes, Sparton, Tellis, and Leontomenes; also powerful was their cousin Damasias son of Penthilos. This account agrees with Strabo in having

¹¹² In addition to the other opinions reported in this fr. by Strabo, see Hek. *FGrHist* 1 FF 221–7 with Jacoby, Hdt. 5.26 (Antandros in the Troad), ps.-Skylax 95–6, Plin. *NH* 5.121–5; Rubinstein, *IACP* pp. 1034–6.

¹¹³ For an overview of archaic Aiolian history see Mele, Napolitano, and Visconti, *Eoli ed Eolide*; valuable earlier surveys are Jeffery, *Archaic Greece* 237–43 and (for Lesbos and Mytilene) Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 149–243.

¹¹⁴ Somewhat inconsistent with what he says in book 9; at 9.2.3, the sons of Orestes are assembling their fleet at Aulis sixty years after the war, and the Boiotoi return from Thessaly; 9.2.5, the Boiotians join Penthilos in great numbers.

¹¹⁵ Malaos may have founded Temnos, one of the Dodekapolis, if Meineke's emendation at Steph. Byz. p. 621.5 is adopted.

¹¹⁶ In terms of legendary chronology, fr. 80 should really be put after fr. 81.

¹¹⁷ For the clustering of ethnonyms in *-άες* and *-ήνες* in this region of Greece see Wathelet, *LEC* 43 (1975) 122; Sakellariou, *La Migration grecque* 280–2.

separate migrations to the Troad and the Aiolid, but Pausanias has Gras going to the latter rather than the former, and Penthilos going directly to Lesbos. The historical Penthelidai of Lesbos might have accepted either version of their founder's career, but it seems unlikely that they would have agreed with Kinaithon (fr. 4, ap. Paus. 2.18.6; cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 6.28) that he was Orestes' illegitimate son as opposed to the legitimate Teisamenos. Kinaithon being Lakedaimonian, this genealogy could reflect anti-Lesbian sentiment in some unknown political context, or more specifically anti-Penthelid sentiment; as we know from the poetry of Alkaeos, the clan had many bitter enemies.

Finally, Pausanias mentions a third wave of emigration led by Kometes, the eldest son of Teisamenos, to an unspecified destination in Asia; no further details provided. About this figure a different story is preserved in the scholia to Euripides' *Rhesos* (251 = *Demon FGrHist* 327 F 17). Orestes had received an oracle at the end of his life to colonize the Troad, but he died before he could obey. Teisamenos succeeded him, then Kometes, who asked where to sail precisely and was told 'to the last of the Mysians'. His people scorned such a ridiculous oracle, and him, and abandoned the enterprise. Finally Gras son of Echelas son of Penthilos took the oracle seriously and founded the colonies. It looks as if there might have been rivalry between different clans in the Aiolid claiming descent from different sons of Orestes. Taken all together, these stories suggest that no single version of the Aiolian migration became canonical.

The scholion to Lykophron mentioned more than once already, which as we have seen could derive ultimately from Hellanikos, also refers to the oracle received by Orestes. This was at the end of his life, which according to Asklepiades (*FGrHist* 12 F 25) came at the age of 70. This chimes with the date of the Aiolian migration 60 years after the fall of Troy, since Orestes was a young child while his father was there (*Il.* 9.143). That the colonization was the last act of Orestes' career, which he could not quite complete, is the fact given by tradition; someone, very probably Hellanikos, converted this to two generations = 60 years after the Fall. An inference drawn the other way seems much less likely, that is, from a datum that the migration happened two generations after the Fall to a conclusion that it happened at the end of Orestes' life.¹¹⁸

We close with consideration of a few brief fragments of Hellanikos which may come from his account of the Aiolian migration. First is **Hellan. fr. 160A**, on the settlement of Lesbos. The papyrus, containing notes on Lesbian matters from a commentary of some kind, is desperately scrappy.¹¹⁹ There is mention of Cretans, Smintheus, Omestes (the epithet of Dionysos, discussed in the next part of the papyrus, where Myrsilos of Methymna is cited), *ἀτέλεια*, and the name Hellanikos. Because Cretans are mentioned,

¹¹⁸ Jacoby on fr. 32 argued that according to Hellanikos the Return of the Herakleidai, happening at the 'same time' as the Aiolian migration, caused it; but the Return happened after it, and there is no hint in any source of the Aiolians being displaced by the movements of the Herakleidai in central Greece.

¹¹⁹ Its first column is **Hellan. fr. 35A** (→§17.8). See Haslam's commentary in *P.Oxy.* for all points; for Enalos, see also Tümpel, *RE* 5.2.2545–7.

it is reasonable to think that Kallinos' foundation story (fr. 7) of the well-known cult of Apollo Smintheus is in question here;¹²⁰ it involved Cretan sailors. We are told also that *σμίνθος* meant 'mouse' in both Cretan and Aiolian.¹²¹ This information could well have been in Hellanikos. Another possibility, which, however, leaves Cretans out of account, is that we are dealing here with the story of Enalos and the daughter of Smintheus, one of the seven captains of the Aiolian migration under the leadership of Echelas (Plut. *Sept. sap. conv.* 20 p. 163a, probably from Myrsilos), or Gras (Antikleides *FGrHist* 140 F 4), or the Penthelidai (Myrsilos *FGrHist* 477 F 14). The story of Enalos and his beloved's miraculous escape from the sea provides the aition for a sacred stone and goblet in the temple of Poseidon. The privileges denoted by *ἀτέλεια* might have been enjoyed by someone as a result of Enalos' marvellous feat (all the Penthelidai? descendants of Smintheus? Though Enalos returned after some time beneath the waves to explain what had happened, the sources are silent on his subsequent fate. Plutarch's verb *φανήναι* suggests he had already become heroized.) On any interpretation the presence of Dionysos (particularly Dionysos Omestes) in the context is very hard to explain, but there could be a link by way of the Nereids who succoured Dionysos when he leapt into the sea.¹²²

Hellan. fr. 158–60 mention the cities of Gargaros, Lamponion, and Assos (*IACP* nos. 775, 783, 769). There is no other authority for the spelling 'Gargasos', which Stephanos himself thinks is just a mistake (probably an uncial corruption in somebody's MS).¹²³ Assos was founded from Methymna, according to Myrsilos *FGrHist* 477 F 17 (quoted by Strabo with fr. 160); from Mytilene according to Alexander Polyhistor *FGrHist* 273 F 96 = Alkman fr. *PMGF* 153, as quoted by Steph. Byz. α.492, but this is probably a mistake for Methymna. Gargara was in turn founded from Assos according to Strabo, whose wording may imply the same for Lamponion. Strabo, followed by Stephanos, say that Gargara was originally inhabited by Leleges (→§2.2); this would seem to be an inference from *Il.* 10.429. The migration narrative requires that the incoming Aiolians evict the indigenous people.

¹²⁰ *Il.* 1.39, Strabo 13.1.48; Farnell, *CGS* 4.164–6; Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses* 130–1; Graf, *Apollo* 22–5.

¹²¹ Aisch. fr. 227, schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 1303; see Erbse on schol. *Il.* 1.39, Pfeiffer on Kallim. fr. 177.16.

¹²² Jackson, 'Myrsilus of Methymna and the White Goddesses'.

¹²³ Hyg. *Fab.* 113.2, 115 knows, however, of a Trojan warrior Gargasus; same mistake. The entry in Stephanos is Epaphroditos fr. 27 Braswell–Billerbeck, q.v.

§20

OTHER FRAGMENTS

IN this section are discussed fragments conveying no obvious mythological content; fragments whose mythological context is unknown or uncertain; and fragments, such as those concerning the Hyperboreans, that have no place in the great genealogies.

AETHLIOS FR. 2

ἀλλὰ λέξασθαι νένωνται 'they are minded to choose(?)' (or 'count' or 'gather'). For the Ionic form see the comment on this fr. in Part B.

AG./DERK. FR. 3

Athenaios says that Agias and Derkylos use *ἀστράβηλος* for *στράβηλος*, a species of shell-fish like a conch, which they said was useful for trumpeting. Olson in his Loeb edition of Athenaios renders the word with 'whelk'. The reason for the prothetic alpha is obscure; *LSJ* suggest euphony. The word may, however, be pre-Greek (cf. Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen* 368–74).

AKOVS. FR. 2, HELLAN. FR. 20

Akousilaos (fr. 2) and Hellanikos (fr. 20) both said that the Homeridai were a *genos* in Chios, named for the poet. Damastes too (fr. 11a), like Pindar (fr. 264), made him Chian. Chios has always had the strongest claim to Homer, though he is never actually said to have been born there. The inference is probable that the Homeridai's original base was this island. Their putative ancestor Homer may or may not have been a real person (below, n. 12), but as a group of bards, and a notional clan like the Asklepiadai for doctors or the Eumolpidai for priests of Eleusis, they were in business by the late sixth century. This fr. of Akousilaos is the first reference; the next one is in Pindar, *Nem.* 2.1, perhaps of 485 B.C. It is very probably to the Homeridai that we owe the preservation of

¹ I quote Engels in his *BNJ* comm. on this fr.: 'The *strabelos* or 'common whelk' (in German 'Wellhornschnecke', *Buccinum undatum*) is a large edible marine gastropod in the family *Buccinidae* and a rare species in the Mediterranean area. One may find these comparatively big whelks more often in coastal areas of the northern Atlantic. Their maximum height is ca. 10 cm, the maximum width ca. 6 cm (see R. T. Abbott and P. A. Morris, *A Field Guide to Shells. Atlantic and Gulf Coasts and the West Indies* (Boston 1995)).'

the manuscript of the *Iliad*. They have been much discussed; of more recent works mention may be made of Burkert, 'Die Leistung eines Kreophylos' and 'The Making of Homer'; Hillgruber, *Die pseudoplatarchische Schrift De Homero* 1.83–4, 2.445; M. L. West, 'The Invention of Homer' and *The Making of the Iliad*; Graziosi, *Inventing Homer* 201–34; Sbardella, *Cucitori di canti*. Among older treatments see Jacoby's addendum to *FGrHist* 362 F 5 (IIIb Noten, pp. 407–10) and Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer* 366–76.

The Krates quoted in the continuation of this fr. is not normally taken to be the grammarian from Mallos, but Broggiato has tentatively admitted the fr. to her recent edition as fr. 126*.

ANDR. FR. 4

At *Il.* 16.233–48 Achilles prays to Pelasgian Zeus of Dodona, whose interpreters the Selloi sleep on the ground and wear no shoes. This priestly caste puzzled ancient scholars no less than modern, who struggle to explain them in the absence of evidence. The scholion quoting Andr. fr. 4 offers several suggestions: like barbarians and nomads they live in a primitive state of life; they are ascetics and honour the god in this manner; they cannot leave the sanctuary so of necessity they cannot wash; and (Andron's suggestion) they are warlike and inure themselves to a hard way of life. The second suggestion, asceticism, is alien to early Greek religion; Andron almost confirms this by not suggesting it (if it were at all common, one might think it the obvious answer). Andron's own view suggests that he regarded the Selloi not as a caste of priests but as an ethnos (so schol. (D) *Il.* 16.235 = Alexander Ait. fr. 13). Modern scholars mostly regard the practice as a tabu, a sort of purity in reverse. Both requirements (not washing the feet and sleeping on the ground) suggest that contact must be maintained with the sacred earth, but a cult of Gaia or Themis is only doubtfully in evidence at Dodona. The evidence and theories on the Selloi are reviewed by Dieterle, *Dodona* 30–5 (254–5 for Gaia, 74–5 for Themis); see also Janko on *Il.* 16.234–5.

The alternate form Helloi is ancient, an example of the common vacillation of sigma and spiritus asper.² A primeval association of some kind with the Hellenes and the river Selleeis in Epirus has often been assumed; see §4.2 n. 32.

ARISTOPH. FR. 3A

This is now Steph. α330 Billerbeck, who comments that the entry is abbreviated to the point of incomprehensibility. Hesychios κ3364 offers *Κολοίφρυξ· Ταναγραῖος*

² Hes. fr. 240, Pind. fr. 59.3, Kallim. fr. 675, Strabo 7.7.10. 'Selloi' in Soph. *Trach.* 1166–7, Kallim. fr. 23.3. There is a variant ἀμφὶ δέ σ' Ἕλλοι in *Il.* 16.234, rejected by most editors: σέ consorts poorly with σοί in the next line and is an 'unwelcome insistence on the second person', M. L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* 237.

ἀλεκτρύων· καὶ ὅρος Βοιωτίας, the *Etym. Magn.* 526.1 (*Etym. Gen.* p. 191 Miller) *Κολοίφρυξ· ὁ ὀλόφρυξ· τὸ ἡ περισσόν*, but these tell us little. Meineke on Steph. Byz. thought the reference might be to a town Antikondylon built on a hillock (ἐν κονδύλῳ; Billerbeck compares Kragos and Antikragos, Phellos and Antiphellos; one may compare also Tisara and Antisara, *IACP* p. 856) whose residents earned the nickname 'chickens' because the area was known for its poultry. The town might have been one of the κῶμαι of which Tanagra was composed (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 37 p. 354c). Schachter in his recent *BNJ* commentary suggests rather that 'Antikondyleis' might refer to fighting-cocks (the *κολοίφρυγες*) with their spurs.

ARISTOPH. FR. 9C

This fragment on the antiquity of the Jews cannot of course be genuine, but it is worth wondering if in this farrago of real and fake citations our Boiotian historian is the person meant by 'Aristophanes', as he probably treated Kadmos (who would provide the chronological link). Aristophanes might have come to Josephus' attention by way of Alexander Polyhistor (*FGrHist* 273 F 19). The Hermogenes cited with Aristophanes might be the same as *FGrHist* 795 rather than 851, as Jacoby suggests on 737 F 1; that Hermogenes is dated to the time of Marcus Aurelius. A Zopyrion is also cited; perhaps this is the same as the Zopyros cited by Alexander Polyhistor at 273 F 29 for the history of Aphrodisias.

ARMEN. FR. 3

Athenaios quotes the fragment while discussing Bibline wine. Epicharmos (fr. 170) said it came from the Bibline Mountains, wherever they were; Armen. fr. 3 said it came from the region of Biblos, near Tisare (actually Antisara) and Oisyme. For these two towns see *IACP* pp. 856, 864–5; they are located on the coast opposite Thasos (*Barrington Atlas* 51 C3). Armenidas is the only source of the information that this is the βιβλία χώρα. For the wine and its name, see West on Hes. *Op.* 589 and Wilamowitz on Eur. *Ion* 1195. The Thracian origin is confirmed by Epicharmos, Armenidas and Philyllios fr. 23 K.–A.; Hippys *FGrHist* 554 F 4, however, equates it with an Italian variety εἰλέος, and other authorities advanced yet more ideas.

Schachter in his *BNJ* commentary on Armenidas suggests that this fragment, fr. 1 (the sanctuary of Athena Itonia), and fr. 7 (Ariartos) might all have come from an account of the invasion of the Thracians that provided the aition for the rites of Dionysios Lysios, as related by Herakleides of Pontos and Pausanias; see on Aristoph. fr. 9A, §1.8.3. Herakleides put the incident at Lebadeia, but Pausanias put it at Haliartos; Polyainos (*Strat.* 7.43) says the Boiotians were celebrating a festival of Athena Itonia when the Thracians captured the country by a trick, and Zenobios (4.37) says this happened at Koroneia, which is near the Itoneion.

DAM. FR. 1, HELLAN. FRR. 185, 187

Pindar has both Herakles and Perseus visit the Hyperboreans (*Ol.* 3, *Pyth.* 10), a mark of these heroes' extraordinary favour; Herakles even goes twice, apparently at will.³ Pindar's stories are probably his own, and do not provide warrant for thinking that the mythographers mentioned the Hyperboreans in connection with either hero. Possibly Pherekydes had Herakles go there, however, given the ambitious itinerary he plots for him, and the suspicion that Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.113) is following the Athenian when he says the apples of the Hesperides were found not in Libya but among the Hyperboreans (→§8.4.10). Another opportunity for mentioning them is the Argonautic legend, given the frequent localization of the Hyperboreans beyond the Rhipaean mountains, and the proximity of these to the Argonauts' homeward route in some accounts (cf. Hek. fr. 18b).⁴

Damastes fr. 1 is any case cited from his ethnographic work, and in Herodotos the Hyperboreans come in by way of the Scythians (4.13, 32–6, where see Corcella); it is probable too that Hellanikos' Scythian book (*FGrHist* 4 FF 64–5) was one of the sources of Strabo and others citing Hellan. fr. 185 and 187. Nonetheless, the Hyperboreans are pure creatures of Greek myth. In one poetic tradition, they are a *Randvölk* like the Ethiopians, living in a Golden Age, exemplars of justice and favoured by the gods, especially Apollo who spends time with them every year (Hes. fr. 150. 21, Alk. fr. 307c, Pindar locc. citt., Bacchyl. 3.58–62, Aisch. *Cho.* 273, *Hymn. Hom. Dion.* 29, Kallim. fr. 186, 492).⁵ There is then the archaic *Arimaspeia* of Aristeas, whose detailed information excited the attention of ethnographers and historians; their coinciding accounts seem all to spring from this source: Hek. *FGrHist* 1 FF 193–4 (on the Issedones, where see Jacoby), Aisch. *PV* 790–815, Hdt. locc. citt., Damastes, Hellanikos, Hippok. *Aēr.* 19, Arist. *Mete.* 1.13 p. 350b 1–11, Pliny *NH* 4.88–9, 6.19, 34. On this poem see especially Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus*.

It is revealing that for Herodotos the story about the annual offerings coming from the Hyperboreans to the Delians is problematic; given that even the Arimaspoi pose issues of credibility (3.116), *a fortiori* so do the Hyperboreans. The idea of contact, however mediated, between a semi-divine people like the Hyperboreans (sprung from Earth in Hesiod) and ordinary humans is one about which Herodotos has instinctive

³ For two visits rather than one in *Ol.* 3 see Köhnken, 'Mythical Chronology' and Robbins 'Heracles, the Hyperboreans, and the Hind'.

⁴ For the Rhipaean mountains (Alkm. *PMGF* 90; Aisch. fr. 68; Soph. *OC* 1248; Hippok. *Aēr.* 19; Arist. *Met.* 1.13 p. 350b 7–9) see J. Stenger, *BNP* s.v. Rhipaia orē. For Strabo 7.3.6 (= Hek. test. 13) belief in these is another mark of early writers' indulgence of their audiences' love of myth (below, n. 6).

⁵ On the topoi see e.g. Gatz, *Weltalter* 189–200; C. G. Brown, 'The Hyperboreans and Nemesis'; MacLachlan, 'Feasting with Ethiopians'; Romm, *The Edges of the Earth* 60–7; Sourvinou-Inwood, *BNP* s.v. Elysium; Ambühl, *BNP* s.v. Hyperborei; Bridgman, *Hyperboreans*.

misgivings; this is one of various passages that indicate the beginnings of the myth/history distinction in his text. Strabo has only scorn for early writers who indulge in such things as mythical Hyperboreans, though his very discussion shows that he cannot bring himself to ignore them.⁶ And Herodotos was certainly reporting firmly-held contemporary belief; the fabulous offerings are even attested inscriptionally.⁷

When in fr. 187 Hellanikos ascribes vegetarianism to the Hyperboreans (specifically tree-nuts, as befits inhabitants of the Golden Age), he is instancing a common trope. Less commonly, indeed uniquely, ascribed to the Hyperboreans, is the compulsory extinction of sexagenarians. Parallels come, however, either from *Randvölker* or from islands, which often display similarly idyllic or outlandish features in popular imagination (→§4.2 n. 37). As is well known, the custom was supposedly found also on Keos. Strabo (10.5.6, citing Men. fr. 879 K.–A.) confines the law to Ioulis, and says that they were forcibly fed hemlock so as to ensure the food supply for the others; Herakleides Lembos *Exc. Pol.* 29 (p. 25 Dilts), ostensibly from Aristotle's *Constitutions*, extends the law to the whole island and claims the suicides were voluntary (the people there, being wonderfully healthy, chose to avoid the horrors of old age; cf. Ael. *VH* 3.37, who, however, implies the age was variable. Val. Max. 2.6.8 claims to have witnessed such a suicide at Ioulis by a 90-year-old woman.) Timaios (*FGrHist* 566 F 64; cf. Ael. *VH* 4.1) has a similar report about Sardinia, saying that children there kill their happy parents when they become too old (Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 796 specifies the age at which this happened as 70; the same limit for the Kaspioi in Strabo 11.11.3). The Roman proverb *sexagenarios de ponte* supposedly indicated that at one time oldsters were tossed into the Tiber (Klotz, *RE* 2A.2 2025–6). The grandfather of this kind of report is Herodotos on the Massagetai (1.216.2, where see Asheri). For further examples and discussion see Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* 103–4.⁸

DAM. FR. 6

In his list of inventions, which quotes Dam. 6 to the effect that the people of Erythrai invented the bireme, Pliny moves chronologically from the mythical to the historical period, but it is not clear on which side of the line this fragment stands. Servius says that according to some people Virgil committed an anachronism in referring to biremes (*Aen.* 1.182), which were not in use at Troy; Varro solved the problem by saying they

⁶ For criticism of Hellan. in Strabo see also testt. 19, 22–3, fr. 35, 186; for Strabo's outlook, Radt on 1.2.35 p. 43 (Hellan. test. 19); Kidd on Poseidon. fr. 270. He has a similar view of Hek.: testt. 10, 13. On Hellan. fr. 185.11 *φιλομυθίαν* Radt comments that the whole context, as well as the article *τῆς*, show that the fondness for myths is the audience's not the writer's.

⁷ e.g. *IG* II² 1636 A8; see Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos* 38–48 and Chankowski, *Athènes et Délos à l'époque classique* 106–8.

⁸ On Hellanikos' spelling 'Hyperboreioi' see Part B on fr. 187a.

were invented a few years afterwards, an obvious *ad hoc* hypothesis. The Erythrai in question will be the seafaring Ionian polis⁹ which was originally settled from Crete by Erythros son of Rhadamanthys (→§19.2.2); perhaps it was on the occasion of their emigration that they discovered the need for a new kind of vessel. If this is the right context, it is from the *spatium mythicum*, and suitable for EGM, but the fragment is likelier to be from Damastes' *Catalogue of Nations and Cities* than the *Genealogies of the Soldiers at Troy* (Dam. test. 1), or perhaps from *On Poets and Sophists*, a possible source for Pliny's *heurematography* (the master craftsmen who were first inventors could be called σοφισταί). If from such a work, the fragment should have been excluded from EGM on those grounds.¹⁰ Pliny next quotes Thucydides 1.13.2 on the invention of the trireme; see Hornblower's commentary.

DAM. FR. 10

Strabo chides Damastes for saying that when he measures Cyprus from Hierokepia to the Kleides, he is measuring from north to south, whereas in fact these points mark out the western and eastern extremities, or to be even more precise the south-west and north-east. Eratosthenes (fr. 130 Roller) too got it wrong according to Strabo by saying Hierokepia was in the south, but that is more forgivable. The vagueness of early maps might have been responsible for Damastes' mistake; or he just got muddled. The fragment most probably comes from his *Periplus*. He might have mentioned Cyprus in connection with Agapenor, who is mentioned in the *Catalogue of Ships* (Il. 2.609); he went to Cyprus after the war and founded Paphos (Paus. 8.5.2, Apollod. *Epit.* 6.15). Kassandra in Lykophron, *Alex.* 447, says that five heroes will go to Cyprus, and Tzetzes *ad loc.* is able to elaborate (Teukros, Akamas, Praxandros, Kepheus, and Agapenor); he has got this from mythography. So the *Genealogies of Warriors at Troy* is a theoretical possibility for this fragment, but it would perhaps be odd to give the measurements of the island in such a context.

DAM. FR. 11, EUAG. FR. 2, HELLAN. FR. 5, PHER. FR. 167

Interest in the genealogy and date of Homer is attested as early as Theagenes in the late sixth century (Vors. 8.1) and was the subject of lively debate in the fifth (Hdt. 2.53; Gorgias Vors. 82 B 25; Hippias *FGrHist* 6 F 13; Stesimbrotos *FGrHist* 107 F 21; Antimachos fr. 165–6). Hellanikos (fr. 5), Damastes (fr. 11), and Pherekydes (fr. 167) all traced his descent back to Orpheus, whose high standing in the fifth century is not to be

⁹ Not, as amazingly suggested in EGM 1, the landlocked Boiotian town which sent warriors to Troy (Il. 2.499).

¹⁰ Müller, *FHG* 2.66, conjectured that Damastes had in fact written a work *On Inventions*, like Skamon (*FGrHist* 476 FF 2–6). That too would not be included in EGM.

overlooked.¹¹ The genealogy quoted in Hellan. fr. 5b, which is replicated with minimal differences in the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* 4 (p. 322 West) and Charax *FGrHist* 103 F 62 = *Orphic.* fr. 872 Bernabé, is surely that of Hellanikos. In it, eleven generations (counting inclusively) separate Homer and Orpheus. What exactly Pherekydes and Damastes said is unrecoverable. Concerning Damastes we are told additionally in fr. 11a that he placed Homer ten generations after Mousaios, and said he was Chian (on this particular point, see above on Akous. fr. 2). Mousaios is routinely placed a generation after Orpheus in the sources, as either his son or his pupil (see fr. 20–23 Bernabé). That slot is occupied by Dorion in Hellan. fr. 5b, 'Ortes' in the *Certamen*, and 'Dres' in Charax. Conceivably Damastes put Mousaios in at this point, otherwise adopting Hellanikos' tree; but Gorgias also said Homer descended from Mousaios, and the tree could be quite different. Yet the coincidence in the tally of generations implies that one of them borrowed the other's count, and given Hellanikos' interest in such matters Damastes may be the debtor.

In Hellan. fr. 5c a difference of opinion about Homer's mother and father emerges. Hellanikos said Maion was his father, while Euagon said Meles (Euag. fr. 2). Maion was usually considered Smyrnaian, and various stories place Homer's birth by the river Meles at that town; this is to explain Homer's original name 'Melesigenes'. Others, like Euagon, said Homer was in fact the son of Meles; others again found ways to work both these figures into his ancestry.¹² As for the mothers, Kretheis is a common choice; Metis occurs only here, but Charax has Eumetis. As Charax follows Hellanikos' genealogy, and Meles and Kretheis constantly go together in the *Lives*, we may assume that Kretheis is Euagon's name of the mother, Metis Hellanikos'.¹³ (Perhaps we should amend the *Certamen* to 'Eumetis', which is also the name of one of Pindar's daughters, schol. Pind. 1.3.6, 5.1, 9.15 Drachmann.)

This genealogy comes frustratingly close to revealing Hellanikos' chronology of the Trojan War; as we saw in §6.3.3, Hellanikos probably placed Orpheus two generations before the Trojan War, Homer therefore nine generations after it. But since we do not know when Hellanikos dated Homer, or the length of his generations, we cannot convert any of this to absolute dates. If he put three generations to a century and agreed with Herodotos (2.53) in thinking that Homer lived about four hundred years before his

¹¹ Bremmer, *Kernos* 23 (2010) 34.

¹² See the index in West's edition s.vv. Maion, Meles. West, following observations of Wilamowitz and Durante, argues that Melesigenes was the name of a real poet, maybe even that of the *Iliad*, 'Homeros' a fictional speaking name propagated by the Homeridai; see his 'The Invention of Homer' and *The Making of the Iliad* 8–10. 'Melesigenes' as a name is a credible formation (not 'born of Meles' but 'caring for his clan'), but it would be helpful if a real instance were attested. Aristotle touched on Homer's life in the third book of *On Poets* (fr. 65 Janko, *Philodemus on Poems Books* 3–4, 471–7).

¹³ Cf. M. L. West, *CQ* 17 (1967) 445.

(Herodotos') time, that would yield a date for the war somewhere in the twelfth century, which would match the date argued for him in §19.3. Eratosthenes' date for the Sack was 1184, but he put Homer 100 years after that not 300 (FGrHist 241 F 1). No other source exactly matches the intervals we seem to have for Hellanikos, but Apollodoros of Athens (FGrHist 244 F 63) comes close (fall of Troy 1184/3; Homer 240 years later).¹⁴

EUAG. FR. 2

See above under Dam. fr. 11.

HEK. FR. 4

For the town of Oine or Oinoe in the Argolid see E. Meyer, *RE* 17.2 2237–40; *IACP* p. 601; Billerbeck, 'The Orus Fragments' 440. There are at least three possible mythological contexts in which Hekataios might have mentioned it. One is the founding of the temple of Oinoatis Artemis there by Proitos (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Οἴνη*; → §5.3.3). Another is the burial of Oineus, deposed king of Kalydon, in Argos (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.79; → §4.3). A third is the Labour of the Kerynitian Hind (Eur. *HF* 379, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.81; → §8.4.3).

HEK. FR. 8

Harpokration cites Hekataios for his use of the verb ἀδελφίζειν, citing also 'Strattis or Apollophanes' (PCG 2.520). Kassel and Austin write out the parallels in the lexicographers; the tradition springs from the commentaries on Isok. 19.30. The word means to treat someone as a brother; Jacoby suggested Herakles and Theseus as a possible mythological context in Hekataios. Peirithoos and Theseus, or Achilles and Patroklos are other possibilities.

HEK. FR. 12A

A fragment of the third-century-AD grammarian Louperkos preserved in a scholion to Plutarch, published by W. R. Paton in *CR* 26 (1912) 9, quotes Hekataios for the expression 'lark's nest'.¹⁵ Plutarch several times quotes the Simonidean fragment (PMG 538) 'every lark must grow a crest', of those consumed by jealousy and ambition (*De cap. ex inimicis util.* 10 p. 91e; *Praec. ger. reip.* 14 p. 809b; *Timol.* 37.1); the proverb was duly taken up by Apostolios (13.94). The scholiast quotes from the seventh book of Louperkos; the context shows that his work on the gender of nouns is in question. It is probably significant that the lark's nest features in another proverb 'crooked grass is hidden in a lark's

¹⁴ On these problems see also Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* ch. 2; Hillgruber, *Die pseudoplatarchische Schrift De Homero* 1.87–9; Graziosi, *Inventing Homer* 90–124; Fidio, 'Eforo e le tradizioni sulla migrazione eolica'; Kivilo, *Early Greek Poets' Lives* 12–17.

¹⁵ For Louperkos (FGrHist 636) see Gudeman, *RE* 13.2.1839–41; Ucciardello, *LGGA* s.v.

nest' (*Geopon.* 15.1.19);¹⁶ the translation is Arnott's, *Birds in the Ancient World* 117, who comments that the proverb is 'based apparently on a belief that the bird protected itself against sorcery by using dog's tooth grass, *Agrostis stolonifera*, cf. Aelian NA 1.35'. The possibility is therefore that Hekataios used the expression as part of this proverb, and thus attracted the attention of paroemiographers; the context might or might not have been mythological. He mentioned the Lycian city of Korydalla (FGrHist 1 F 246; Ruge, *RE* 11.2 1446–7; *IACP* p. 1140), but we do not know its foundation legend. There was a hill and a deme Korydallos in Attica. Larks feature in stories told by Antoninus (*Met.* 7) and Pausanias (4.34.8), but in neither of them is there an obvious role for the bird's nest. In Simonides, according to schol. *Od.* 6.164, the proverb was mentioned in the *Kateuchai*, in which poem he also related the story of the Oinotropoi (→ §18.2.4), but of course this does not mean the context was the same in Hekataios.

HEK. FR. 360

Apollonios is correct in his assertion about the proper Ionic and Attic forms of these pronouns. See Part B, discussion of Hekataios' dialect.

HEK. FR. 361

The fragment is quoted for its unique form of the imperative of εἰμί; see Part B, discussion of Hekataios' dialect. The first word is transmitted as ἐνθάδι, which needs correction; it cannot be Attic ἐνθαδί, ergo ἐνθάδε.

HEK. FR. 362

The word γέγειος denoting 'ancient' is otherwise known only from Kallimachos (fr. 59 = 541 Harder = *SH* 265; fr. 277 = *Hekale* fr. 102 Hollis; fr. 510) and lexicographers. As it was felt to derive from γῆ (cf. Steph. Byz. γ70) it could convey a sense of 'earthborn', which would be useful in various mythological contexts.

HEK. FR. 363

ἐπισσαι is quoted with the meaning of 'lambs', etymologized as those who are 'born after (ἐπί) their parents. Homer, *Od.* 9.221–2, refers to three classes of sheep, πρόγονοι, μέτασσαι, and ἔρσαι, evidently in descending order of age; Hekataios' ἐπισσαι could refer to either of the last two classes. Kallimachos uses the neuter ἐπισσα apparently to

¹⁶ ἐν κοροδοῦ κοίτῃ σκολιῇ κέκρυπται ἄγρωσις; identified there as a proverb. The lark featured in other proverbs and fables, none of which seems likely to be relevant to Hekataios; see Arnott for the references, and Dunbar on Ar. *Av.* 472–5.

mean 'children of the Muses', i.e. his poems (fr. inc. 735; text uncertain),¹⁷ which might justify the accent *ἐπίσσαι* found in *Etym. Gen.* but Steph. Byz. a297, *Etym. Sym.* a709, Hesychios ε5214 have *ἐπίσσα* fem. singular.

HEK. FR. 364

τὰ δέατα περιτεταμένοι is quoted for the plural δέατα; Herodian is anxious to show that this is not an exception to his rule about neuters ending in -ας, since the singular δέας does not occur (the implied singular is rather δέαρ, cf. Schwyzler *Griech. Gramm.* 1.519). δέος is a third-declension noun like πόλις and others which display two different stems; Herodian also quotes δέατος from Sophokles (fr. 328) and σπεάτεσσι from Xenophanes (*Vors.* 21 B 37). Cf. Schwyzler 1.515. περιτεταμένοι is Lehrs's correction of περιτετημένοι, an inexplicable form; περιτεταμένοι is from περιτείνω (Hdt. 1.194.2, 4.73.2, 4.65.1), with δέατα as accusative of cause: 'distracted with their fears'. The article suggests that fear was previously mentioned.

HEK. FR. 366

σκορπίζεται is quoted as being Ionic for Attic σκεδάννυται. Rutherford, *The New Phrynichus* 295, writes, 'The word is of frequent occurrence in the Common dialect, but the passage referred to by Phrynichus is the only instance known in Classical Greek', which appears still to be the case; a nice example of the historical link between Ionic and Koine.

HEK. FR. 368

κιβωτός is an ordinary word for box or chest occurring in many kinds of texts (see *LSJ*). In this fr. someone is castigating Aristarchos for his view that it is a term used by the νεώτεροι by pointing to Simonides *PMG* 623 and Hekataios as old writers, but these would be νεώτεροι for Aristarchos (as Poltera notes ad loc; his test. 75a).

HEK. FR. 369

μοιχίδιον 'bastard', 'begotten in adultery' is found also at Hdt. 1.137.2; cf. Part B on Hekataios' dialect. Various mythological contexts are conceivable.

HEK. FR. 369A-B

Κρηθέως, Ἀτρεώς Attic forms, are quoted from Hekataios as exceptions to the rule that Ionic has -έος. The report probably rests ultimately on a mistaken variant in an MS; see part B on Hekataios' dialect.

¹⁷ On this notion see F. Cairns, *ZPE* 130 (2000) 10–11. On the words themselves, W. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.* 71 n. 1, 375, 675.

HELLAN. FR. 5

See above under Dam. fr. 11.

HELLAN. FR. 20

See above under Akous. fr. 2.

HELLAN. FR. 185, 187

See above under Dam. fr. 1.

HELLAN. FR. 192

Hellankos and Sophron (fr. 141 K.–A.) and 'many others' are cited for the form ἀθήρα as against ἀθήρη 'gruel' or 'porridge'; in the latter form (with short alpha) it was common Attic speech (*LSJ* cite Ar. *Plut.* 673, Anaxandrides fr. 41.42, Krates fr. 11, Nikophon fr. 6.1, Pherekrates fr. 113.3). The reason for the variation is inscrutable, but according to Pliny *NH* 22.121 the word is Egyptian, which might account for it; in fact the word is attested in numerous Egyptian papyri (the *Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri*, <http://papyri.info>, turns up 16 examples).

HELLAN. FR. 193

ἀμφίσβαρα is Ionic; see Part B on Hellankos' dialect. This derivative of ἀμφισβατέω occurs only here.

HELLAN. FR. 194

ἀνεξέυρετα is a relatively rare word but otherwise unremarkable.¹⁸

HELLAN. FR. 197

'They scramble to the tree-tops like apes.' Ancient etymologists (*Etym. Gen.* p. 33 Miller, *Etym. Magn.* 99.14) likened the motion denoted by this verb to that of spiders clamoring uphill; a supposed link to ἀράχνη may be what led Phrynichos (p. 32 de Borries) to declare that the spelling with two rhos was wrong. The simplex also occurs (Hippon. fr. 137, Arist. *HA* 624a 34, Luc. *Lex.* 8). Aristotle uses the verb of bees on flowers; he uses the cognate noun to refer to a cat burglar scaling a wall; Aristophanes (*Pax* 70) uses the verb of Trygaios unsuccessfully trying to reach heaven on a ladder (cf. Luc. loc. cit.); the context in Hipponax was probably also ridiculous. The flavour of the verb thus predisposes one to think that the fragment comes from some ethnographic work of Hellankos, describing the odd lifestyles of foreigners. However, the description of the Achaian

¹⁸ Hippok. *De Arte* 1.4, Thuc. 3.873, Arist. *De mundo* 392a 17, Plut. *De soll. anim.* 6 p. 964a and a few instances in later writers.

army racing for the high ground in fr. 28 (and of Achilles climbing a tree) suggests that Hellanikos' imagination might have found room for such language in other contexts, for instance one of Herakles' many encounters with enemy hosts. In that case the verb is historic present (not otherwise attested in the few verbatim quotations except in the genealogy of fr. 19b).

HELLAN. FR. 201A

This note on Arat. *Phain.* 97 lists several alternative genealogies for the maiden who became the constellation Parthenos/Virgo, to whose existence Aratos alludes in this passage. The scholion, first published by Martin, shows that the common notion in Latin poetry (e.g. Verg. *Georg.* 1.33) that the girl was Erigone, daughter of Ikarios, comes as one would expect from a Greek source (Eratosth. fr. nov.). The various suggestions ancients advanced for the origin of Parthenos are tabulated by Roscher, *Lex. s.v.*; see also Kidd's commentary on Aratos. Hellanikos' suggestion is unfortunately corrupt; one is tempted to see some form of Phoroneus' name in the transmitted letters, but we have no idea what the story would have been. It is possible that ἡ Φυρονίου conceals ἐν τῇ Φορωνίδι, and that her father's name has completely dropped out. Hellanikos discussed the catasterism of the Pleiades in fr. 19.

HELLAN. FR. 202C

Hellanikos is supposed to have said that Kinaithon wrote the *Little Iliad*. Like all mythographers Hellanikos engaged closely with Homer and the Homeric tradition; he also discussed his genealogy (fr. 5). He might have mentioned the author of the *Little Iliad* in his *Troika*, just as Hekataios mentions Hesiod, and Herodotos Homer. See Montanari, *SCO* 37 (1987) 183–9 and in his edition of the grammarian 72–3. Martin West *per litt.* notes two oddities about this list of authors of the *Little Iliad*: the usual one, Lesches, is not mentioned; and Hellanikos is supposed to have attributed the poem to a Spartan instead of a fellow Lesbian. He suggests therefore . . . οἱ δὲ Κιναιθῶνα Λακεδαιμόνιον, <οἱ δὲ Λέσχην Πυρραῖον> ὡς Ἑλλάνικος, which could well be right.¹⁹ In support of this he notes that Lesches of Pyrrha is included along with Kinaithon of Lakedaimon and the otherwise unknown Diodoros of Erythrai in a list of people who have written *Iliads* in Tzetzes *Il.* p. 45.10 Hermann (Bernabé, *PEG* 1.215).

HEROD. FR. 58

The τρώχος, according to Herodoros ap. Arist. *Gen. An.* 3.6 p. 757a 3–6, had two sets of genitals, one male and one female. The bird is known from nowhere else, though a sea-beast of the same name is reported by Pliny *HN* 9.8 (*rota*) and Aelian *NA* 13.20. A

confusion on Aristotle's part with either the τροχίλος or the τρώχος, in spite of the latter's sexual oddity, is unlikely, as he was perfectly aware of these bird's proper names (Arnott, *Birds in the Ancient World* 246–9).

HEROD. FR. 59

One possible mythological context for this description of a banquet is the feast at which poor Archias was killed (Herod. fr. 3); another is the arrival of the Argonauts in Kolchis. Further guesses can easily be made.

HEROD. FR. 60

This is in fact a fragment of the Epicurean Metrodoros (55 Körte); see Part B.

HEROD. FR. 64A

To judge from the scholion that quotes it, the context of this corrupt and inscrutable fragment (if correctly attributed to Herodoros) is the Argonauts' safe passage through the Symplegades, an episode not otherwise represented in our corpus.

HEROD. FR. 67B

This is certainly a mistaken attribution; see Part B.

PHER. FR. 52

One might argue that this fragment, which concerns Orion, was part of a theogony, as it is in Apollodoros (1.25); but note that Pherekydes is quoted only for his alternative genealogy. According to Apollodoros he was earthborn; since many of his adventures involved gods, and he ended life as a constellation, his tale could suitably be related as part of a theogony. But Pherekydes' genealogy—Orion is son of Poseidon and Euryale—shows that he could have got to the story by way of Minos, Euryale's father (as in Hesiod's *Catalogue*, fr. 148). For the details of the myth see Gantz 271–3.

PHER. FR. 162

Choiroboskos claims that βόα instead of βούν as the accusative of βούς is found occasionally in Pherekydes. Though in theory possible the form is not attested in Ionic (Thumb–Scherer 189 cite an instance from Pamphylian) and should be regarded as a hyper-Ionicism. Cf. Part B on Pherekydes' dialect.

PHER. FR. 167

See above under Dam. fr. 11.

¹⁹ West was anticipated by H. Weil, *RPh* 11 (1887) 1–2, who suggested οἱ δὲ Λέσχην Λέσβιον.

PHER. FR. 173

Dominique Lenfant points out to me that the talking parrot was unknown to Greece before the conquests of Alexander; the first mention is in Arist. *HA* 8.12 p. 597b 27–9.²⁰ The extract from Aetios of Amido, drawing on an unknown Piso's *On Animals*, is about pets reared in the house who warn of danger, specifically attempted poisonings; surely he did not look into the mythographer to find this kind of information. The fragment is perhaps to be attributed to the Lerian. The citation of Simonides in the same passage was printed as *FGrHist* 8 F 4 by Jacoby; see Part B, 'Simonides'.

PHER. FR. 180A

See above under Hek. fr. 360.

PART B

Philological Commentary

²⁰ Arnott, *Birds in the Ancient World* 201–3.

AETHLIOS¹

THE evidence for this author's date is meagre. The name is otherwise unattested for a historical person, though 'Aethlios' in a fourth-century inscription from Megalopolis may conceal an example (*LGN* 3A). Like his mythical counterpart, the name may suggest a link with athletic competitions. Fr. 2 is quoted for an old Ionic form (cf. *EGM* 1. xxxv), but he need not be as old as the fifth century; as Jacoby noted (introduction to Samos, *FGHst* IIIb Text p. 456), the oldest local historians in some cases date to the second quarter of the fourth century. Aethlios is probably not the oldest in any case, as he is not mentioned by Dionysios in his roster (*Hek. test.* 17a), whereas Euagon is. Jacoby also suggested that a local history in five books (fr. 1) is surprisingly long for the fifth century, and that in view of the doubts about its authenticity expressed by Athenaios an originally shorter book might have been expanded in the Hellenistic period. But there is not much evidence for the length of such books in the fifth century; Hellanikos' *Atthis* encompassed four books, though Jacoby denied it. Athenaios' doubts about authenticity need be no more than a reflection of ignorance about the book, which he clearly has not seen first-hand.² In general, a sense of local history was strong on Samos: there was the epic poet Asios (see esp. fr. 7); the elegiac and iambic poet Semonides was credited with an *Archaeology of the Samians*;³ and Herodotos was able to tap rich local sources for his Samian *logoi* (3.39–60, 120–5, 139–49).

Fr. 1. In l. 2 Kaibel emended ἐγένετο to ἐγίνετο on the grounds that a continuous state of affairs was being described; Jacoby defended the text, arguing that a single event was in view, a portent of some kind. He is followed by D'Hautcourt, *BNJ* commentary on Aethlios, who notes another miracle recorded in Samian local history at *FGHst* 544 F 1. Marvels are certainly a stock-in-trade of local history, but this fragment sounds like an inventory of desirable produce; if it is a marvel, the god has been extraordinarily profligate with his portents, the Samians rather slow to get the point. The use of the singular with a commodity is quite idiomatic; cf. *Hdt.* 1.17.1 ὅκως μὲν εἴη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἀδρός, 3.6.1 ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης καὶ πρὸς ἐκ Φοινίκης κέραμος

¹ See now A. D'Hautcourt's commentary in *BNJ*.

² Cf. below, p. 659.

³ E. Bowie, *JHS* 106 (1986) 31.

ἐσάγεται πλήρης οἴνου δι' ἔτεος ἐκάστου,⁴ and see Cooper, *Greek Syntax* 1.78, 3.1927. Olson in his new Loeb edition of Athenaios has spotted that 'roses' are out of place in this fr. alongside figs, grapes, medlars, and apples; moreover, roses blooming twice a year are nothing out of the ordinary. He writes ῥοιαί 'pomegranates', which is excellent, except that the singular is wanted to go with ἐγίνετο. (As Leofranc Holford-Strevens suggests to me, perhaps μῆλον should also be read.)

Fr. 2. For the Ionic contraction of νενόηται to νένωνται see Bechtel, *Die griech. Dialekte* 3.62; Thumb-Scherer 2.259 §311.10h; Buck, *The Greek Dialects* §44.2. Cf. Hdt. 1.77.3, 7.206.2, 9.53.3. (Perhaps νενώνται would be better read since, as Leofranc Holford-Strevens points out to me, the Ionic contraction would postdate the pan-Hellenic establishment of recessive accent in verbs.) Because of this fr. Jacoby suggested that two frr. in Herodian quoted from 'the Samian Horoi' for their Ionic words could be from Aethlios: II. μιν. λέξ. 2.912.3 = FGrHist 544 F 2 τῇ δε νῆι [= νέαι, sc. ἡμέραι; the first day of the month, cf. Pl. Leg. 849b2] τῶν ἱπυθογειτονίων τις τὸν φυρτὸν ἐλάμβανεν, and 2.945.14 = FGrHist 544 F 3 καὶ οὐδένα κατέδρασε τῶν τῆς <σ>ύλης [= σύλων or συλῶν, 'booty'] μετασχέειν. The context of both frr. would seem to be historical not mythological.

⁴ δις τοῦ ἔτεος ἐκάστου *pars codd.*, a nonsense adopted by Rosén.

AGIAS AND DERKYLOS¹

THE relationship between these two writers cannot quite be determined for want of evidence. They are cited together except in frr. 1 (Agias alone), 6 (Derkylos alone), and test. 2 (Derkylos alone). Derkylos is always second, so one may assume that Agias is earlier and provided the basis for Derkylos' book of Argive history. This was a source for Kallimachos, both in his *Aitia* and probably in the fifth *Hymn*,² so Derkylos may be placed at the end of the fourth century, and Agias sometime earlier. His nature must remain conjectural. Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen* 180 n. 26, thought it obvious that Agias was an epic poet, the author of a (or the) *Iliupersis*; he refers to fr. 2, the discussion of the date on which Troy was taken (→§18.4.4). But this Agias of Argos owes his existence to a conjecture of C. F. Hermann in Athenaios 13.610c = Stesich. PMGF 199, where the MSS offer ἐκ τῆς ἱσακατοῦ Ἀργείου Ἰλίου Πέρσιδος; the only basis of this conjecture is our team Agias/Derkylos, so this is circular. Casaubon's Σακάδου τοῦ or Σακάδα τοῦ is much more likely to be right, and the poem in question is either a dithyramb or an 'historical' elegy.³ Hagias of Troizen, to whom the cyclical *Nostoi* was attributed, seems to me a red herring in this discussion; we have no evidence for a poem *Argolika* by this Troizenian, and his *Nostoi* is surely out of the question as the source here.⁴

The three possibilities are that Agias was invented by Derkylos as a fictitious source, that he was an unknown author of a poem on Argive history (cf. the *Phoronis*, which served both Hellanikos and Akousilaos), or that he was an earlier author of a prose *Argolika*. There is no certain way of deciding between these alternatives. Since ancient prose writers tend to subsume and suppress their principal sources, except when it is to

¹ See Cassio, 'Storiografia locale di Argo e dorico letterario'; Jacoby on FGrHist 305; J. Engels, *BNJ* commentary.

² Bulloch, *Callimachus: The Fifth Hymn* 16–17 (who suggests the myth of Teiresias was the aition of the Argive festival; in l. 56, μῦθος δ' οὐκ ἐμός, ἀλλ' ἐτέρων, he wonders whether the unusual plural actually denotes the pair Agias and Derkylos).

³ Fowler, *The Nature of Early Greek Lyric* 96; on historical elegy (Troy would count as historical) see E. Bowie, *JHS* 106 (1986) 13–35. Radermacher, *Philol.* 75 (1920) 474, suggested Σάκα τοῦ in Athenaios as a short form of the name. Sakadas of Argos wrote both elegy and lyric (West, *IEG* 2.97). Bethe, *RE* 7.2.2205.

⁴ The Hellenistic Hegias of Troizen quoted by Paus. 1.2.1 may be someone else again (FGrHist 606); see Stronk's *BNJ* commentary.

their advantage to name them (e.g. because they are, or are claimed to be, very ancient), the third option seems less likely than the other two. Since no suspicion of forgery is evinced by the (admittedly few) testimonia, we may perhaps eliminate the first, which leaves us with the second, an otherwise unknown Argive poet (Schwartz, *RE* 5.1. 243). Since his poem would have been in circulation in Derkylos' time, there was no point in concealing the relationship, and indeed it need not be seen as detracting from his own good offices in producing a serviceable précis. The difference between him and the authors of similar redactions of Eumelos and Epimenides is that he advertised his own identity as well as his source's.

The use of epichoric dialect is part of this identity and advertisement, and creates the persona of one who is intensely proud of his Argive tradition. The use of literary Doric brought Derkylos to the attention of grammarians. He is cited for an unusual form in fr. 3, and in test. 2 for the use of the rough breathing in place of intervocalic sigma. Cassio suspected that an instance should be diagnosed in fr. 4a.20, where the papyrus gives us *λοχείηται* possibly representing *λοχεύηται* (*λοχευῆται*?). Other dialectal vestiges may have been lost in transmission, so that we should perhaps read *καλόνται* *Ἡρείδες* in l. 17 of that fragment instead of *καλοῦνται* (Attic contraction) *Ἡρεσίδες*, and *καλόνται* again in l. 19; but *φέρων[τι]* survives clearly in 20–1, which suggests that *φέρονσαι* (or *φερόνσαι*) might be read in 18–19. On the other hand, *ἐπεὶ κέ τις* in l. 19 should be *ἐπεὶ τίς κα* in Doric, as Cassio shows; so, if this departure from the norm is not the fault of the scribe, it will be an epicism. Similarly, *λοετρά* rather than *λωτρά* in ll. 18 and 21 is an epic form, and *δμωῖς* in l. 20 is a poetic word. There would be nothing unusual in such occasional borrowings from different registers and genres, which add rich resonance to a text, and also prevent it from becoming *too* epichoric. The resulting mix is a kind of 'internationalizing' Doric.⁵

The subjects represented in the surviving fragments range some way away from Argos, if an aition on Paros can be included (fr. 8). Chauvinism is typical of local history and one presumes Agias/Derkylos found a way to claim an Argive patrimony for the island, perhaps by way of Crete whither they had sent many colonies (so Cassio). Lehnus speculates further that the unusual clothed statues of the Graces on Paros (Kallim. fr. 7.11) may have had an analogue in Argos (cf. Paus. 2.17.3).⁶ But these can only be guesses. Thebes too was worked in, perhaps by way of Herakles, whose history is represented in fr. 1 and 9. The presence of the Trojan war occasions no surprise in a book on Argos. Though there is plenty of local information in the book and it is Argos-centric, its spread of subjects suggests that it resembled old mythography rather than a more Hellenistic kind of periegetic or cultic literature (cf. §17.11 on fr. 4). But its local colour attracted Kallimachos' attention, who may owe more to Agias/Derkylos in other parts of the *Aitia* than we can tell, for instance the story of Molorchos (cf. Lehnus, 'Argo' 208–9).

Fr. 6. The rationalism (→§10.3) could be due to Derkylos rather than Agias.

⁵ Cassio, 'Lo sviluppo della prosa dorica' 140–1.

⁶ Lehnus, 'Argo' 205–6.

AKOUSILAOS¹

AKOUSILAOS' name is usually written *Ἀκουσίλαος*; the variants are recorded in the apparatus to test. 1, the principal one being *Ἀκουσίλας*, which is paralleled epigraphically in Dalmatia (*LGN* 3A), whence perhaps it crossed to Italy as *Acusilas* (test. 8). Instances of the name occur in every volume of *LGN*. According to test. 1, Akousilaos' father was Kabas, which is a unique name; so is the alternative 'Skabras' in test. 11a. A Kabon is attested in *LGN* 1, and a Kabonidas at Sparta in *LGN* 3A; a Thracian Skabes is known from the second century AD (*LGN* 4). Pàmias suggests the name may be based on the Kabeiroi about whom Akousilaos discoursed (fr. 20), who provided numerous theophoric names (though we know of none in Argos); this raises the possibility that the name was a guess of later biographers based on a link with the mysteries inferred from the fragments, in the manner documented by Lefkowitz.² Yet it is a very strange name, perhaps unlikely to be invented.

The birthplace of Kerkas (*IACP* p. 601) is attested as a *κώμη* (*SEG* 11.1084, 4th c. BC) and there was a *φάτρα* Kerkadai in the *φυλή* of the Dymanes.³ Since Argives designated themselves by *φάτρα* in inscriptions, like Athenians giving their demes, we may suppose that Akousilaos opened his book by identifying himself as *Ἀκουσίλαος Κάβου Κερκάδας*, which some learned commentator converted, probably correctly, to birth in the town Kerkas. It is as yet unlocated; the *Suda* says it was near Aulis, which has been taken as a corruption of Nauplia, one port for another with a similar-sounding name. It is unlikely that there was a place Aulis in the Argolid, as the signposting ('Kerkas, near Aulis') will hardly work if Aulis is even more obscure than Kerkas. Pàmias, loc. cit., speculates that Akousilaos' close connections with Hesiod (see below) might have influenced the entry (cf. Hes. *Op.* 651).⁴

For the precise date of Akousilaos we have no secure evidence. Josephus (test. 3) puts him a little before the Persian Wars among the first writers of history such as Kadmos

¹ Jacoby on *FGrHist* 2 T 1; Mazzarino, *Il pensiero storico classico* 1.58–70; Tozzi, 'Acusilao di Argo'; Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 1.80–2, 2.57–9; Pellegrini, 'Sulle "genealogie argive" di Acusilao'; Calame, 'Le funzioni di un racconto genealogico'; D. L. Toye, *BNJ* commentary on Akousilaos.

² Pàmias, 'Acusilaos and the Bronze Tablets'; Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets*. An ancient commentary on Akous. is attested in test. 12, by Sabinos in the time of Hadrian (Gerth, *RE* 1A.2.2555).

³ e.g. *IG* IV 530, *SEG* 29.361; Piérart, 'Argos: une autre démocratie' 299. The 'phatronymic' begins to appear in inscriptions in the mid-5th c.

⁴ Similarly Toye on this test. in *BNJ*, suggesting with Jacoby that these details could come from the later forgery (see below).

of Miletos,⁵ while Dionysios of Halikarnassos (test. 2 = Hek. test. 17a; test. 9 = Hek. test. 17b) puts him some time before the Peloponnesian Wars, in the company of Hekataios and many other pioneers of prose. The two dates are not incompatible, as Dionysios' capacious first stage in his history includes everybody down to the middle of the fifth century. Akousilaos is bracketed together with other early writers also by Cicero (test. 8). The basis for this dating is clearly the writer's simple, unperiodic style and unsophisticated manner, a perfectly reasonable criterion whose only drawback is that it is vulnerable to deception by forgers of supposedly antique works. In Akousilaos' case we are spared this danger by Plato, who quotes him (fr. 6a; cf. fr. 23a). Theophrastos too quotes him (fr. 22), but by then some of the forgeries already existed.

The other indication we have for Akousilaos' date is his inclusion in the company of the Seven Wise Men (test. 11). These sages lived almost without exception in the archaic period; the earliest reference to them is in Plato, but the idea of their corporation is older.⁶ Mazzarino (59–60) went so far as to put Akousilaos in the middle of the sixth century, at all events before Hekataios. This would seem to go beyond the evidence; it is by no means certain that Akousilaos preceded Hekataios, as the ancient scholars discussing who was the first prose writer (Akous. test. 3, Hek. test. 1, Pher. test. 1) plainly had no reliable indications. Nevertheless we may follow the general tenor of the testimonies and place Akousilaos very early in the history of Greek prose writing.

One commentator rejects Akousilaos' claim to being the first prose writer on the grounds that his works were forged (test. 7). This accusation is best read as a contemptuous response to the claim that his book was transcribed from bronze plaques which his father dug up in his house (test. 1). This claim was surely found in the preface to Akousilaos' book (→§1.1). The trick is as old as the Epic of Gilgamesh, and is still used, for instance, by supermarket tabloids announcing sensational new finds. Common features of the device are 'gratuitous detail, romantic associations, a connection with important persons, discovery in a grave or temple, and divine revelation'.⁷ The purpose is of course to enhance

⁵ A later forgery: *FGrHist* 489.

⁶ Pl. *Prot.* 343a, *Tim.* 20d. Fehling, *Die Sieben Weisen und die frühgriechische Chronologie*, argued that the whole idea was invented by Plato. On the Seven Sages see Barkowski, *RE* 2A.2.2242–64; Snell, *Leben und Meinungen der Sieben Weisen*; Burkert, *OR* 114; Martin, 'The Seven Sages as Performers of Wisdom'; Rösler, 'Die Sieben Weisen'; J. Christes, *BNP* s.v. 'Seven Sages'; J. Bollansée, *MH* 56 (1999) 65–75, *Hermippos of Smyrna*, 27–44, and on *FGrHist* 1005–7; Garulli, *Il Περὶ ποιητῶν δι' Ἀλκίωνα τοῦ Ἀργεῖου* 141–7. Akousilaos, being neither a poet nor a statesman, had a weaker claim than people like Solon, who is on every list.

⁷ W. Hansen, 'Strategies of Authentication' 313. Hansen collects various examples, and discusses ancient novels in particular; on the phenomenon see also Ní Mheallaigh, 'Pseudo-Documentarism'; Henrichs, 'Hieroi Logoi' 245–7 (on Paus. 4.26.6–8); Bremmer, 'From Holy Books to Holy Bible' 330 n. 13 and 'Tours of Hell' 29. A bronze tablet with Egyptian writing was supposedly found near the tomb of Alkmene (Plut. *De gen. Socr.* 5 p. 577f); R. Parker, 'Agesilaos and the Bones of Alcmena'. Pàmias, 'Acusilaos of Argos and the Bronze Tablets', explores the reasons why bronze in particular was the medium: its associations with antiquity and the obscure lore of magical smiths seem pertinent. The testimonium is discussed also by Porciani, *Prime forme* 26–7 and by Toye in *BNJ*.

credibility and authority. These tablets are Akousilaos' equivalent of Homer's Muse and Epimenides' conversation with Aletheia and Dike. Hekataios in his proem claimed only his own sagacity as guarantor of truth, which was a braver but also riskier strategy, inviting contradiction. It is, however, one reason why we may regard him as more truly historical in outlook than Akousilaos. Another reason is that Akousilaos included a theogony in his work; this is rare in our corpus (otherwise only pseudo-Epimenides), precisely because Greek gods could not be part of history in the way that human heroes could. Discourse about them belonged to a different category of thought.

In test. 4 Menander Rhet. conjoins Hesiod, Akousilaos and Orpheus as archetypal writers of theogony; in test. 5 Clement claims that Akousilaos and Eumelos simply rewrote Hesiod in prose; but in test. 6 Josephus says that Akousilaos corrected Hesiod on many points. Let us see what the fragments themselves tell us. I omit the *dubia*, and fragments where there is no known contact between Hesiod and Akousilaos; that these are few tells something of a tale in itself.

Fr. 1 agrees with Hes. *Th.* 367 about the 3000 offspring of Okeanos and Tethys, but adds that Acheloos is eldest.

Fr. 4 adapts a Hesiodic motif to a new context (birth of the Phaiakes from the blood of Ouranos; not new, as it is attested for Alk. fr. 441).

Fr. 6 agrees broadly with Hesiod, though there may be some modifications and there is some obscurity in the sources; see §1.2.1. In fr. 6a the two authors are cited together.

Fr. 6A may expand what Hesiod says about stars, though Akousilaos' view is hard to extract from Tertullian's text (see §1.4).

Fr. 7 adds the word *Τιτανίδες* to Hesiod's masculine form. The names of the Titans are omitted by the scholiast; we can probably assume they were largely identical with Hesiod's (§1.4.1).

Fr. 8 (§1.6.1). Akousilaos glosses Hesiod *Th.* 617 and makes more explicit the motive for the imprisonment.

Fr. 9 says Iris was messenger of all the gods whereas Hesiod had mentioned only Zeus (*Th.* 784).

Fr. 10 uniquely says the Harpyiai guard the golden apples; Hesiod (*Th.* 215) and everyone else says the Hesperides. This is a substantial divergence.

Fr. 11 agrees with Hesiod about the parentage of the Graiai. They are cited together according to Schober's supplement.

Fr. 12, depending on the restoration (uncertain), adds some details to Hesiod's account of the death of Typhon (§1.6.2).

Fr. 13, agrees with Hesiod about Kerberos and 'other' monsters born of Echidna and Typhon; the two are cited together.

Fr. 14 says that biting creatures arose from the blood of Typhon; if Hesiod fr. 367 is genuine, he had a different view.

Fr. 15 (§1.6.6), as presented by the source, represents Akousilaos as not only agreeing with Hesiod, but citing him with approval.

Fr. 17 (§1.9.2) offers a psychological motivation in a story found in the *Catalogue* (in what form, we are not sure; the same point could have been made there).

- Frr. 18, 19 agree with Hesiod; the two authors are cited together.
 Fr. 21 may agree or disagree with Hesiod, depending on the text (§1.9.3).
 Frr. 23 and 26 are in agreement (they are cited together in fr. 26), but the genealogy in fr. 24 is different, and in fr. 25 Akousilaos has his own view of Pelasgos. In fr. 27 he differs from some of the Hesiodeia about the watchman Argos. For these frr. see §7.1.1.
 Fr. 28 reveals a difference between Akousilaos and Hesiod, but Apollodoros may be mistaken; see §5.3.3.
 Fr. 33 on Aktaion's offence agrees with Hes. frr. 217A, 346.
 Fr. 34 appears to offer a different name for Deukalion's mother from Hesiod's (fr. 4, corrupt).
 Fr. 35 has the story of Deukalion and Pyrrha and the stones, as Hes. fr. 234.
 Fr. 36 differs from the *Megalai Ehoiai* about Endymion.
 Fr. 37 differs from Hes. fr. 68 about the Golden Fleece, which he says was sea-dyed purple (§6.1.1); this is found also in Simonides PMG 576, so it is a variant in the tradition, not newly invented.
 Fr. 38 agrees with Hesiod (fr. 255) about Phrixos' wife (the two are quoted together).
 Fr. 41 knows of Nikostratos son of Menelaos, as does Hesiod (fr. 175), though not Homer.
 Fr. 42 agrees with Hesiod (fr. 262) on Skylla's parents if one accepts the emendation 'Phorkys' for 'Phorbas' (§1.6.4).

The fragments clearly bear out Clement against Josephus, though of course both exaggerate for their own purposes. There is a close engagement with Hesiod throughout the oeuvre. Many changes are trivial, or glosses and elaborations rather than alterations. The extent of Akousilaos' own free invention is very limited; we sometimes know where he has got his variants from. One sphere in which he feels freer to diverge is the myths of his own Argos (Phoroneus, Pelasgos), as might be expected. That Hesiod and Akousilaos are so frequently cited together implicitly indicates the opinion of ancient scholars.⁸ Some of the larger differences are with fragments of the Hesiodeia (frr. 14, 27, 36); but this is not true of fr. 10, and the data fall far short of showing that Akousilaos accorded more respect to the *Catalogue of Women* than to other works in the Hesiodic corpus.

To consider now the content of his book, theogony is strongly represented in the fragments (1, 6, 6A, 7–15, 20–1; frr. 17–19, the story of Koronis, Asklepios, and Apollo's servitude, might have been told in connection with Apollo, or in the Aiolid stemma). Many of the main regions and genealogical lines are represented: Thessaly and Aiolidai (fr. 3); Thebes (fr. 33); Lokris and Deukalion (frr. 34–5); Elis (fr. 36). Of the major epics the Argonauts (frr. 30–1, 37–8) are represented, and the Trojan cycle (frr. 3–4, 39–43); Herakles too was there (fr. 29). The early history of Argos unsurprisingly accounts for a number of fragments (23–8). Fr. 2, on the Homeridai, stands alone.

⁸ A Hellenistic mythographical handbook may lie behind these joint citations: Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* 94–5. Akousilaos himself may have cited Hesiod by name, as Hek. fr. 19.

Only four fragments are quoted with book-numbers: fr. 1 (theogony) reassuringly from book 1, frr. 3–4 on the Trojan War from the third book, which could be the last. Fr. 2 on the Homeridai is also from the third book, which tempts one to speculate that Akousilaos mentioned the Homeridai precisely in connection with the Iliadic part of his book. The structure thus mirrors that of the Hesiodic *Theogony* followed by the *Catalogue of Women*. There is no justification for thinking that Akousilaos abandoned the *Catalogue's* genealogical form in favour of some kind of chronological history, even if he does end with the Nostoi (which the *Catalogue* also did anyway). A good number of heroic fragments contain genealogies (3, 23–7, 34, 36, 38, 41–2). The disproportionate representation of theogonic fragments may arise from the fact that Akousilaos was the only early mythographer to treat the gods, apart from the problematic pseudo-Epimenides; but it may also reflect his own advertising of himself as a purveyor of wisdom, i.e. precisely about gods, so that people tended to consult him, and thus preserve the fragment.

The comparison with Hesiod above also shows up the general character of Akousilaos' work, which, on an uncharitable view, is not much more than a transcription of the Boiotian, except when it came to Argive myth. In this endeavour of reducing a specific poetic oeuvre to prose he anticipates the redactors of Eumelos and Epimenides.⁹ One respect in which Akousilaos might have differed fundamentally from Hesiod, if we could be sure of it, is a nascent rationalism. If, like Hekataios and Xenophanes, Akousilaos began to object in principle to certain kinds of stories, this too might have burnished his credentials as a sage. The surviving evidence is unfortunately thin. In fr. 17, Koronis' rejection of marriage with Apollo, one would more appropriately speak of realism than rationalism (→§1.9.2); the god is real enough. In fr. 37, the Purple (not Golden) Fleece is more promising; see §6.1.1. The clearest case is the bull of fr. 29 (→§8.4.7), though it is still a marvellously long-lived animal if it served both as Europe's means of conveyance to Crete and the object of Herakles' quest.

New testimonium 9A. See below, Hek. test. 17A.

Fr. 1. I have restored the Ionic form *τρισχέλιοι* for *τρισχίλιοι* in l. 2 (this should be added to the list in EGM 1.xlv).¹⁰ On the dialect see further below on fr. 22.

Frr. 6a–b. On the reading *γοβαί* in fr. 6a see §1.2.1 n. 13; *ibid.* n. 19 on Jacoby's *ἐξ οὗ* in fr. 6b = Epimen. fr. 6a.

Fr. **6A. On the authenticity of the fr. see §1.4.1.

Fr. 8. For the supplement *Οὐρ]αὐτὸν* fr. 8 l. 16 see §1.6.1.

Fr. 11. On the continuation at the end of the fragment see §1.6.4 n. 115.

Fr. 18.20–1. This is now *Nostoi* fr. 9 in West's edition of the epic fragments.

Fr. 22. This precious fragment gives a real sense of its author, and of the newly-minted style of mythography. By reducing the story to its essentials, the author can convey a

⁹ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen* 180 n. 26 on Agias and Derkylos and others.

¹⁰ Cf. M. L. West, preface to his edition of the *Iliad*, p. xxxvi.

great deal of information in a short space. The revolutionary implications of such fact-oriented reference works should not be underestimated.¹¹ At the same time, most mythographers cannot resist some ornamentation, and we can imagine that in performance the text we have would serve as an aide-mémoire rather than a script to be read aloud. Yet the text itself was written to be read by others at a remove (see on Hek. fr. 1, below).

The dialect is Ionic, though some forms have been eliminated in transmission; a splendid epichoric infinitive *τεκέν* is preserved in l. 59.¹² The prestige of epic and the intellectual leadership of Ionia account for the adoption of Ionic by early writers whose native dialect was different. An epic-seeming unaugmented iterative *πολεμέεσκε* is used in l. 71; but this particular form would not go into a hexameter, and it looks as if the form comes rather from ordinary speech (cf. e.g. Hdt. 1.196.2 *πωλέεσκε*, 4.78.5 *ποιέεσκε*).¹³ The historic present is lavishly employed.

A very idiomatic splash of colour is the expression *ἤλiskeτο μάλιστα χρημάτων* in ll. 67–8. When scholars such as Maas (*Kl. Schr.* 65) and Wilamowitz (*Kl. Schr.* 3.477 n. 1) frankly admit they do not understand it, there is no point pretending the meaning is obvious. It is the collocation that causes puzzlement, not the parts of the expression in themselves. *μάλιστα χρημάτων* is equivalent to the common *μάλιστα πάντων*, though in later prose there is usually a particle such as *γε* (Dunbar on Ar. *An.* 1531–6). For the generalized use of *χρήματα* cf. e.g. Archil. fr. 122.1 *χρημάτων ἀελλπτον οὐδέν*, Hdt. 7.145.1 *πρώτον . . . χρημάτων πάντων* (Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* 94). The verb is probably a metaphor from hunting (*LSJ* I.2); but expressions such as *πρίν γ' ἤ κατακτάμεν ἤ ἀλῶναι* (Il. 12.172) or *ἢ κέν μ' ἀνέσει θεός, ἢ κεν ἀλώω / αὐτοῦ ἐν Τροίῃ* (Od. 18.265–6) show that in a martial context *ἀλίσκάνω* can mean simply 'die' (*θανάτω* is elided). Cf. also Pind. *Pyth.* 3.56–7 *ἄνδρ' ἐκ θανάτου κομίσαι ἤδη ἀλωκότα*. Another possibility is a metaphor from wrestling (to be caught = to lose) but I can find no example. The legal sense is hardly in view at such a date. As a translation to add to

¹¹ Fowler, 'How to Tell a Myth'.

¹² Ionic eta is preserved in l. 81 *πέτρην*. Open forms are preserved in ll. 62 *Ποσειδέων* (which is restored also in 58), 70 (*Δαπιθέων*) and 77 (*ποιέοντα*); contracted -ει- is written in 61, 77 (also fr. 1.1); contracted -οι- in 66 *κεντοῖη*, *ἐφορμῇ* (78) is normal contraction in Ionic and Attic but Hdt. has psilotic *ἐπορμ-* at 8.81, 9.93.4. The crasis *κάκενοι* in 79 implies *ἐκεῖνος*, which prevails in Herodotos over *κεῖνος*; in Homer it is the other way around; in inscriptions West Ionic has the long form, East Ionic the short. 70–1 offer a short dative plural where we should expect a long. *γίνεται*, as normal in Herodotos, is written in l. 69 (also fr. 1.1). *ἐπιτιθέων* in 82 is Ionic (Attic *ἐπιτιθέσων*). Nu-movable is written here before a consonant (before a vowel in 80), defying the ancient dogma that it is neglected in Ionic (cf. Smyth, *Ionic*, pp. 287–9, for the definitive demolition of this fallacy). *ἔπειτα* is written twice (58, 72) as nearly everywhere in Herodotos (occasional v.l. *ἔπειτε*) in spite of later grammarians' view that *ἔπειτεν* was Ionic; cf. below on Pher. fr. 21. *μίσγεται* in l. 57 is Ionic as against Attic *μίσγνται*. The form of the optative *κεντοῖη* in 66 is typically Attic but not unknown in Ionic (below, p. 717).

¹³ Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* 87, desires epigraphic evidence before reaching such a conclusion.

those of others I would suggest 'if anyone attacked him with iron or bronze, he was absolutely sure to lose' or 'sure to die'.¹⁴

Fr. 26. For the proverbially insincere *Ἀφροδίσιος ὄρκος* mentioned here (Hes. fr. 124) cf. Plato *Symp.* 183b, Kallim. *Epig.* 25.3–4 with Gow-Page *HE* 2.165.

Fr. 28. Against the suggestion that a citation of Akousilaos may be lurking in Probus' scholion see Cairns, *JHS* 125 (2005) 41 n. 43 = *Bacchylides: Five Epinician Odes* 116 n. 46 and Dowden, *Death and the Maiden* 95; the lacuna might have contained the names of the daughters, as in Hesiod, and at the end there might have been an account of their healing.

Fr. 34 on the corruption in ll. 4–5 see §3.1.

Fr. 39. One can see Akousilaos working his way through the problems here; see §18.6.

Fr. 41. On the textual problem in l. 3 see §18.2.2 n. 26.

Fr. 42. Jacoby on Semos *FGrHist* 396 F 22, n. 45 suggests *δαίμονος τινος* for *†εἰδός τινος*, citing Eust. *Od.* 1714.34.

Fr. 44. West *HCW* 114 n. 192 judges the ascription of fr. 44 to be unlikely, but thinks the author could be 'early enough for the scholiast to conjecture that Pindar had come across the work'. The easiest assumption is that *Ἀχαιῶ* conceals *ἀρχαίῳ*, and that the name of the historian has dropped out altogether. If the scholiast is right that the writer was old, there are not many candidates. The use of the pronoun *οὗ* may help in this regard: all the other examples of this kind of expression in the corpus (which are not few) use *τοῦ* (see index p. 418 s.v. 'ὁ ille', the demonstrative article), and combine it with *δέ*, including Akous. in fr. 1 and 3. *οὗ* could be read as a genitive of *ὅς ille* rather than *ὅς qui*, but only in theory; in the oblique cases the forms in *τ-* took over at an early date (repeatedly in Archil. fr. 196a, for instance; I find no example of the genitive singular in Homer or Hesiod which is not a relative pronoun.) The absence of a connective should also predispose us to interpretation as a relative pronoun. On the genealogy see §8.5.8.

¹⁴ 'wurde er allermeistens gepackt' Lendle, *Einführung in die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 21; '... so war es um ihn geschehen. Es war das Gewisseste in der Welt', lit. 'am meisten unter allen Sachen' Schadewaldt, *Die Anfänge der Geschichtsschreibung bei den Griechen* 37; 'ne era vinto oltre ogni dire' Mazzarino, *Il pensiero storico classico* 1.69; 'so zog er gewaltig den kürzeren' Deubner, *SHAW* (1919) 17 (understanding *ἤλiskeτο* as elliptical for 'der Erfolglosigkeit des Unternehmens überführt werden'); 'dann ging es ihm gewiß schlecht' Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 1.80 (at 2.58 n. 21 he suggests an English version 'he was certainly trapped'); 'il était condamné sans aucuns recours' Decourt, 'Caïnīs-Caïneus' 6–7; 'hat er ganz gewiß einen Mißerfolg (?)' Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie* 396; 'wurde er grade am meisten gefaßt' Waldner, *Geburt und Hochzeit des Kriegers* 53.

ANAXIMANDROS¹

ANAXIMANDROS is synchronized with the reign of Artaxerxes II (404–358) by the *Suda* (test. 1), but with Stesimbrotos by Xenophon in test. 3 (dramatic date 422); these are not necessarily incompatible, if the writer's ἀκμή fell in the first part of the Persian's reign. The testimonia, few though they are, suggest a polymath interested in Pythagoreanism and Homeric criticism. His writing in Ionic (test. 2, fr. 1) would not be so unusual in a Milesian author, but he heightens the old-fashioned impression with his parataxis and historical present. The Ionic of fr. 1, at least as presented by the MSS, is not pure, but then the precise mix of Ionic and Attic in writers of this date is unknowable, owing in part to the unconscious Atticizing of copyists, but also because the original writers were probably inconsistent in their spelling (as Herodotos and inscriptions are). As explained in *EGM* 1 (xliv–xlv), in such circumstances one can only print what is transmitted (in the case of Anaximandros, both αὐτῶι and ἑαυτοῦ, when what we want is ἐωυτ-; short instead of long datives plural), changing only what is beyond doubt (Hekataios, for instance, would never have written βασιλείαι in fr. 15). I might have broken this rule in writing ἀπέπλει for ἀπέπλεεν in l. 4 on the grounds that εἰ is the right representation of the lengthened epsilon in Ionic. Had an early writer wanted the epicism, he would indeed have written -εε; this form is often on offer in the MSS of Herodotos along with -εἰ. But it is odd that this form and not others should receive such treatment; therefore the imposition of epic forms is due to the scribes. The inconsistency arises from the lack of editorial conformity in the Herodotean tradition; we see in the MSS something like the condition of the pre-Alexandrian 'wild' Homeric papyri still surviving. For Herodotos' original ὁ scribes and editors sometimes wrote εε, sometimes εἰ (ὄνομα and οὐνομα are similar). But perhaps Anaximandros had his own ways, and did intend an epicism. (And my strictures may be too dogmatic even for Herodotos.)² The fragment is actually quoted for the form σκύφος, which has good epic/Ionic credentials (Hes. fr. 271–2; Anakr. *PMG* 433.1; Panyas. fr. 9.2; *IG* XI.2.110.24, 26, 111.31, *al.* (3rd c.); but σκύφος is found once in Homer (*Od.* 14.112)).

Fr. 1 is quoted from the *Heroologia*; this is a title also given to Hekataios' work by Harpokration (Hek. fr. 8, em.). This is a very rare word, occurring only in these two places; the verb ἡρωολογέω occurs only once, in Strabo, quoting Hellan. fr. 185 but applied to Homer and Hesiod. Hekataios' book was more commonly cited as *Genealogies* or *Histories*, and clearly did not come with a title from its author's hand; by Anaximandros' time we would expect that it did. Perhaps 'heroology' was a coinage of his day, a sign that mythography was becoming a recognizable genre; entitling his own book thus would have been part of his homage to Hekataios. It ranged broadly, if we assume that fr. 2 and 3 came from the same work. Węcowski sums up his assessment thus:

In general, A.'s work belonged at the same time to a conservative current of scholarship (plainly within the tradition of Ionic learning; writing in the Ionic dialect in a rather old-fashioned style, following Hekataios in his *Heroologia*, commenting upon Homer and Pythagoras), and to a new type foreshadowing the Hellenistic scholarship, and contrasting with such polymaths of the sophistic era as Ion of Chios . . . Critias of Athens . . . or Hippias of Elis . . ., who seem to have still perceived their erudition as stemming from earlier wisdom tradition and as subordinate to their practical and political *paideia* . . . A.'s interests look, on the one hand, purely antiquarian; on the other hand, he was (most probably) interested in looking for a 'deeper' interpretation of 'sages of old'. In both respects, his work foreshadows that of the Hellenistic antiquarian studies.

Fr. 2. Janko ap. Broggiato (this is Krates fr. 139 in her edition) proposes *Mallotesque* *Crates*, which is a better solution to the crux.

¹ E. Schwartz, *RE* 1.2.2085–6; Jacoby on *FGH* 9; and esp. M. Węcowski, *BNJ* commentary.

² Cf. Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* 88–90.

ANDRON¹

THE remarkable inscription from Salmakis of the second century BC (test. 1) brackets Herodotos, Panyassis, and Andron together in the first group of eminent *litterati* of whom Halikarnassos is proud; the collocation recurs in test. 2, a poem with a very similar purpose and perhaps even the same author.² The arrangement suggests that Andron was an old author, but the order of authors in the first inscription is somewhat capricious even if its arrangement is broadly chronological. We can infer from fr. 6 that he was older than Istros, who is Plutarch's source. On the other hand he seems to follow in the wake of Hellanikos.³ In particular, fr. 13 seems to refine Hellanikos' methodology, as is possibly reflected in the unusual title of his work (*Συγγένειαι* or *Συγγενικά* as opposed to *Γενεαλογία*).⁴ His geography in fr. 7 according to Schwartz placed him in the fourth century at least (→§1.3.2). Someone thought his book worth epitomizing (fr. 5). The title of a work, *The War against the Barbarians*, attributed to an uncertain Andron in *POxy* 1802, could refer either to the Persian Wars or to Alexander's campaign, among others.

The surviving fragments range across the whole of pan-Hellenic myth: Athenian subjects in frs. 1, 6, 9, 13, 14, 15; theogony (fr. 7); Apollo and Admetos (fr. 3); Deukalion and the flood (fr. 8); Argonauts (fr. 5); Pelopidai (fr. 11); Penelope's sister (fr. 12); Return of the Herakleidai (fr. 16); Homeric criticism (fr. 4 on the Selloi). He is much interested in origins and etymologies of people, places, and customs (see frs. 1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 16, 20).

Fr. 8. *Etym. Magn.* p. 655.5 s.v. *Παρνασσός* also quotes this fr., giving the intermediate form *Λαρνησσός* instead of *Λαρνασσός*.

Fr. 16a. Radt in his comm. now judges his <ἐκ> to be unnecessary; but the supplement makes matters slightly clearer.

Fr. 19. On the problem of attribution see §16.1.5.

Fr. 20.10. I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans* 206, suggests *Ἀριστόνικος* as an expansion of the abbreviation, but without argument. There is no reason to think that Aristonikos wrote a commentary on Pindar.

¹ Apart from Schwartz's *RE* article and Jacoby's commentary see now D. L. Toye, *BNJ* commentary on Andron.

² S. Isager, *ZPE* 123 (1998) 16. See also Lloyd-Jones, *Further Academic Papers* 211–32; Isager and Pedersen, *The Salmakis Inscription*.

³ See §§3.2 and 3.4 on fr. 8; §16.2.2 on fr. 15; §16.2.3 on fr. 13; *ibid.* on fr. 6; §17.8 on fr. 1.

⁴ 'In his *Histories*' fr. 4, but that is a default title applied by the scholiast.

ANTIOCHOS¹

ACCORDING to Diodoros (test. 3), Antiochos brought his work *On Sicily* down to 424/3; as we know from Thucydides (4.58–65) this was the year of the congress at Gela, at which the Sicilians put aside their differences and united against the looming Athenian threat. This is probably not coincidental, and would link to the subject of the book itself, which is about all of Sicily not individual cities. An anti-Athenian bias is to be expected and has been diagnosed in fr. 12 (→§5.4.1). The threat was probably still looming rather than actual at the time of writing; had he written his book after 415, we might expect some mention of the Sicilian expedition.

Antiochos himself was Syracusan (test. 1–3, frs. 4–5); since he does not give his ethnic in fr. 2, the opening of *On Italy*, he must have given it in the proem of *On Sicily*. He tells us in fr. 2 that his father was one Xenophanes. *LGP*N quotes no other example of this name in Italy or Sicily, and Huxley made so bold as to suggest this could have been the famous Kolophonian philosopher, who visited Sicily in the time of Hieron (478–67).² But by then he was probably in his nineties; not impossible that he should have fathered his Sicilian son then, but the odds are against it. Given the rarity of the name in the region, one might suppose some relationship, perhaps as grandson or lateral descendant; yet even in Ionia *LGP*N can find only one other Xenophanes. That Antiochos wrote in Ionic does not support the hypothesis, since he would have chosen this dialect for literary reasons. He is the first historian of the West, and is clearly aiming to put his region (not his city) on the map. The choice of Ionic, the international dialect, was a necessary part of this bid.

Two book-titles are transmitted, *On Italy* and (effectively) *On Sicily* (ἡ Σικελιώτις συγγραφή, test. 1; ἡ τῶν Σικελικῶν ἱστορία, test. 3). The only fragment cited by name from the latter (*FGrHist* 555 F 1) is about the Knidian foundation of Lipara (*IACP* no. 34), after their failure to settle in Sicily itself. *On Sicily* had nine books according to Diodoros (test. 3), beginning with Kokalos, the primeval king of the Sikanoi, and ending as

¹ Mazzarino, *Il pensiero storico classico* 1.212–40; Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 507–18; Pearson, *The Greek Historians of the West* 11–18; Musti, *Strabone e la Magna Grecia*; Luraghi, 'Antioch of Siracusa'; Sammartano, *Origines gentium Siciliae*; Pagliara, 'Etnografia italica antichissima'; Cusunà, *I monumenti di Antioco di Siracusa*; Vattuone, 'Western Greek Historiography' 191–3.

² *GRBS* 9 (1968) 309–12.

already noted in 424/3.³ The opening of *On Italy* is quoted in fr. 2, and both it and fr. 1 treat the very early history of the territory. Antiochos stresses in fr. 2 that he has drawn on old traditions. It has been suggested, therefore, that *On Italy* dealt only with the remotest period of history, perhaps as a part of or supplement to *On Sicily*. The trouble with this view is that several of the fragments quoted without book-title treat Italian affairs of the historical period.⁴ One must suppose that these were all worked into *On Sicily* by way of digression. This is an unattractive and unnecessary hypothesis, and it is easier to think that *On Italy* was a substantial work in its own right. In truth its opening words in fr. 2 do not oblige us to think that Antiochos confined himself to prehistory in that work. He naturally begins there, and of course he stresses the reliability and antiquity of his sources.

The traces of Ionic are clear in fr. 2, though Van Compernelle perversely denied it in order to bring Antiochos into play as a possible author of *PSI* 1283.⁵ It is true that the genitive ending -εος in l. 1 is not exclusively Ionic, that *Ἰταλίας* instead of *Ἰταλῆς* in l. 1 is found in all MSS but one, and that *Ἰταλιῆτες* is an oddity that may in any case be corrupt;⁶ but the use of the pronoun *ἥτις* instead of *ἥ* in l. 3 and *έόντες* in l. 9 clinch the matter.⁷

By almost universal agreement Thucydides depended on Antiochos for his Sicilian archaeology in 6.2–5, and also at 3.88.2–3 (cf. Paus. 10.11.3 = *FGrHist* 555 F 1).⁸ In addition to arguments from the subject-matter Dover noted some strikingly un-Thucydidean usages of language: *έγγύς* and *έγγύτατα* (four times) with numbers instead of *μάλα*, *περί, όσον, ώς* or *ές; όστις* to mean the same as *ός*, as mentioned above; the meaning 'next' for the participle in the expression *του έχομένου έτους*. To these Hornblower, *Commentary on Thucydides* 3.273, tentatively adds *αυτόχθονες* and *ώς μέν αυτοί φων*

³ Jacoby on *FGrHist* 555 F 13 argued that Strabo's parenthesis about Kokalos did not come from Antiochos.

⁴ *FGrHist* F 9: foundation of Rhegion; F 10: foundation of Kroton by Achaioi (assisted by Archias on his way to found Syracuse); F 11: war between Tarantinoi and Thourioi of 433/2; F 12: recolonization of Metapontion by Achaioi from Sybaris (early 7th c.); F 13: foundation of Tarentum.

⁵ *Aegyptus* 60 (1985) 347–57. The papyrus is of uncertain attribution; Philistos is a possibility but not the only one.

⁶ *Ἰταλίη* in l. 3 is my normalization (*EGM* 1.xlv). A scribe is likelier to substitute an Atticism for an Ionicism than the other way around, and why should he do the latter if the text was in Attic? On the form *Ἰταλιῆτες* see §17.5.

⁷ The first is very common in Herodotos, and found also in Herakleitos *Vors.* 22 B 15; otherwise only Soph. *OC* 1054, *Ai.* 1300 (but see Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 20–1), and Thuc. 6.3 which is taken from Antiochos. Hellan. fr. 42b could be another example (Dover, *HCT* 4.199) but it may be due to the scholar; the usage became more frequent in the Koine (Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.* 2.643). For *έόντες* Van Compernelle quotes an example from Epicharmos, which he says shows it can be Doric; the passage is, however, from the Pseudepicharmea, fr. 276.4–6 K.–A. On the papyrus see Cuscutà, *I frammenti di Antioco* 17 n. 96. Fr. 6, the other verbatim quotation, offers nothing either distinctively Ionic or definitely non-Ionic (there is lack of psilosis in *άφίκετο*, but even if not scribal this varies from polis to polis; Herodotos' MSS offer both *έφικε* (fr. 6.2) and *οὔνομα*; the latter may have been foisted upon Herodotos in any case; Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* 90).

⁸ Dover, *HCT* 4.198–210; Luraghi, 'Fonti e tradizioni nell' *Archaiologia siciliana*'; S. Hornblower, *Commentary on Thucydides* 3.272–4.

In 6.2.2. For our purposes here it is important to note how very Herodotean the treatment is.⁹ The similarities make an impressively long list: geographical data; successive stages of occupation beginning with the mythical Kyklopes and Laistrygones; Greeks vs. barbarians; *ethne*, poleis, founders, *nomima*, dialects; links to existing monuments; etymologies; markers of time ('a little later' 'about the same time'); estimates of probability ('as is probable and as tradition holds [*λέγεται*]'); indications of sources; agnosticism (*οὐκ έχω έπτεῖν*), denigration of poets, 'what people say' vs. the truth; alliances and sympolities; stasis, exile, piracy and betrayal. Some of these are found also in the two verbatim quotations (frs. 2, 6), which likewise evince a distinctly Herodotean flavour; and these themes are much in evidence in the paraphrased fragments.

Yet there is one feature of the voiceprint in Thucydides' extract which is decidedly *not* Herodotean, and that is the profusion of exact datings. The Sikeloι crossed to Sicily 'about three hundred years before the Greeks arrived'; Syracuse was founded 'the year after' Naxos; Thoukles and the Chalkidians took over Leontinoi 'four years after Syracuse was founded'; the Megarians were expelled by Gelon 245 years after they settled; and so on. There are in total 10 such expressions in this brief passage—in addition to several looser expressions such as 'about the same time'. Herodotos does use such expressions, but not with such insistence; and the vague sort outnumbers the exact. These dates in the Thucydidean passage were surely taken from Antiochos rather than added from somewhere else. If this is so, one may remark further that in paying Antiochos the compliment of plagiarism, Thucydides is implicitly commending the chronographical *άκριβεια* which he found wanting in Hellanikos (Hellan. test. 16). It becomes probable that the dating of the Sicilian migration is indeed Antiochean, in spite of Dionysios' statement that he did not provide a date for this event (fr. 4; → §17.5 n. 46).

Fr. 2 is an example of a proem, one of a goodly number to survive from classical works; for a general discussion, see below on Hek. fr. 1. Antiochos' verb *ξυγγράφω* is found already in Herodotos in the sense of 'writing up' one's research (3.103, 6.14.1; the noun *συγγραφή* at 1.93.1); this is also Thucydides' verb at 1.1.¹⁰ Thucydides describes Hellanikos' book on Athenian history as *ή Αττική ξυγγραφή* (1.97.2 = Hellan. test. 16); Diogenes of Apollonia uses the word to describe his own work (*Vors.* 64 B 4), and Hippias refers to the totality of previous literature as poetry and *συγγραφαί* (*FGrHist* 6 F 4), from a passage obviously close to the beginning of his book.¹¹ In Antiochos and Thucydides the verb means 'wrote the history'; as Hornblower notes, *ιστορία* in this period still denoted any kind of inquiry.¹² Neither noun nor verb is used of poetry; they

⁹ Cf. my 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 77.

¹⁰ Also Hippok. *Acut.* 1, *Vict.* 1.1. On the meaning see Calame, 'Le funzioni di un racconto genealogico' 130–2.

¹¹ The noun also occurs in Herakleit. *Vors.* 22 B 129, but the fragment is spurious.

¹² S. Hornblower, *Thucydides* 8 and *Commentary on Thuc.* 1.1; on the meaning of *ιστορία* see Fowler, *Herodotus and his Prose Predecessors*, with references.

denote and connote the professional treatise. Herodotos shows that the usage begins in the middle of the fifth century; we may suspect the Sophists had something to do with it. At all events, it was an appropriate time, given the intellectual atmosphere, for such a word to be coined.

Antiochos' appeal to the credibility and clarity of his sources in fr. 2 also echoes the concerns of contemporary historiography; related words occur many times in Herodotos and Thucydides (though clarity is stressed more often by the latter as a criterion of truth).¹³ These words are part of a growing specialized vocabulary to describe evidence and argument; other words in the portfolio are *τεκμήριον*, *σημείον*, *δῆλον*, *μαρτύριον*, *ἀκρίβεια*, *παράδειγμα*, *ἀπόδειξις*, *εἰκός*, *εὔρεσις*, and of course *ιστορία* (which an earlier generation had called *διζήσις*). Herodotos' trio *γνώμη*, *δῆλος*, *δυνατότης* (2.99.1) is avowedly methodological and denotes concepts much in discussion in the fifth century.¹⁴ For both Herodotos and Thucydides, the antiquity of a story is potentially problematic; in this respect Antiochos seems superficially to differ from both of them, in that the oldest stories seem *eo ipso* the most reliable in fr. 2. But Herodotos is happy to use an old source if it withstands scrutiny; Thucydides has the luxury of writing about events he has lived through himself, but in his archaeological sections he resorts to Herodotean methods to choose the most reliable of the old traditions. The implication is that the old stories in their time were contemporary stories (which in itself betrays a subtle historical awareness); one may render them as credible as the stories of one's own time by the test of reason. If they pass that test, their antiquity is an added advantage. Antiochos was not one to trade on the romantic elements of old stories (*τὸ μυθώδες*); his accounts of the foundation of colonies in the West display a notably realistic approach—another thing that would have appealed to Thucydides.¹⁵

Antiochos' pride as a Western Greek is visible in his choice of subject, and in his general outlook; as Jacoby noted, there is little engagement with the *archaiologia* of old Greece; his focus is on the indigenous peoples of the West.¹⁶ Jacoby also thought that the disappearance of Antiochos' works was one of the more regrettable losses from the ancient world, though he held no illusions that he was a writer to compare with Herodotos or Thucydides for genius. Methodologically he bridges the gap between them. The recovery of Antiochos would not only bring much new knowledge of ancient history and historiography, but pleasure in reading an author who clearly had considerable merits in his own right.

¹³ On the meaning of *σαφές* in these writers see T. F. Scanlon in *Historia* 51 (2002) 131–48.

¹⁴ For discussion of the methods and language of argument and proof see esp. Thomas, *Herodotus in Context* 168–212; also S. Hornblower, *Thucydides* 73–109.

¹⁵ Musti, *Strabone e la Magna Grecia* 35–54.

¹⁶ On this point see also Luraghi, 'Antioco di Siracusa' 80–1.

ARISTOPHANES¹

SOME of the arguments for the dating of this author to the early fourth century are stated in *EGM* 1.xxxv.² They are not many. The confusion over titles (whether one work or two; in the latter case, *Boiotika* vs. *Thebaioi Horoi/Thebaika*) seems unlikely for an author of high Hellenistic date or even the late fourth century. The author of the new fragment 1A quotes Aristophanes along with Rhianos, who is late third century, but Aristophanes is here a witness for orthodoxy against Rhianos' innovation (see §17.2). In the same passage we learn that Aristophanes quoted a mythological parallel for Polimandros' execution of Ehippos; this has the air of one investigating a scholarly problem and suggests a time when *μυθολογία* as a genre was emerging in the middle of the fourth century. *FGrHist* 379 FF 5–6, which rise to the defence of the Thebans against the slanders of Herodotos, are omitted from *EGM* as treating historical events, but they reveal something of the character of Aristophanes' work. Since Plutarch was still writing on this theme centuries later, this does not help us to date Aristophanes very exactly, but Plutarch likes to draw on good old sources. Plutarch in test. 1A tells us that Aristophanes drew upon *τὰ κατ' ἄρχοντας ὑπομνήματα*, records sorted by name of archon. This expression might suggest a state of archival development more characteristic of the middle than the beginning of the fourth century;³ on the other hand, it could be an inference from a reference to a single document or documents dated by archon year, without implying systematic research in a well-arranged repository. As Jacoby noted, these archives would hardly have survived the destruction of Thebes in 335. All in all I am inclined now to put Aristophanes later rather than earlier in the fourth century (which, if correct, ousts him from *EGM*).⁴

¹ See A. Schachter's commentary in *BNJ*.

² I misrepresent Jacoby at n. 18; the point about the writing of *Hellenika* by Theban writers is his, not Schwartz's. But his reasoning remains opaque.

³ A controversial problem. See below, p. 675 n. 56.

⁴ Schachter makes two suggestive points: (i) any story implying the union of Aulis and Tanagra suits a mid-century context, after the Thebans rewarded Tanagra by doubling their territory; see his 'Tanagra: the Geographical and Historical Context: Part One' 59, 61–2, 68. We do not know enough of Aristophanes' tale to see if it contained that implication but it is possible. (ii) The shrine and theatre of Dionysios (fr. 2) were built during the Theban ascendancy in the second quarter of the 4th c.; but, as in Athens, they might have been built on the site of an existing cult.

Plutarch (*De Hdt. mal.* 31 p. 864c) calls Aristophanes 'the Boiotian' and, if this is not mere inference from the subject-matter of the book, we may take it at face value to mean that he was not Theban. The reference to boorish, misologic Theban officials at p. 864d (= *FGrHist* 379 F 5) may, but need not, suggest an anti-Theban stance. The fragments offer information about several sites in Boiotia, with no one place represented more than others.

ARMENIDAS¹

FR. 6 displays the Ionic dialect forms *ποιεῦντες* and *καλεῦνται* and the long dative *Ἑρμαῖσιν* (em.), which are sufficient to establish Armenidas as an older writer (but *ποιέοντες* would be expected if he were writing in the fifth century). As in Antiochos, the dialect shows the audience at which the work is directed, at least in part; a bid is implicitly made for a place on the international stage. Armenidas appears to be the oldest epichoric writer of Boiotian or Theban history. Hellanikos of Lesbos wrote a *Boiotiaka*, as he wrote a history of Athens, Chios and other places, and of course Boiotia and other districts figure in pan-Hellenic historiography as well as poetry; it would be interesting, had we all these works, to compare the differences in outlook, choice of material and style between those writing local history as insiders and those writing as outsiders. Armenidas' fragments do display a strong concentration on Thebes, though this may be an accident of transmission. As Schachter writes: '[T]he fragments could have been taken from a description of the monuments of Thebes, as follows: the acropolis (F 5); the area east of the Kadmeia (the name of the acropolis of Thebes), encompassing the agora (F 6; F 4 [=8A, see below]; F 8); the north-east corner of the Kadmeia, with the theatre and sanctuary of Dionysos Lysios (F 3, F 7, F 1); the Amphieion at the northern end of the Kadmeia (F 2). If this is anywhere near correct, then the surviving fragments deal with only a limited area of the city; perhaps only a small part of Armenidas' work survived into later antiquity.'

Schachter notes the rarity of the name; *LGP*N 3B quotes only one other example. A reasonable number of examples of Armenos *vel sim.* is found in central Greece and the Peloponnese, and Arkadia offers an Arminidas (*LGP*N 3A).

Fr. 1. On the text see Burzacchini, *Studi su Corinna* 115–21.

Fr. 6. Jacoby thought that the citation/paraphrase of Armenidas extended at least as far as *ἐκεῖ καθέντων* in l. 11, and that Armenidas catalogued different explanations in the manner of Herodotos. He is followed by Schachter. But these alternatives ('either for the Seven against Thebes, or the children of Niobe') are the scholiast's; Armenidas' own choice would have been the antecedent of *ποιεῦντες*. The scholion is plagued with lacunae and other disturbances. Herms are correctly recognised in line 1, but the form

¹ See now A. Schachter's *BNJ* commentary.

is very uncertain; Ionic *Ἑρμῆσιον* might be considered as opposed to *Ἑρμαῖον*, which would have been inspired by Attic poetry.

Fr. 8A. The author's name as given by the MS of Hesychios, though extremely rare, is correct: Andromenides the Peripatetic has now come to life through the Herculeanum papyri: see Janko, *Philodemus On Poems Book 1* 143–54, where the fragments are collected. This citation is fr. 1, p. 144, and may be deleted from *EGM*.

CHARON¹

CHARON of Lampsakos is one of several authors—the others being Demokles, Eudemos, and Polos—who merit a place in *EGM* 1 because they wrote some mythography, but have suffered the misfortune that no fragments survive from the mythical period.² The loss of Charon, a prolific, cosmopolitan and early writer, is particularly regrettable, especially as a strong ancient tradition (testt. 3a–d) put him before Herodotos.³ The dating may derive only from his reference to Artaxerxes at *FGrHist* 262 F 11, who acceded in 465/4, and a stylistic estimate of his place in the history of prose; but style is a good criterion to go on if you have nothing else and we should accept the ancients' judgement in the matter. That said, it is obviously unwise to insist that most or all of Charon's works preceded the composition and/or publication of Herodotos' *Histories*. Dionysios does say (test. 3b = Hellan. test. 12) that Charon's and Hellanikos' *Persika* (these must be the works he has principally in mind) were first, but on what grounds we do not know. In general, one should probably think in terms of an overlap in the careers of the three. There is no warrant whatever for putting Charon late in the century; Jacoby's desire to do so sprang from his conviction that local history flourished in the wake of Herodotos.⁴ He did admit (in his comment on FF 9–10) that Charon might have begun his career before Herodotos' work was generally known, but he denied that it had true historical character, being merely annalistic. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 1.521, advanced a similar view; the novelistic tales in several fragments display a less archaic manner than Akousilaos, he says, but show no sense of

¹ Apart from Jacoby in *FGrHist* see his essay 'Charon von Lampsakos'; Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* 139–51; Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 1.519–22; Piccirilli, 'Carone di Lampsaco e Erodoto'; Moggi, 'Autori greci di *Persika*. II: Carone di Lampsaco'; Hurst, 'Prose historique et poésie: le cas de Charon de Lampsaque'.

² Charon F 13 on the size of the Troad might have been included (the context in Charon would have been the boundary of Lampsakene territory both in pre-Greek and Greek times); cf. Dam. fr. 9 (→ §19.4). A mythological relic, the cup given by Zeus to Alkmene, is mentioned in F 2; see §8.2.

³ Test. 1, the *Suda* entry, also dates him early, but parades its own confusion. The first date, Olympiad 79 (464/0), derives from the accession of Artaxerxes; the dating to the Persian Wars is probably an inference from his writing *Persika* and *Hellenika*; his birth in the time of Dareios is 40 years before that.

⁴ See my 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 67, where I discuss the evidence for Charon's dates. Pace Porciani, *Prime forme* 137 n. 13, Jacoby's dating of Charon to after Artaxerxes' reign is a *petitio*. The dates in the *Suda* are contradictory but clearly use 480 as a benchmark, because of the subject-matter of Charon's best-known work.

their historical significance. Given that they are cited without context or for polemical reasons it is hard to see how one can know this. Two fragments cited by Plutarch against Herodotos, for instance (FF 9–10), quote Charon's matter-of-fact report of events which, according to Plutarch, Herodotos has maliciously distorted; it is in Plutarch's interest to pick the right quotation for his purpose. A fuller excerpt might reveal a subtler picture. The tale of Lampsakos' foundation, F 7, strikes an admirably tactful balance in its portrait of relations between indigenous people and the Greek settlers: always a central problem in tales of colonization (cf. §19.2.2 at n. 48).

The list of works in the *Suda* (test. 1) is, as usual, longer than credible, and doubling and inventions may be assumed: *Aithiopika*, *Persika*, *Hellenika*, *On Lampsakos*, *Libyka*, *Lampsakene Chronicles* (*Horoi*), *Prytaneis of the Lakedaimonians*, *Foundations of Cities*, *Kretika*, *Voyage Beyond the Pillars of Herakles*. The *Horoi* and 'On Lampsakos' may be assumed to be the same. The *Prytaneis of the Lakedaimonians* is odd, as Sparta never had prytaneis; Westermann's emendation *Prytaneis of the Lampsakenes* is very attractive. If correct, this too might be another title for the *Horoi*. We need not assume a rigorously annalistic structure (the fragments give no hint of it); occasional references to magistrates (especially in the opening paragraph) would be enough to suggest the title to a later cataloguer. A book called *Hellenika* ought to have a wider remit than local history: *Aithiopika* could be identical with *Persika*. The *Voyage Beyond the Pillars of Herakles* sounds utterly fantastic; if anything lies behind it, Charon might, like Herodotos, have relayed somewhere in his works reports of earlier Greek and Carthaginian sailors.⁵

In some of these books, particularly in the *Foundations of Cities*, 'mythical' events from the early period would have figured. With respect to Lampsakos itself, since it was founded from Phokaia, its history begins in the *spatium historicum*;⁶ but it is interesting to note that the previous inhabitants are identified as Bebrykes ('those known as Pityoessenes'), which evokes the Argonautic saga (→§6.4.3), as if to suggest that the colonists were coming along just as the *spatium mythicum* was breathing its last. The natives are not the Bebrykes pure and simple, who as Charon would have known had vanished by the time the colony was established; so the Pityoessenes (who could be genuine tradition) are made into a branch of the Bebrykes, to bridge the gap. The desire to create retrospective links with the heroic past was no less strong in the colonial East than it was in the West. In this case it was reinforced by the Homeric Pitycia (*Il.* 2.810), which later grammarians, no doubt drawing on local histories, equated with Pityoussa and said was the former name of Lampsakos.⁷

⁵ On the subject generally see Roller, *Through the Pillars of Herakles*.

⁶ Lampsakos is no. 748 in IACP. Common month-names and other data tend to confirm Charon's statement that Phokaia was the mother-city, but Jacoby was prepared to believe that Miletos, the founder according to Strabo 13.1.19, had some kind of claim.

⁷ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Λάμψακος* quoting Deilochos *FGrHist* 471 F 3; Strabo 13.1.18; schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.911–16, contested by Epaphr. fr. 24, where see Braswell and Billerbeck. Pityoussa was supposedly the former name also of Salamis and Chios: §19.2.2 n. 34.

The surviving fragments from the historical period cover a variety of topics. Most may be assigned either to the *Persika* or the local history of Lampsakos (F 4, an opinion on the author of the *Naupaktika*, might come into the latter by way of the Argonauts); F 2, on the cup of Alkmene Charon has seen at Sparta, is less easy to assign. F 1 is a long verbatim extract of much interest in the history of prose; it is clear, to the point and economical, but charming nonetheless; the style is still unperiodic but skilfully deploys participles and brief subordinate clauses. Most traces of Ionic dialect have been removed in transmission.

Many scholars have thought that linguistic oddities in Thucydides' excursus on Pausanias and Themistokles (1.128–38) betray a debt to a written source; Charon's *Persika* is a good guess, though it cannot be confirmed.⁸ Whether Charon or someone else, the differences tell us something about Herodotos and his somewhat contorted efforts to put the best interpretation he could on Pausanias' career, in the face of undeniable facts.⁹ The correspondence with the Great King quoted in 1.128–9, which might have come from Charon, is a matter of historiographical interest; modern historians dismiss the letters as inventions, which they are in modern terms, but not in ancient. They are the sort of thing Pausanias and the King *would* plausibly have said, and so admissible to the history. In principle they do not differ from speeches, or even from the impossibly long inscription cut in the Euboian cliff according to Herodotos 8.22, in which Themistokles encouraged the Ionians in the Persian fleet to desert. The real inscription probably said little more than 'Ionians desert', but such a bare 'fact' is of no interest to Herodotos or his audience; more than that, it does not actually convey the historical truth of the situation. The longer version sets out the issues at stake in the general situation. Dozens of examples of the technique exist in Herodotos. The passage in Thucydides is evidence for its use in one of his other predecessors.

⁸ See S. Hornblower, *Comm.* 1.128.

⁹ R. Parker, 'Pausanias the Spartiate'.

DAMASTES¹

WHICH came first, Damastes or Hellanikos? Mazzarino, *Il pensiero storico classico* 1.203–5, argues for Damastes on the grounds of his association with Diotimos (Dam. test. 7a = *FGrHist* 5 F 8), whose campaign against ‘the Sikeloï’ (Tzetzes on *Lykoph. Alex.* 733) he dates to 451 or 440. The one secure fact we know about Diotimos is that he was strategos in 433/2. But even if the Sicilian conflict is to be dated as Mazzarino suggests (it is attested only by Tzetzes: Jacoby on Timaios *FGrHist* 566 F 98; E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* 2.321; cf. Hornblower on Thuc. 1.45.2), and we agree with him that Damastes should be considered a writer of the Periklean age, Hellanikos was already active then.² Damastes is said in this testimonium to be a contemporary of Herodotos, but so was Hellanikos, and this is about the best we too can say. Statements that Damastes was pupil of Hellanikos (Dam. test. 1/Hellan. test. 9) or that Hellanikos plagiarized Damastes (Dam. test. 5/Hellan. test. 17) must be treated with caution, as they could be based on mere inference from similarity of content.

If we turn to the testimonia and fragments themselves, we notice that the two writers are quoted together several times. In the testimonia, the striking thing is that they are almost always cited together as a pair, in the order Hellanikos – Damastes (Dam. test. 2/Hellan. test. 5; Dam. test. 4/Hellan. test. 13; Dam. test. 5/Hellan. test. 17; Dam. test. 6/Hellan. test. 20; Dam. test. 8abc/Hellan. test. 27ab, 28). These testimonia come from a range of authors, periods and genres; the first explanation must be Hellanikos’ greater reputation, but the pattern could be based on knowledge of who cited whom. In the fragments, there are four instances of joint citation. (i) Dam. fr. 1/Hellan. fr. 107a (Stephanos of Byzantium): Damastes is cited for his information about Issedones and others; Hellanikos is cited for the way he spelt ‘Hyperboreans’. (ii) Dam. fr. 3/Hellan. fr. 84: Dionysios of Halikarnassos cites Hellanikos for his information about Aineias, and says that Damastes ‘and others’ agreed with him. (iii) Dam. fr. 5/Hellan. fr. 101: Valerius Maximus cites Hellanikos for the longevity of the Epeioi, and adds further details from Damastes. His expression ‘Damastes confirms this at greater length’ is probably his own turn of phrase (i.e. Damastes probably did not say ‘I confirm what Hellanikos said’). (iv) Dam. fr. 11b/Hellan. fr. 5b (also Pher. fr. 167): Proklos’ *Life of*

Homer cites these three authorities for the information that Homer was descended from Orpheus. Except for Stephanos, the others once again cite Hellanikos and Damastes in that order. Unfortunately, there is no one work by Damastes or Hellanikos to which one could ascribe all four of these joint citations, which might have made it easier to determine the direction of borrowing. In cases of joint citation by Hellenistic scholars, one can often see that in the impressive list of authorities given, only one has actually been consulted (often the last named), and it is he who has provided the scholar with the names and arguments of the others. This habit, which would suggest that Damastes is later than Hellanikos, cannot be easily exploited for present purposes, as Damastes was not writing a commentary. Primary writers, if they may be so designated, tended to name each other only to disagree or disparage; therefore, in these cases of joint citation, where they both agree, they have been conjoined by some later scholar or scholars in their commentaries, and we cannot infer that Damastes named Hellanikos.

So we must rely on estimates of probabilities from internal indications in the fragments. Alas these too are uncertain. Hellan. fr. 84 is cited (surely) from the *Priestesses of Hera at Argos*; opinions will differ whether the author of this impressive work of reference, used already by Thucydides, got his raw information about Rome from Damastes, or whether Damastes pillaged the *Priestesses* for his *Catalogue of Tribes and Cities*. Given that Dionysios is here concerned with chronology, and has pulled the whole *Zitatennest* from a Hellenistic source, one might think that Hellanikos was the creditor, Damastes the debtor, as chronology was Hellanikos’ forte. A similar consideration arises in Dam. fr. 11 vs. Hellan. fr. 5; the latter said that Homer was eleven generations after Orpheus, the former that Homer was ten generations after Mousaios (who is routinely placed one generation after Orpheus). The genealogy stood in Hellanikos’ *Atlantias* (fr. 20), and recurs in the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* and the Hellenistic historian Charax (see §6.3.3 and §20); it looks as if Damastes has piggy-backed on Hellanikos’ generation count.

Promising also is the relationship between Damastes fr. 7 and Hellanikos fr. 152, concerning the day of the month on which Troy fell (→§18.4.4). In his comment on the question, Kallisthenes (*FGrHist* 124 F 10a) writes:

Troy was taken in the month of Thargelion, on the twelfth, as some historians relate; but the author of the *Little Iliad* says on the eighth day before the end. He gives the indication himself when he says that the city was captured ‘at midnight, when the bright moon was rising’. The moon rises at midnight only on the eighth day before the end of the month, and on no other day.

The twelfth of Thargelion was Hellanikos’ date; the 23rd was Damastes’. We may assume that his reasoning was the same as Kallisthenes’; if the note of correction was also in Damastes, then we may believe that he was correcting his predecessor.³

¹ A recent overview in Gallo, ‘Per un riesame dei frammenti di Damaste di Sigeo’.

² Fowler, ‘Herodotos and his Contemporaries’ 65–7.

³ Grafton and Swerdlow, ‘Greek Chronography in Roman Epic’.

I conclude that the traditional order Hellanikos – Damastes has the greater chance of being right.

The works attested for Damastes show a certain overlap with those attested for Polos, suggesting confusion between them in the course of transmission. They are both also said to have been extremely rich. The *Suda* entry (Dam. test. 1) is itself afflicted by textual corruption. Most probably two titles are lurking in ll. 3–4. The first could be a general *Hellenika* while the second is a work on the genealogies of those who fought at Troy; that is, however, the work alternatively ascribed to Polos (where it is said to have treated both Greeks and barbarians). Trojan affairs figure in fr. 3, 7, 9, 12. Events from the Persian Wars are mentioned in *FGrHist* 5 F 4, which supports the existence of a separate work on Greek history. Next in the *Suda* entry is the *Catalogue of Ethne and Poleis*, from which fr. 1 is cited, and probably *FGrHist* 5 F 4 bis, from a scrap of papyrus (*P.Oxy.* 1611 fr. 8) which also quotes Hellanikos' *On the Foundations of Ethne and Poleis*, *FGrHist* 4 F 68. Damastes fr. 3, 5 and 6 might have come from this work of ethnography. To the work *On Poets and Sophists* might be ascribed fr. 11 on Homer and Orpheus; 'sophists' need not denote Sophists, and would more probably have denoted sages. Agathemeros explicitly (test. 4), and Avienius and Pliny implicitly (testt. 6, 8) attest that Damastes wrote a *Periplous*; cf. also fr. 7, where the geographers Strabo and Eratosthenes take issue with him. Geography figures in fr. 2, 9, and 10; but some of the ethnographic data in other fr. could have come from the *Periplous*. Given the overlap between ethnography and geography, the possibility exists that the *Catalogue of Ethne and Poleis* and the *Periplous* are alternative titles of the same work. Fr. 6 on the invention of the bireme might have found a home in several of these works; see §20.

Cameron, *The Greek Anthology* 388–9 draws attention to Porphyry's description of the Aristotelian *Peplos* (fr. L, p. 394 Rose): 'genealogies of the leaders, the number of ships, and epigrams on these'; Damastes' and Polos' works would seem to be predecessors of this miscellany.

DEI(L)OCHOS

The testimonia for the name of this writer are perfectly divided; I have used 'Deilochos' throughout simply by arbitrary choice. 'Deilochos' is attested epigraphically in Lesbos, Kyzikos, and Prokonnesos (*LGPN* 1, 5A). His early date is affirmed by Dionysios (test. 1); he was an authority for Apollonios of Rhodes, as is clear from both testimonia and fragments. His book survived to be used by Apollonios' commentators; Sophokleios in the second century AD referred to him (test. 3), though he might have taken this over from his predecessor Theon.¹

Before 1967 we knew only of the book *On Kyzikos*, but Hunger discovered the title *On Samothrace* in a palimpsest (fr. 1A; →§6.4.1). Fr. 1 is cited from Book 1 of *On Kyzikos*; fr. 11a, in the P branch of the tradition, is ascribed to Book 9, but 'Ephoros' is more probably the right reading (→§6.4.2 n. 67). We get little idea of the author from the fragments. It seems that he has removed the Gegeneis from his account of the Argonautic débâcle at Kyzikos (→§6.4.2), whereas Apollonios put them back in, drawing on earlier poetic tradition. Deilochos' Pelasgians offer a rationalized, historicizing version of the tale. His idea that Amphiaraos not Idmon was the seer on the Argonautic expedition is decidedly odd, and unexplained (fr. 2; →§6.3.4). His version of the Amykos story, involving binding rather than killing the defeated boxer, finds parallels in Epicharmos, Pelsandros, and the artistic tradition as against the much better attested version followed by Apollonios (fr. 1; →§6.4.3); a nice example of how better attested (for us) does not necessarily mean better known in the ancient world. These testimonia for the binding version are far-flung and of quite different kinds.

There are no verbatim quotations, but from fr. 7b we learn that he used the word *ἐγχειρογαστροπες* or *ἐγγαστροόχειρες*; see the references in §6.4.2 n. 68. The word is old colloquial Ionic (below, p. 673).

¹ For Sophokleios see Wendel, *Die Überlieferung der Scholien zu Apollonios von Rhodos* 87–99, 105–7, 110–16; Matthaios, *BNP* s.v. Sophocleus; Pagani in *LGGA*.

DEMOKLES

DEMOKLES of P(h)ygela (*IACP* no. 863) is one of the more obscure writers one might expect to encounter. Were it not for Dionysios of Halikarnassos (worthy man), Strabo's reference, taken from Demetrios of Skepsis, would be the only mention of him, and scholars would be tempted to emend the name. Müller, the only previous editor (*PHG* 2.20–1), followed Schweighäuser in suggesting the Demokleides cited by Athenaios 4.76, p. 174f might be the same person (*FGrHist* 794 F 8), but there is no real warrant for thinking that; this Demokleides wrote on Phoenician matters. The Demokles used by Pliny (in the index of authors to books 12, 13, 34, 35) seems to have been a medical writer. More plausibly Müller suggested that other information about the early days of Phygela found in Strabo and Demetrios might have been drawn from Demokles: the shrine founded by Agamemnon (Strabo 14.1.20; → §19.2.1 n. 14); the 'nonsense' (so Demetrios) about Amazons at Phygela (Strabo 12.3.22, with his usual abuse of Demetrios). The only fragment displays a rationalistic approach to its subject (→ §10.6 at n. 60).

EPIMENIDES PSEUDEPIGRAPHUS¹

SOME readers of *EGM* 1 have queried the rationale for editing the Pseudepigraphus separately from an edition of all fragments and testimonia concerning the Cretan wonder-worker. Simply put, there were prose works in circulation under Epimenides' name; some of these paraphrased the poetry, others may have been free inventions. Their place in the mythographic tradition is clear and therefore it was necessary to edit such fragments as might have come from the prose works (excluding therefore the poetic citations), without suggesting that these paraphrases could not *also* have depended ultimately on the poetry. When it comes to individual fragments, there is usually no way of deciding between these alternatives—paraphrased directly from the poems; taken from the prose work(s), which drew on the poems; taken from the prose work, which was freely invented—and in the edition I make no attempt to do so. I edited only what is transmitted, and weigh probabilities about provenance in the commentary, as is appropriate. The same situation obtains in the case of Eumelos.

In more detail, the evidence for prose pseudepigrapha of Epimenides is as follows. There are first of all the testimonia. Diogenes (test. 1) refers to works in prose (*συνέγραψε* ..., *καταλογάδην*) on sacrifices and on the Cretan constitution. He knows of a letter to Solon. He knows also of a 'genealogist' Epimenides, which would normally designate a mythographer. He knows of a book on Rhodes in Doric dialect; this was probably a Hellenistic product, but Agias/Derkylos show that it could have been written in the fourth century. The *Suda* (test. 2) also refers to prose works on mysteries and purifications, and to 'other riddling productions'. Athenaios (test. 4) knows of a *Telchinian History* which Epimenides of Crete might have written ('or Telekleides, or somebody else'). Philodemos (test. 5) notes that many works are attributed to Epimenides; of course, he could have poetic works in mind, so this is only a doubtful testimonium with regard to our problem. He does, however, most often cite Epimenides alongside

¹ For a recent overview of many aspects of the wonder-worker see the essays in Federico and Visconti, *Epimenide cretese*. See further Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* 141–6; Jacoby, introduction to *FGrHist* 437; Mazzarino, *Il pensiero storico classico* 1.46–52; Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* 80–4; Burkert, *Lore and Science* 150–2; M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* 45–53; R. Parker, *Miasma* 209–11; Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy* 174–8; Tortorelli Ghidini, 'Epimenide e la teogonia cretese'; Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* 37; Dillery, 'Chresmologues and Manteis' 181–3; duBois, *Out of Athens* 57–71; D. L. Toye, *BNJ* comm. on Epimenides. The older treatment of Demoulin, *Épiménide de Crète*, still retains value.

Akousilaos. There remains test. 3, and indeed the whole of Diodoros' excerpt, which he says he has taken from Epimenides 'the theologian', Dosiades, Sosikrates and Laosthenidas (the last known only from here). These are prose mythographical sources.

Secondly there is the indirect evidence of the fragments. Fr. 1 is cited from book 60 of the *Genealogies*. The book-number is incredible but the title is not, and more probably denotes prose mythography than a poem. The datum concerning Klymenos is familiar mythographic fare. Frr. 2–3 are cited from Eratosthenes' *Katasterisms*; however one assesses the text of this work that we have today, there is no reason to doubt that it goes back to the Alexandrian scholar.² The material is of a standard mythographic type, and Epimenides in these fragments is identified as 'the author of the *History of Crete*'. In fr. 12, he is cited along with Akousilaos and Pherekydes by the scholia to Apollonios of Rhodes; in fr. 15, by these scholia along with Herodoros and Akousilaos. In fr. 14, again from these scholia, he is cited with another mythographer, this time Hellenistic. The company he keeps in this authoritative source is suggestive. He is cited with Akousilaos also in frr. 6a, 6b, 9 (here also with Pherekydes), and 10. In fr. 17, the scholia to Pindar cite him with Hesiod, or rather the Hesiodic *Megalai Ehoiai*, which with the *Catalogue* is the fountainhead of mythography. Often he is cited for a genealogical detail; the verb *γενεαλογεῖ* is used in fr. 11, which reminds one of Diogenes' 'genealogist' and the *Genealogies* themselves (cf. fr. 14 *τῷ γένει* and, for genealogical details, frr. 6ab, 7, 8, 15, 16). The scholia to Theokritos (1.3–4c), adducing Epimenides for the genealogy of Pan (FGrHist 457 F 9), cite 'Epimenides in his poems'—an otiose addition; their usual source, by implication, is his prose mythography. Apart from fr. 4, where the contribution of Epimenides is hard to assess, the fragments of heroic mythology, covering several parts of Greece (frr. 1, 14–17), suggest a standard pan-Hellenic work of mythography.³

Since the pseudepigraphon or pseudepigrapha was or were mythographical, and counted as early and authoritative for Eratosthenes, the commentators of Apollonios, and the source of Diodoros, it or they merited inclusion in *EGM*. One simple solution consistent with the data is to posit two prose works, a *History of Crete* and the *Genealogies*, the former used by Eratosthenes and the source of Diodoros, the latter by a variety of people. In its early stretches, the *Genealogies* probably replicated the verse *Theogony*, on which Philodemos (or Apollodoros of Athens before him) might have drawn directly, or drawn as well. Of course, the prose redactor(s) might at any point have introduced material not found at all in their poetic exemplars. It cannot be excluded absolutely that the *Genealogies* were in verse, and identical in part or whole with the *Theogony*, but probability seems strongly against it given the history of citation. The existence of the prose *History of Crete* is as certain as anything can be in this field; yet it too could have used material from the *Theogony* (Diodoros, as noted, calls him precisely 'the theologian'). The anonymous *Telchinian History*, if it was by

² See Pàmias and Geus, *Eratosthenes: Sternsagen* 31–4.

³ Frr. 14–15 on the Argonauts could have been from the poem, however.

Epimenides, might have been identical with the *History of Crete*.⁴ The *History of Crete* might (it must be conceded) have been composed after the cut-off date for texts in *EGM* 1, viz. the early fourth century. Lobon (fr. 16 Croenert = 8 Garulli ap. Diog. Laert. 1.112) discussed Epimenides in his work *On Poets*; if he wrote in the late fourth century, as Croenert believed, that confirms, along with Aristotle's use (fr. 19), the date of the corpus generally. Lobon's reputation as a forger of titles introduces some doubt about the details, though of late he has been enjoying a rehabilitation.⁵

On the basis of these considerations it was simple to determine which fragments to include in *EGM* 1: those which were clearly from the poems were excluded, while the others were included on the grounds that they could have come from the prose works.⁶ Exactly the same principle applied in editing the prose redaction of Eumelos. Of course, any one of them might have come from a poem instead or as well; conversely, any of the fragments from the poems might have been—indeed probably were—reworked in the pseudepigrapha, for all we know. With respect to testimonia, obviously only those pertaining to the prose works were to be included.

In writing Part A of the commentary, all the fragments of Epimenides, including those in verse, needed to be borne in mind, on the grounds that, though they might not have been in the prose works, they were part of the mythological tradition which informed mythography, like the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. Where necessary, caveats are recorded about the provenance of the fragment;⁷ in fact, it seldom makes a difference to the reconstruction of the mythographic tradition. It must be obvious, however, that it may make a difference to the reconstruction of the semi-historical wonder-worker Epimenides and the history of the Epimenidea. Scholars seem less concerned than they ought to be that the works circulating under Epimenides' name were a miscellaneous lot, dating from the sixth to the fourth centuries. One cannot simply put them all together to produce a composite 'Epimenides'. People do not do that for the Orphica. The separate existence of a mythographical strand in the Epimenidea needs to be clearly recognized, even if its isolation is a matter of great uncertainty.

The difficulties of attribution make any attempt to delineate the character of the prose mythographer or mythographers, and to differentiate him or them from the poet, futile. The existence of a large mythographical work of pan-Hellenic focus going under

⁴ Some scholars attribute Xenom. fr. 4 to this work, reading there 'Epimenides' not 'Xenomedes', but the latter is much closer to the paradoxos. True, the latter requires emending the book-title *τὰ Θεῖα* to *τὰ Κεῖα*. But the former is odd; though in principle there is no reason why it could not be used as a book-title, there does not seem to be an example. Blinkenberg, 'Rhodische Urvölker' 294, assumed that the *Περὶ Πόδου* was the *Telchinian History*; this too is possible.

⁵ Farinelli, 'Lobone di Argo'; Garulli, *Il Περὶ ποιητῶν di Lobone di Argo* (see pp. 64–6 on this testimonia). Garulli (149–62) argues that Lobon's bio-bibliographical research is better contextualized in the generation after Kallimachos.

⁶ The *Chresmoi* were of course in verse (FGrHist 457 T 8a); from this book came the verse quoted by St Paul, *Tit.* 1:12 = FGrHist 457 F 2.

⁷ Fr. 9 is a possible example; see §1.6.3.

Epimenides' name is a matter of some interest. Its character is not easily determined but the extensive rationalism of fr. 4 as found in Diodoros is unlikely to be original (→§11.1). Variant details of heroic legend are offered in frr. 1, 14–17, but nothing that raises an eyebrow unless one counts fr. 16; but textual problems there make it hard to be sure. Fr. 18 on the male and female Dioskouroi is decidedly odd, but whether we should blame Epimenides is again unclear (→§13.2, *ad fin.*). In the theogonical fragments, since unusual ideas emerge, such as the world-egg and the character Peiras (→§1.2.1), Typhon assaulting the palace of Zeus (→§1.6.2), or the equation of Harpyiai and Hesperides (→§1.6.3).⁸ Scant though the evidence is, it may be significant that we can detect this difference in stance between the more adventurous theogony and the more staid heroic mythography. Arcane and unique lore is more apt to be peddled in the former.

Fr. 3. The emendation ἐπιφανῆ seems both easy (the corruption arose by assimilation to the case of the nearest noun) and necessary (Dionysos' own glory is not the point here; what he wants is for the crown to be on show for everyone to see); the reading is moreover, supported by the Latin versions and by Arat. *Phain.* 72. One could remove the stop after γενέσθαι. In l. 10, if φασί (the reading of the epit.) is adopted, the quotation of Epimenides is, strictly speaking, confined to the one sentence.

⁸ Was this from the poem on the Argonauts, however? Cf. Debiasi, 'Ναυπάκτια ~ Ἀργοῦς ναυπηγία' in

EUAGON¹

THE name is transmitted in a variety of forms (Eugaion; its homophonic equivalent Eugeon; Eutaion; Eugeiton, if *FGrHist* 535 F 4 is attributed to this author; see below). 'Euagon' of the Priene inscription (test. 1A) may be taken as authoritative; *LGN* affords numerous parallels (and none for Eugaion, Eugeon, or Eutaion; Eugeiton is on the other hand a well-attested name). The corruption of gamma to iota or tau, followed by its restoration in the wrong place, would explain the variants (Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.1.132 n. 4).²

For the historian's date Dionysios is our only direct testimony (test. 1); he places him in his first group, before the Peloponnesian War and clearly antecedent to Thucydides. Euagon is one of the authorities quoted in the Priene inscription, along with Kreophylos (below, p. 701); from this we know that he discussed the Melian War, so the inscription in fr. 3 in Jacoby's text but omitted from *EGM* as referring to the historical period. The same is true of Jacoby's fr. 4, from the *Suda* α1334 = Aesop test. 6 Perry ('Eugeiton' on the Thracian origin of Aesop).³ The grounds for attributing fr. 4 to Euagon are its apparent use by Aristotle in his *Constitution of the Samians* (Herakleid. *Lemb. Pol.* 33, p. 24 Dilts = Arist. fr. 611, cf. schol. Ar. *Av.* 471b = Arist. fr. 573), which can also be established for fr. 1: Σάμον τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐρήμην οὖσαν λέγεται κατέχειν πλῆθος θηρίων μεγάλην φωνὴν ἀφιέντων. ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ τὰ θηρία νήϊδες, ἡ δὲ νῆσος Παρθενία, ὕστερον δὲ Δρυοῦσα. ἐβασίλευσε δ' αὐτῶν Ἀγκαῖος, περὶ οὗ τὰς ἀμπέλους ὁ θεράπων φυτεύων φησί: πολλὰ μεταξὺ πέλει κύλικος καὶ χεῖλεος ἄκρου (*Pol.* 30 p. 24 Dilts). The last part of this about the proverb is also quoted from the *Constitution of the Samians* by the scholia to Lykophron *Alex.* 488 (which may be added to the passages which make up Arist. fr. 571). Aristotle's use establishes a *terminus ante quem*, and also suggests that Euagon was an old author of local history like Aethlios. From Herakleides it appears that fr. 1 discusses the primeval state of the island; see §17.11.

¹ See now L. Bertelli's commentary in *BNJ*. The Priene inscription has recently received a re-edition and detailed commentary by A. Magnetto.

² Eugaion and Eutaion are also vv. ll. in the name of the Arkadian polis (*IACP* no. 270). One of Plato's pupils is called Euaion by Diogenes Laertius (3.46) and Euagon by Athenaios (11.119 p. 508f).

³ M. L. West, 'The Ascription of Fables to Aesop' 118.

Fr. 1. See E. Magnelli in *ZPE* 127 (1999) 55–6 and the discussion in §17.11. My apparatus is quite unsatisfactory: (i) Euphorion (now fr. 193 Lightfoot) did not write *νηϊάδες* but *νηάδες*, which is a different word, perhaps a *vox nihili*; (ii) Dobree gave *νηῖς* as the lemma in Photios, but left *νηία* (*sic*) in the text at l. 4; (iii) the accent required in l. 4 is indeed *νηῖδες*, ‘ignoramuses’.

EUDEMOS¹

THERE are no fragments. Test. 1, from Dionysios of Halikarnassos (= Hek. test. 17a), places him in the first group of writers, before the Peloponnesian War and not overlapping with Thucydides. For discussion of the testimonium as a whole see below on Hekataios. Test. 2 = Hek. test. 24 is from Clement of Alexandria, who accuses Eudemos of plagiarizing ‘Melesagoras’. Aristokles (*FGrHist* 33) is another; I quote from my *BNJ* comment on his test. 1:

Aristokles stands accused, along with Gorgias of Leontini, Eudemos of Naxos or Paros, Bion of Prokonnesos, Amphilochos, Leandrios/Maiandrios of Miletos, Anaximenes of Lampsakos, Hellanikos of Lesbos, Hekataios of Miletos, Androtion of Athens, and Philochoros of Athens, of having plagiarized ‘Melesagoras’ (‘Amelesagoras’ is probably the correct form of the fictive name; see Jacoby, Introduction to 330, n. 6). In reality the relationship is the other way around . . . In this section of the *Stromateis* Clement is pillorying those Greeks who supposedly took over not just ideas and expressions, but whole swathes of original material—the wickedest of all, whom to list Clement declares a lifetime would not suffice. Given his polemical purpose he does not distinguish between writers using sources and those stealing them; the standard methods of ancient writers in compiling their books made almost any of them open to this charge from a hostile critic. For orientation on the topic see A. Grafton in *Der Neue Pauly* IX s.v. ‘Plagiat’ and R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford 1968) 191; further, K. Ziegler, ‘Plagiat’, *RE* XX (1950) 1956–97 and E. Stemmlinger, *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur* (Berlin 1912).

And further from the Biographical Essay:

In T1 Aristokles keeps company with a distinguished group of authors said to have plagiarized the mysterious Amelesagoras. The relationship is obviously the other way around, as Jacoby established once and for all in his commentary on *FGrHist* 330; in all probability this pseudepigrapher was working in the early third century BC between Philochoros on the one hand, whom he used, and Antigonos of Karystos on the other, who cites him, 330 F 1; also Kallimachos, who possibly used him in the *Hekale*, fr. 70 Hollis (if he was not using a source common to both). One wonders whether the book did not contain a preface written by the pseudepigrapher posing as one who has discovered, and is here publishing, the ancient source of all the supposed plagiarists, whom he perhaps listed, conveniently for cataloguers like Clement; but in fact the cataloguers needed little help in compiling their lists of thieves, whom they convicted on the slightest of evidence.

Many of the other authors who supposedly plagiarized Amelesagoras like him treated Attic matters or might have touched on them in passing; perhaps Eudemos did too, but one can hardly know. *A priori* one expects him to have written a book of Naxian or Parian local history. (Test. 1 calls him Parian, test. 2 calls him Naxian.)

¹ See also D. L. Toye’s commentary in *BNJ*.

EUMELOS¹

PAUSANIAS (test. 2) attests the existence of a prose version of Eumelos' *Korinthiaka*. The situation is the same as it was in Epimenides (see above), except that for Eumelos only the one redaction is known, that is of the *Korinthiaka*. (Granted, Clement, test. 1, says that Eumelos converted Hesiod to prose, which in theory might refer to Eumelos' *Titanomachy*.) Accordingly, EGM 1 presents only fragments that might have come from this prose book of Corinthian history, on a generous understanding of its reach.² Jacoby proceeded along the same lines in the case of Eumelos, giving only prose fragments pertaining to Corinth; in the case of Epimenides he gave everything.³ I should have at least referred to, and perhaps included, Pausanias 2.1.6 and 2.4.6, given that his source was the prose redaction:

λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι Ποσειδῶνα ἔλθειν Ἡλίῳ περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν, Βριάρεω δὲ διαλλακτὴν γενέσθαι σφίσι, ἰσθμὸν μὲν καὶ ὅσα ταύτῃ δικάσαντα εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος, τὴν δὲ ἄκραν Ἡλίῳ δόντα τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως· ἀπὸ μὲν τούτου λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν ἰσθμὸν Ποσειδῶνος.

ἡ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁρὸς ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κορυφή (sc. ὁ Ἀκροκόρινθος), Βριάρεω μὲν Ἡλίῳ δόντα αὐτὴν ὅτε ἐδίκαζεν, Ἡλίου δὲ ὡς οἱ Κορίνθιοί φασιν Ἀφροδίτῃ παρέντος.

The episode is alluded to by Favorinus in his *Corinthian Oration* (= Dio Prus. [37]) 11, who quotes a verse describing Briareos, πλείσται μὲν κεφαλαί, πλείσται δέ τε χεῖρες. Wilamowitz attributed it to Eumelos, and editors have followed him (fr. 16 West, 3 Bernabé, *Corinth*. 12 Davies). Jacoby (comm. on *FGrHist* 451 F, n. 32) disputed the attribution on the grounds that in Eumel. fr. 3 Helios appears to be sovereign of all the land, not just Acrocorinth, if he can partition it between Aloeus and Aietes. Although it is

true that Pausanias did not use only Eumelos as a source for early Corinthian history (fr. 3 on the fate of Medeia's children is quoted as an alternative version of events), Jacoby may be demanding too strict an adherence to logic here.

In the same part of his oration Favorinus refers to the first Isthmian games, giving the list of victors in each of the contests; these include Jason and his crew, who won the regatta with the Argo. The whole passage was plausibly assigned to Eumelos by Barigazzi.⁴ If this is correct, it dates the *Korinthiaka* to the sixth century, a date which also consorts well with the link between Sikyon and Athens by way of Marathon, father of both Sikyon and Korinthus (fr. 1a; →§17.3).⁵ The other poems ascribed to Eumelos need not all date from the same century, if, as was the case with Homer, otherwise anonymous epics accrued to his name, on the grounds of a presumed Corinthian origin. Pausanias thought only one poem, a prosodion for the Messenians, was genuine (4.4.1, 4.33.2; *PMG* 696). Eumelos himself was a Bacchiad; as they were ousted by Kypselos in the early seventh century, this gives a *terminus ante quem* for the original poet. Pausanias' prosodion would have to belong to the eighth century, the time of the first Messenian War; Eumelos is synchronized with the Bacchiad founder of Syracuse, traditional date 734.⁶

The poem, and its epitome, were strongly patriotic. Korinthus is no son of Pelops (§14.3); Epimetheus is an altogether more impressive character than in the Hesiodic tradition (§1.5); Leda's father is Corinthian (§4.3); the first king of Sikyon is Corinthian (§10.4); so is the eponym of the Attic Marathon (§17.3); Neleus dies at Corinth not Pylos (§17.3); the Argonaut myth is Corinthian (§§6.4.5, 6.7.3); at the start of it all, Corinth itself was equated with the epic Ephyra (fr. 1). Not all of this need have been invented first by Eumelos; Ephyra, for instance, is mentioned in the *Iliad* in connection with the Corinthian Bellerophon (6.152), and the genealogy of the Muses (fr. 9) might already have been circulating in the seventh century (→§1.9.4). But he pulled everything together, and made some bold new additions. As in Epimenides, we are not in a position to compare the poem and its abridgement; for hints of possible divergence, see §6.7.3 (fr. 3 possibly responding to classical versions of the Medeia myth) and §1.9.4 (the number and genealogy of Muses differs in fr. 9 vis-à-vis fr. 34 West). The archaic poem seems to have been a source for Pherekydes (→§6.1.2).

¹ Jacoby on *FGrHist* 451; Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* 60–79; M. L. West, "Eumelos"; D. L. Toye, *BNJ* commentary on Eumelos.

² Frr. 7–8, Arkadian myth, might have figured in Bellerophon's ancestry; cf. M. L. West, "Eumelos" 114. Fr. 6 on the children of Menelaos might have been attached to the genealogy of Leda (fr. 2). The Muses (fr. 9) and the birth of Zeus (fr. 10) could have figured in any poem; but the Muse Borysthenis may reflect the Borysthenes river, and Argonautic legend. Of course, some of the fragments included in EGM 1 might have been drawn from one of Eumelos' other poems (West assigns fr. 5 on Sinope to his 'unplaced fragments').

³ Inconsistently he did include schol. Ap. Rhod. 3.1354–6a, where the scholiast remarks that Apollonios' verses were 'taken from Eumelos' (fr. 21 West, 3 Jacoby; →§§6.3.4, 6.5).

⁴ 'Nuovi frammenti dei *Korinthiaka* di Eumelo' 140–3. For the foundation see §5.3.5.

⁵ For these and other arguments for a 6th-c. date see M. L. West, "Eumelos" 130–1. Debiasi suggested that *P.Oxy.* 3698 might be from the *Korinthiaka* (→§6.3.1); he suggested further that the *Nostoi* assigned to Eumelos, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13.31a (em.) = test. 13 Bernabé, was part of this poem, and that fr. 7, quoted with Pher. fr. 113, is a fragment of it rather than the Cyclic *Nostoi*.

⁶ References in M. L. West, "Eumelos" and Toye on testt. 1–2.

HEKATAIOS¹

THE standing of this obstreperous and iconoclastic figure as a pioneer of Greek historiography, geography, and ethnography is not in doubt, but the precise nature of his contribution must remain enigmatic for want of evidence. His are among the books that would stand high on many people's wish-list for recovery from the sands of Egypt or the burnt scrolls of Herculaneum. As it is, the fragments provide only occasional flashes of illumination, revealing a man of much learning, strong character, and unorthodox views, but giving very incomplete answers to questions about the content, arrangement, and style of his works, much less his historical method and philosophy. For these we are obliged to rely on indirect evidence and surmise.

Even for his date the evidence would be somewhat imprecise were it not for Herodotos (testt. 4–6). Without him we would know only from Hekataios' own words that he came after Hesiod (fr. 19), and from Herakleitos' irritation (test. 21) that he was writing before or during that irascible philosopher's working life (fl. c.500).² These indications are consistent with direct statements that he was the first (or at any rate an early) historian, geographer or ethnographer (testt. 1, 3, 10, 10A, 11–12, 16, 17a, 18, 19), or comments that he was a *λογοποιός*,³ or a pedlar of myths, or a name to conjure with amongst the greats of old

¹ Jacoby, *RE* 7.2.2667–2769 = *Griechische Historiker* 186–237; id., comm. on *FGHHist* 1; Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* 25–108; Tozzi, 'Studi su Ecateo di Mileto'; Mazzarino, *Il pensiero storico greco* 1.70–83; Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 1.48–76, 2.32–53; Schädewaldt, *Die Anfänge der Geschichtsschreibung bei den Griechen* 96–105; Hartog, 'Écriture, généalogies, archives, histoire en Grèce ancienne'; Meister, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 20–3; S. R. West, 'Herodotus' Portrait of Hecataeus'; Bertelli, "'C'era una volta un mito . . ."; id., 'Des généalogies mythiques à la naissance de l'histoire'; id., 'Hecataeus: From Genealogy to Historiography'; Nicolai, 'Pater semper incertus'; Braun, 'Hecataeus' Knowledge of the Western Mediterranean'; C. W. Müller, 'Zur Frühgeschichte der erzählenden Prosaliteratur bei den Griechen'; Moscarelli, *I quattro grandi milesi* 168–256; F. Pownall, *BNJ* commentary on Hekataios. Most work on Herodotos considers Hekataios. A good selection of older articles was assembled by Marg in *Herodotus*; more recently there are the Cambridge and Brill *Companion[s] to Herodotus*, which contain copious bibliographies.

² Hekataios also criticizes Hesiod, though not by name, in fr. 27 (→§8.4.12).

³ This term, imitating Herodotos' word for Hekataios in testt. 4–6 (which he uses also to describe Anaxagoras at 2.134.3), is a good one to denote an early writer; similarly Thucydides' *λογογράφος* (1.21.1). But they do not apply exclusively to old writers, and each develops other uses, the former coming also to denote tellers of (tall) tales, the latter applying also to speech-writers. See *LSJ* on both nouns and cognate verbs. (Thucydides uses the verb *λογοποιῶ* in the derogative sense at 6.38.1, and Ktesias (T 8 Lenfant) uses the noun contemptuously of Herodotos himself, but one should not import this nuance into Herodotos, as if he were sniggering; he clearly uses the noun pragmatically, to identify these characters for his readers.)

(testt. 8, 8A, 9, 15c, 18A, fr. 26, *FGHHist* 1 F 308). Assessments of the style and content of works, which inform some of these testimonies, can lead to reasonable judgements of an author's approximate date; but some of them will also be influenced by Herodotos, whose evidence that Hekataios was a leading figure in the Ionian Revolt (499–494 BC) provides as good a chronological peg as one could hope to have, as it implies that he was a mature and established figure during those years. From it depends the statement that he was alive during the Persian Wars 'or a little before' (test. 1b).⁴

We saw in §2.1 (n. 5) reasons for believing that the Pelasgian story in fr. 127, which I have included among the fragments of the *Genealogies*, postdates the conquest of Lemnos by Miltiades, but scholars vary greatly in their datings of that event. Further evidence for Hekataios' date comes from his relationship with Skylax of Karyanda. Understanding of this author has been much improved in recent years.⁵ It is clear that he wrote an account of his journey down the Indus c.519–516 BC, a voyage mentioned by Herodotos (4.44.1); furthermore, in view of the papyrus fragment of Sosylos, *FGHHist* 176 F 1, which records an exploit of Herakleides of Mylasa at the Battle of Artemisium, and of Herodotos' mention of this man's role in the Ionian Revolt (5.121), we may accept that *Events in the Time of Herakleides King of Mylasa* (*Suda* σ710 = *FGHHist* 709 T 1) also existed. The burden of proof, at any rate, lies with those who would say otherwise. This work was presumably panegyric in intent, but could not have helped being historical in some sense, if it gave an account of Herakleides' exploits. The fragments of the first work in *FGHHist* 709 are not without problems of attribution (interference from the fourth-century pseudepigraphon cannot always be ruled out), but Aristotle's reference in the *Politics* (7.13.1 p. 1332b = F 5) is important, and shows that, like Hekataios, Skylax included ethnographic information in his book. When Athenaios quotes snippets in Ionic, therefore (2.82 p. 70b–c = FF 3–4), we may believe that these are from the original book; Athenaios' doubts about the author ('Skylax or Polemon') may arise from unclarity in his source (Athenaios does not have this first-hand; he is often in this

⁴ Jacoby, *RE* 7.2.2670 = *Griechische Historiker* 187, emended *γεγονότι* to *γεγονώς*, noting that (i) Hellanikos' own birth was related by some to the Persian Wars, because of his name (Hellan. test. 6); (ii) his birth would thus tidily follow Hekataios' ἀκμή of 520 (test. 1) by 40 years; (iii) Hekataios' own activity is not most obviously synchronized with the Persian Wars. Against this, Mosshammer argued ('The Apollodoran *Akmai* of Hellanicus and Herodotus') that since Hellanikos was born in 496/5 according to Apollodoros (Hellan. test. 3), the date of his predecessor Hekataios' birth should be 535/4; 520/16 is more probably the birthdate of Dionysios of Miletos (see Hek. test. 1), the first person to write about the Persian Wars (which would fix his ἀκμή); Hekataios as the earlier prose writer (same test.) would have been born before him. As an integral part of the Persian War narrative, the Ionian Revolt would indeed be considered 'a little before' the main events. Diels's *ἦ* for *καὶ* is all but indispensable (Porciani, *Prime forme* 53–4, who however defends Jacoby's emendation). In l. 2 ἐπέβαλε strictly means 'overlapped' rather than 'succeeded': cf. *Vita Pind. Ambros.* (1. 2.21 Drachmann) = Simon. test. 7 Campbell; *Vita Arati* 4 p. 21 Martin; Eunap. *Vit. Soph.* 19.1. Adding τοῖς χρόνοις to the verb helps make the meaning clear but is not necessary. At *Vit. Hom. Procl* 6 (p. 422 West) οὐδὲ τοῖς χρόνοις συνεπέβαλον ἀλλήλοις means 'they were not contemporaries'.

⁵ See particularly G. Schepens on *FGHHist* 1000; P. Kaplan, *BNJ* comm. on *FGHHist* 709; Shipley's edition of pseudo-Skylax, pp. 4–6; and a series of articles by D. V. Panchenko in *Hyperboreus* 4 (1998) 211–42, 8 (2002) 5–12, 9 (2003) 274–94, 11 (2005) 173–80.

position, and expresses such doubts). One of the fragments from Strabo (12.4. 8 = F 11) diverges from the pseudepigraphon; his source is the worthy Apollodoros. There are points of contact between Skylax and Hekataios (particularly *FGrHist* 1 F 291–2, 293–6; cf. F 242, where the two are associated by Stephanos), and the most reasonable view is that Hekataios is the debtor. The date of Skylax's voyage then becomes a *terminus post quem* for the date of Hekataios' *Periodos*.⁶

There is no way of knowing whether Hekataios preceded or followed Akousilaos. There is also no way of knowing whether the *Genealogies* preceded the *Periodos*, or vice versa; both positions have been maintained, on quite weak grounds. In particular, the 'contradiction' between the *Genealogies* (fr. 26), where Hekataios says that Herakles fetched the cattle of Geryoneus from Ambrakia rather than some island Erythra, and *FGrHist* 1 F 76, where he is apparently driving the cattle back through Sicily, is difficult to assess given the extreme brevity of the latter fragment. Hekataios might not have endorsed this version at all; a simple λέγουσι would have undercut it.⁷

The titles of both works fluctuate in the sources, as usual for early books. For the mythography apart from the usual *Genealogies* and *Histories* (listed *EGM* 1.123) we have the quite unusual title *Heroologia*, introduced by emendation in fr. 8; it is paralleled by Anaxim. fr. 1, and Strabo uses the verbal equivalent in Hellan. test. 24 = fr. 185. The geography is cited either as *Periodos* or *Periegesis*; the first book bore the separate title *Europe*, the second book *Asia*.⁸ That there were only two is always worth remembering, since sometimes far more is attributed to them than they could possibly have contained. The distribution of material across the four books of the *Genealogies* (four so far as we know) is uncertain except in broad outline: Book 1 dealt with Deukalionidai (including the Argonauts); Book 2 treated Herakles; Book 3 included some Arkadian material (fr. 9) and perhaps other branches of the Hellenic tree; in Book 4 we are in East Greece and possibly in the time of the migrations. In addition to the written books Hekataios supposedly left a map which improved that of Anaximandros (test. 11b, cf. 12); scholars have usually assumed that Herodotos had sight of this (perhaps it was included with the *Periodos*), but notions such as that Europe and Asia were of equal size (4.36.2) could just as well have been expressed in the book. The suspicion is reasonable that the existence of

⁶ Other indications: Jacoby, *RE* 7.2.2671 = *Griechische Historiker* 188 argued that the odd reference to 'Boryza: a Persian city' in Thrace (*FGrHist* 1 F 166) could not have predated Dareios' expedition of (?) 493, and that the reference to Zankle in F 72 predated the change of name to Messina (488/? *IACP* p. 334). Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* 43, argued that the description of Skyllaion as a 'promontory' in F 82 would not have been apt after it was built upon by Anaxilaos of Rhegion c.493 BC. On the shadowy Euthymenes of Massalia, who may have left an account of his voyage down the west coast of Africa, see Brodersen, *JNPF* 3.5. Dionysios of Miletos, *FGrHist* 687, wrote an account of Persian events in the time of Dareios; the fragments are exiguous. He may be contemporary with Hekataios. See Fowler, 'Herodotus' Prose Predecessors' 34, 41 n. 56.

⁷ He tells another Sicilian story about Herakles in 1 F 77. On the issue of the order of the works see Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* 98; Nicolai, 'Pater semper incertus' 155–6; Bertelli, 'Hecataeus' 86 n. 50. It is worth recalling that the assignation of fr. 26 to the *Genealogies* is in fact conjectural.

⁸ It is not my purpose here to discuss Hekataios' geography; see the authorities cited above, n. 1.

(this map was inferred by later writers of the history of geography on the basis of the book.⁹)

For the character of Hekataios Herodotos' testimony, both direct and indirect, is of the greatest importance, but difficult to interpret. Hekataios appears four times in his *Histories*, once in Egypt (test. 4), twice in connection with the Ionian Revolt (test. 5–6), and once for his Pelasgian theory (fr. 127). He is the only one of his predecessors and contemporaries who wrote history or geography with whom he takes issue by name.¹⁰ We take his explicit testimonia in order (having discussed the fr. in §2.1), before turning to implicit connections.

In the Egyptian logos (Hek. test. 4), Herodotos pokes fun at his predecessor, depicting his crestfallen dismay when the Egyptian priests countered his paltry 16 generations from a supposedly divine origin with 345 purely human generations of Egyptian *piromeis* (2.143.4).¹¹ The difficulties of thinking that this episode happened exactly as Herodotos presents it, well expounded by Stephanie West, are insuperable;¹² but this does not have to mean that Herodotos invented the whole thing. As often, he spins a tale on the basis of a few facts available to him, in this case a belief (surely well founded) that Hekataios had been in Egypt, and the genealogy. He imagines what must have happened when Hekataios met the priests: they would have laughed at him and told him about the *piromeis*. This is his standard method, easily paralleled in modern scholars who use (and must use) expressions such as 'must have' or 'surely'. There is no need to suppose that Hekataios mentioned the *piromeis*, or their number, though it is possible (Herodotos too fails to notice some of his own contradictions). Whether Herodotos honestly believed his reconstructions to be the truth;¹³ knew that they were partly conjectural, but thought they had a good chance of being right; or dishonestly invented them, is a matter on which scholars will probably disagree for ever. The scepticism that would deny the existence even of the basic facts one needs to posit in order to account for the

⁹ An argument advanced already by Tropea in 1896 (*Ecateo di Mileto* 32–3; he also provides a bibliography of 19th-c. work on Hekataios' geography). More recently Dorati, 'Le testimonianze relative alla *periódos* τῆς γῆς di Ecateo', has supported the same view; *contra* Roller, *Eratosthenes' Geography* 3–4.

¹⁰ On Herodotos' unacknowledged debts to Hekataios and others see Fowler, 'Herodotos and his Prose Predecessors' 34–6 (*FGrHist* 1000, Skylax on Herakleides, should be added to the chart on p. 39). In the Oxford commentary on Herodotos Lloyd lists at pp. 231–2 the places where Hekataios may be a source or target in book 2 (cf. Hek. test. 22). See also §7.1.4 on Hek. fr. 20 and §8.4.10 at n. 110. At 4.36.2 Hdt. 'laughs' at the 'many' writers of periodoi who lack all sense (*vóos*; cf. test. 21); this may be a mocking echo of Hek. fr. 1 (Jacoby printed the passage as 1 F 36b). O. Musso, *Athenaeum* 51 (1973) 409–10, suggested that Hdt. 4.173 and Antig. *Mir.* 128a are from Hekataios; cf. 1 F 332. At 4.20.2 Hdt. is emphatic that the Melanchlainai are not Scythian; contrast Hek. 1 F 185. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* 57–8, noted coincidences of the place-names in the northern Aegean and passages in Hdt. 7. At 1.202.4–203.1 Herodotos argues with those who think the Caspian Sea is a gulf of Okeanos (Hek. fr. 18, 1 F 302); cf. Asheri ad loc. The list can be extended.

¹¹ I have discussed this passage at greater length in 'Herodotos and his Prose Predecessors' 35–6.

¹² S. R. West, 'Herodotus' Portrait of Hecataeus' 145–54.

¹³ Essential historical truth rather than positivistic truth is in question; cf. the remarks on Hdt. 8.22 above, p. 643. Herodotos' care or neglect in recording his evidence is another matter, relevant to all three possibilities.

reconstruction (in this case, that Hekataios went to Egypt, and spoke of his genealogy in one of his works) is always available in theory—one can deny anything if one works hard enough—but would render us unable to write history at all.

For present purposes the significant fact is the genealogy. As noted in §1.9.2 on Pher. fr. 59, continuous genealogies from the legendary to the historical period are rare. A common motive is to enhance the standing of the person at the bottom end; in this case, Hekataios himself. No doubt he was aristocratic, but the pretensions of this genealogy inevitably drew Herodotos' scorn. That it began with a god would have made it even more risible, since Herodotos rejects the whole notion of gods mating with humans.¹⁴ Pointedly he comments that he did not construct such a genealogy for himself. His removal of gods from this kind of direct involvement in the course of events (while preserving their involvement on the macro-level, as manipulators of the grand, cyclical historical process) is fundamental to his conception of history.¹⁵ Hekataios, on the other hand, was happy to report that 'Zeus had relations with Danae' (fr. 21)—and to claim he himself was the ultimate product of such a union.

The length and nature of the genealogy have far-reaching implications for the nature of Hekataios' work, and Greek historiography generally. Rosalind Thomas' groundbreaking study of genealogies in Greek society demonstrates that the work of Hekataios and other early mythographers is inconceivable in a purely oral environment.¹⁶ The attempt to systematize competing traditions and eliminate contradictions only happens in literate cultures. She argues in particular that the 'full' genealogies such as Hekataios' are 'closely connected to the activity of these genealogists: they are largely the product of recognizable methods of sorting out conflicting genealogies to fit them into a coherent and chronologically plausible framework of generations' (181; cf. 195). The other examples in our corpus are Hippokrates, the Philaidai, and Homer and Hesiod; outside of the corpus, there is the genealogy of the Spartan kings, the genealogy of Andokides (Hellan. *FGrHist* 4 F 170; → §1.9.2, §18.5.10), and the fifth-century tombstone of Heropythos of Chios, which lists his fourteen ancestors (*SGDI* 5656; Thomas 156). Homer and Hesiod may be slightly special cases, as they are not contemporary with Hekataios or the others, but certainly they lived well after the heroic age which marks the end of all the other genealogies. Moreover, the contemporary Homeridai, like the Hippokratic doctors from Asklepios, nurtured a sense of their descent from the founding hero.

It has sometimes been said, building on Thomas' work, that these 'full' genealogies imply a chronological system.¹⁷ We need to be careful here. An inference that Hekataios had already developed a chronological framework, with a presumed length to each

generation and an implied date for such things as the Trojan War, goes beyond the evidence, and fails to take account of some distinctions already pointed out by Thomas. In particular, a simple *linear* genealogy of fathers to sons, such as Hekataios', typically arises from quite different concerns of political and social legitimization, and is found in oral contexts. That these genealogies were taken from families and worked into the pan-Hellenic stemmata by the mythographers is of course highly significant, and within a few decades led to their exploitation for chronological purposes. The beginnings of this are visible in Herodotos; and the first step of actually counting and comparing the number of generations is seen, strikingly, in Pindar's fourth *Pythian* of 462 BC (4.10, 47, 65). This is a feature of the mid-century intellectual landscape. We do not know if Hekataios gave the count of generations, or just the names of his ancestors. In my view it is Herodotos who counted *and*, crucially, drew the comparison with the number of Egyptian generations. The awareness that there *is* a framework—and the realization that something is wrong with the evidence—is first found in Herodotos, and relates directly to some of his most important discoveries.¹⁸ The implications were more fully worked out by Hellanikos. We do not expect this in Hekataios.

The kind of 'chronological plausibility' that Thomas identifies also needs careful assessment. A basic chronological framework of important events is already found in archaic poetry: Thebes was destroyed before Troy, the Dorians came to Sparta after the war, Argos was founded before Thebes, and so on. This sort of consistency is not at issue. When mythographers—or the poet of the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, for that matter—began putting stemmata together, some contradictions were obvious, and modifications were made. These were typically in branches of the same genealogical tree (cf. §7.2.2, §10.2. n. 19). This too is not beyond the reach of archaic poetry (which was in Greece already a mix of oral and literate production); mythography accelerated and foregrounded the practice. Identifying and removing contradictions *between* originally independent branches—between Inachidai and Deukalionidai, as it might be, or the whole of Egypt and Greece—is quite different. We do not find this in Hekataios, Akousilaos, or Pherekydes; on the contrary, there are some examples of egregious disregard for such things.¹⁹ The world looks very different by the time one gets to Hellanikos (→ §16.1.1, §19.3).

We need also to ask what a 'full' genealogy is. A list of names back to a point of origin, however long the list might be, is a full genealogy only in one sense. A linear genealogy does not necessarily imply a sense of the broader framework within which the line exists. Even a genealogy with many ramifications need not imply that. In Greek legendary genealogy, the branches are many and intricate for reasons that have nothing to do with chronology. The whole apparatus is an amalgamation of originally independent

¹⁴ T. Harrison, *Divinity and History* 89; Vannicelli, 'Herodotus' Egypt and the Foundations of Universal History' 229.

¹⁵ Fowler, 'Gods in Early Greek Historiography'.

¹⁶ R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record* 155–95.

¹⁷ e.g. Bertelli, 'Hekataeus' 89–94; Corcella, 'The New Genre and its Boundaries' 42.

¹⁸ R. Thomas, 'Herodotus' *Histories* and the Floating Gap'; Vannicelli, 'Herodotus' Egypt and the Foundations of Universal History'.

¹⁹ e.g. §6.5, §6.7.3 (Eumelos). See further index s.v. 'chronology'.

sagas, each with a complicated cast of characters with local and regional roots and continuing importance in contemporary society, often in religious contexts. Crucially, the whole body of legend is situated *in illo tempore*; the line drawn after the Heroic Age is deliberately a firm one. If we had Greek genealogies that both bridged this gap and sustained the degree of complexity displayed by the heroic legends, that would be a truly full genealogy, and indisputable evidence of a system. But this is what we do not have. The genealogy of the Philaidai (Pher. fr. 2; →§16.3.1) conspicuously starts with a long series of fathers and sons in a straight line, before ramifying in the generations that lie within the reach of living memory. The greater detail at the bottom end is typical of genealogies in an oral environment, and gives no surprise.²⁰ The straight line back to Ajax has the usual honorific purpose.

Finally: Hekataios' genealogy was only sixteen generations long. This is long by some standards, but it looks too short for the required chronological system. If he counted three generations to the century, that dates the amorous god to about 1030, which is well after the Trojan War on most ancient reckonings;²¹ if he counted 40 years to the generation, the date of the encounter is about 1140. As 'no self-respecting Greek family ever claimed a divine ancestor more recent than the Trojan War',²² we infer that he put the war, if he dated it at all, some time after one or other of these dates. But that means he ignored the Spartan king-list, which had 19 kings between him and Troy. That is, he precisely did not take into account Herakles and the Herakleidai, even though they took up much of the second book of his *Genealogies* (fr. 7, 23–30). This is not much of a system. In fact, for a system, one needs more than one genealogy. If we recall at this point Pindar's Battiadai, who counted the generations of their ancestors so assiduously, we may be inclined to think that they had their own notion of the date of the Trojan War—if, that is, they assigned a number of years to each generation. They also overlooked the implications of the Spartan king-list, though one can forgive them more than Hekataios, as they had emigrated from Sparta centuries before. But of course they had no system.²³

Before leaving this testimonium we should note that some scholars have attributed the passage to the *Genealogies* rather than the *Periodos*, as Jacoby (*FGrHist* 1 F 300, printing however far more than justified). They could be right. Those who put it in the *Periodos* tend to do so because they interpret Herodotos at face value. If it was in the *Genealogies*, the inference is strengthened that it was Herodotos who put the two passages together, and imagined what must have happened in Egypt. The fragments of

²⁰ Fowler, 'Genealogical Thinking' 3–4.

²¹ The complete list in Burkert, 'Lydia between East and West'; cf. Möller, 'Epoch-Making Eratosthenes' 249.

²² Burkert, 'Lydia between East and West' 143 = 227.

²³ Thus Burkert's conversion of the Philaid or Battiad genealogies into an implied date of the Trojan War, though necessary for his argument in context, should not be taken to mean that Pherekydes or Pindar actually did the conversion.

the *Periodos* do not contain any genealogies, though admittedly most of them are very short notices in the epitomized Stephanos of Byzantium.

The impression Herodotos gives of Hekataios in test. 5–6 is quite different from that in test. 4, where his professional jealousy is directly in play. In test. 5 Hekataios stands out for his knowledge of the Persian Empire, and his grasp of the strategic situation. Several scholars have pointed out that Hekataios here acts as the 'Wise Adviser', whose advice is sure to be ignored.²⁴ This role suits Herodotos very well, given his dim view of the Ionians in this episode, and the whole story looks as if it were constructed *post eventum*. Behind it may lie no more than an oral tradition that Hekataios was involved in the uprising; the rest derives from Herodotos' imaginative reconstruction. We can infer that Hekataios seemed a suitable person to discharge this function in his narrative, owing in part to the knowledge of Persia displayed in the *Periodos*, but we may not be able to infer much more. In test. 6, the role continues; it emphasizes Aristagoras' folly just prior to his departure for Thrace, where he will die. Hekataios' own advice here seems less than sage, and Macan in his commentary on Herodotos thought the intention was to ridicule Hekataios. Others have thought the proposal to raid the funds at Branchidai would have been sacrilegious. On these readings, in both testimonia Herodotos undercuts the positive portrait of Hekataios. But the use of temple resources for such purposes could indeed be considered, and its propriety depended very much on circumstances (R. Parker, *Miasma* 174). The point of retreating to Leros was to wait out the storm, not to mount a counter-attack. It seems a rather postmodern reading to think that Herodotos cleverly ridicules both the Ionians, and their so-called Wise Adviser.²⁵

Thus far Herodotos' specific references. As already noted, there are many places (though perhaps fewer than we think) where Herodotos is taking issue with Hekataios, though unnamed. More generally, many of Herodotos' historian's tools find parallels in Hekataios. Like Herodotos, Hekataios shows off his knowledge of foreign languages;²⁶ he makes use of etymologies (fr. 15, 22, *FGrHist* 1 FF 59, 84); he is interested in inventors (fr. 20). More subtly, in fr. 21 he betrays the same manipulation of the presumed views of foreigners as Herodotos does in his preface (→§7.2.5). Of course Herodotos' whole project of ethnography builds on the Milesian's work.

Another significant point of contact is the rationalizing interpretation of myth, about which much has been written.²⁷ It is clear that a new kind of critical thought infuses

²⁴ Lattimore, 'The Wise Adviser in Herodotus'; cf. S. R. West, 'Herodotus' Portrait of Hecataeus' 155–7; Nenci on Hdt. 5.36.

²⁵ Diodoros' story in test. 7 is generally held to be an anecdotal invention, perhaps Hellenistic, in the wake of Herodotos: e.g. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 2.34; West, 'Herodotus' Portrait of Hecataeus' 157 n. 74.

²⁶ Fr. 21 (→§7.2.5), 34 (→§6.4.5); *FGrHist* 1 FF 272, 284, 322, 370.

²⁷ In addition to the authorities cited above, n. 1, see Momigliano, 'Il razionalismo di Ecateo di Mileto'; De Sanctis, 'Intorno al razionalismo di Ecateo'; Nenci, 'Ecateo di Mileto e la questione del suo razionalismo'; Gatti, 'Sul proemio delle "Genealogie" di Ecateo'; Fertonani, 'Ecateo di Mileto e il suo razionalismo'.

Hekataios' work, and it does not seem coincidental that he is a native of Miletos, epicentre of Greek scientific thinking in the sixth century. The readiness to find fault with traditional views and apply new paradigms of analysis is most on view in fr. 27, in which he denies the existence of Kerberos (→§8.4.12).²⁸ Comparable are fr. 26 on Geryoneus (→§8.4.11), according to Hekataios a formidable but not supernatural king, and fr. 19 (→§7.1.3) on the number of Aigyptos' sons. He is simply not prepared to believe in hell-hounds, triple-bodied monsters, or fifty offspring of one father.²⁹ One may infer much from these fragments alone. The fantastic element in the tales offended Hekataios, and this is clearly part of the larger story by which Greek *mythoi* as a class came to be 'myths' in the sense of fables, standing in a complicated relationship to *logos* 'reason'.³⁰ Hekataios applies a criterion of verisimilitude according to everyday experience. Moreover, he is to be the judge of this verisimilitude, relying on his own rational analysis. Most momentously, the myths, traditionally the exempla by which one measured values and events in one's own world, are now themselves to be measured by the standards of that world.³¹

This is already much, but one must not infer too much. In the first place it must give pause that this rationalizing approach seems to be forgotten in other fragments. It is true that other explanations can be found: in fr. 15 (→§4.2), the tale of Orestheus' bitch giving birth to a stump, scholars have appealed to early scientific theories of conception *in utero heterogeneo*;³² in fr. 17 (→§6.1.1), Phrixos' speaking ram, we might suppose that miracles performed by gods are exempt from this kind of criticism. It seems permissible in Hekataios' world-view for gods to mate with humans (above, p. 662).³³ Yet too many such stories would tend to undermine the agenda, and it looks rather as if Hekataios, like Herodotos, is simply inconsistent when it comes to applying new techniques in every situation where we might think there is potential for him to do so.

If Hekataios' rationalization is not universally applied, it probably also goes beyond the evidence to say that his approach derives from reasoned first principles about the nature of the world. Ionic rationalism, as a metaphysical position, was in the air, and could not but affect the outlook on the world of people like Hekataios, but this does not mean that he was searching for a holistic interpretation of the course of history based on abstract notions of divinity. Herakleitos found much learning but no *νοῦς* in Hekataios (test. 21).³⁴ The search for patterns, and a philosophy of history, we find first in Herodotos. Hekataios rationalized, but this does not make him a philosophical

rationalist. He desacralized (some) legends, but still had room for gods of a quite non-Herodotean sort. His rationalization of Kerberos in fr. 27 would not preclude belief in the Underworld (see §8.4.12).

Hekataios rendered the stories realistic, but a further distinction should be drawn between a story-teller's realism and rationalization. In imagining the tale of Troy, Homer deploys many vividly realistic touches. Rationalization implies realism but realism does not imply rationalization. For instance, in fr. 30 a timid Keyx pragmatically calculates the risk to his small city if he protects the suppliants; it is a kind of calculation that would have been familiar to many statesmen in Hekataios' day—but also to the Trojan elders, wondering whether to give Helen back. An example of a different stripe: Herakles, Hekataios casually tells us, had relations with Auge 'when-ever he went to Tegea' (fr. 29a), as if she is the local girlfriend. In *FGrHist* 1 F 328 he offers a prosaic explanation of how the Pygmies fought off the cranes (*Il.* 3.6). These are not examples of demythologization unless one can show that Hekataios regarded them as 'myths' in the first place: but the category did not yet exist. Moreover, on closer examination one finds that Hekataios does not bring the heroes entirely down to earth. Kerberos might have been only a snake—but he was a really big one. Aigyptos could not have had fifty sons—but he did manage close to twenty. Geryoneus was no fearsome monster—but fetching his cattle was still 'no mean labour'. By these means Hekataios preserves the grandeur of the great age, without sacrificing credibility. His view of the past age, if we may take these hints as a guide, was traditional: it was better than ours; he only denied that it worked by different rules.

It seems doubtful that, like later rationalizers and allegorists, Hekataios had a sophisticated view about why the received tales were in such a deplorable state. They were neither the products of a simpler age, nor the inventions of sages awaiting decoding by a wiser posterity.³⁵ The explanation he gives in the famous fr. 1 is straightforward: they were told by fools of his own age. Their folly consisted in their lack of a guiding principle, such as his own test of verisimilitude; and it was proven by the way they contradicted each other. The stories were both foolish and many. Truth cannot be multiplex. Here it is reasonable to appeal to the monism of contemporary philosophy as a context for this view. It is significant that Hekataios calls these tales *λόγοι*; the term is not contrasted with *μῦθος* (which he himself uses in its verbal form, denoting his solemn pronouncement), but in itself the word does carry an overtone of (rational) 'accounts'. *μῦθοι* would not be the right word for what he wants to say here.³⁶ There can be only one true explanation, one *logos*. But this attitude does not always, or even often, make good historiography. Contrast Herodotos, who gives us variants to choose from.³⁷ The irony seems lost on Hekataios that he is only one more contradicting voice in the hubbub of

²⁸ Possibly also the Lernaian Hydra, if that is the reference in fr. 27b: see §8.4.12 n. 158.

²⁹ Possibly not Centaurs either: see §2.2 on fr. 18A. The Erymanthian Boar in fr. 6 could be another example (→§8.4.4).

³⁰ Much has been written on this topic too; the latest is Fowler, 'Mythos and Logos'.

³¹ Bertelli, "C'era una volta un mito . . ." 81–2, is eloquent on this point.

³² See the references in Bertelli, 'Hecataeus' 85 n. 52.

³³ Perhaps Hekataios rationalized the story of Danae to the extent of removing the shower of gold: see §7.2.2 n. 36. I do not regard fr. 20 as a rationalization; see §7.1.4 n. 25.

³⁴ Granger, 'Heraclitus' Quarrel with Polymathy and *Historiē*'.

³⁵ On all this see Hawes, *The Rationalisation of Myth in Antiquity*.

³⁶ Fowler, 'Mythos and Logos' 53–4.

³⁷ Corcella, 'The New Genre and its Boundaries' 47.

competing versions—and he does offer us some very unusual ones.³⁸ He must have thought he could shout the others down. It was a risky strategy, guaranteed to invite challenge. The appropriation of truth from the Muses and from society at large to himself was a particularly insolent move.³⁹ His opinion stands on equal footing with the voice of the goddess.

Yet to an extent he was, once again, merely being a man of his times. He was not the first writer to convey his views in prose; philosophers like Anaxagoras, Anaximenes, and Pherekydes of Syros had set the precedent, and there could have been others like Akousilaos, Skylax, Euthymenes, and some we do not even know about. The adoption of prose meant shedding not only metre and style, but all the trappings of the performative occasion. Prose meant that the arguments had to contend for themselves in the arena of international debate.⁴⁰ In this context Hekataios' voice was not a solitary one.

But it was a particularly pugnacious and strident one. In his reaction, Herodotos (perhaps in spite of himself) ensured Hekataios' immortality, and his reputation as his own principal predecessor. Some scholars have, perhaps unfairly to Hekataios, suggested that the reputation is undeserved. We should reflect that Herodotos' targeting him for criticism is a kind of compliment. But though his debts were many, the hallmarks of the true historian—the grand narrative, the historical vision, the explicit engagement with method—come together first in Herodotos. For the first two of these one can argue that the real inspiration lay in epic poetry, not Ionic science.⁴¹

Hekataios' distinctive voice reverberated to the end of antiquity and beyond. Apart from Herodotos, Herodotos made use of the *Periodos* (→§8.4.11). Andron of Teos (time of Alexander) might have cited fr. 34 (→§6.4.5); Apollodoros and Demetrios of Skepsis (second century) certainly did (testt. 25A–C). It is clear from the testimonia and fragments that his work was available in the Augustan age and early Empire to geographers, literary critics, and to commentators on Apollonios of Rhodes (frr. 2, 7b, 17 etc.) and Antimachos (fr. 27b). Pausanias, who provides several fragments, would logically have a copy. In the rhetorical tradition, writers of manuals fed off each other (Theophrastos' *On Style* is at the head), but people of the calibre of pseudo-Longinos (fr. 30), Demetrios (fr. 1), Hermogenes (test. 18), or Dionysios (test. 17) might have taken the trouble to read him. Athenaios as we have seen (above, p. 659) worked at second hand, as did Arrian (test. 15c) and Aelian (fr. 33; →§12.3.3), but it is hard to conceive Stephanos of Byzantium (sixth century) writing his enormous work without a copy of Hekataios to hand.⁴² One may entertain doubts that Diodoros or Pliny, much less Avienius, read him themselves,

³⁸ See frr. 13, 16 (§4.4); fr. 15 (§4.2); fr. 25 (§8.4.5); fr. 29 (§8.5.2); fr. 31 (§10.9).

³⁹ Cf. Fowler, 'Early *Historiē* and Literacy' 102.

⁴⁰ See below on fr. 1. As Bertelli, 'Hecataeus' 79, well comments, 'It is hard to imagine Hecataeus writing down his criticism of Hesiod in hexameters!'

⁴¹ On this point see most recently Rengakos, 'Thucydides' Narrative' 279–80.

⁴² Niese argued that α419 Ἀριάνθη, which is quoted from Herodian, vs. α425 Ἀριάνθη, which is quoted from Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1 F 64), proved direct use: Honigmann, *RE* 3A.2.2385.

and when a speaker like Aristides conjures up the image of a blustering Hekataios (testt. 4A, 8A), this is merely common knowledge; yet the enduring nature of that image tells us something about him. He is named with Pythagoras and Homer as one of the three people Kerkidas would most like to meet in the next world (test. 8). Perhaps he hoped to meet a fellow iconoclast. Theodoros Metochites, in the new test. 18A (= Hellan. test. 15A), also trades on this notoriety as late as the fourteenth century. It is, however, a misreading to think that he was able to consult these authors directly as late as that; he taxes his opponents with ignorance so profound that they have not even heard of their names—but says expressly that their works have not survived.⁴³ He has his opinion of their style from Hermogenes (whom he implies his critics have not read), who praises their simplicity and clarity; nonetheless, Theodoros prefers Thucydides, whose works have survived and will survive.

Dialect

Many traces of Ionic survive, but many have been removed, and there are the usual problems of determining archaic Ionic practice in the first place.⁴⁴ In the *Periodos* Hekataios is quoted again and again for his unusual forms of place-names; some of them suggest an insouciance over orthography.⁴⁵

PHONOLOGY

Ionic eta for alpha is preserved in fr. 7a, *FGrHist* 1 FF 73, 108, 146, 154, 204, 217, 287, 291, 293, 299, 305, 343; not preserved in frr. 15 (*Αἰτωλίαν, βασιλεία*),⁴⁶ 12A, *FGrHist* 1 FF 163, 169, 217, 292a.

Attic -ττ- for -σσ- is transmitted in fr. 12A, which I should have corrected.

The MSS present open forms in frr. 1 (*ἀληθέα*), 22 (*ξίφεος*), 27b (*δοκέω, ἐόντα*), *FGrHist* 1 FF 137 (*ἱμφέες*), 222 (*Μυρικόεντα*), 234 (*δοκέω*), 284 (*φορέουσιν*), 287 (*φορέουσιν*), 291 (*καλεομένην, οὔρεα, δασέα*), 292a (*οὔρεα, δένδρεα*), 305 (*κινέεται*), 323a (*καταλέουσιν*; cf. Hdt. 4.172.1); in the *Periodos* two common words are usually presented in open form: *οἰκέουσι* (FF 100, 108, 137, 292b, 299, but contracted -οῦ- in 292a); *ὀμουρέουσι* (FF 163, 202, 204, 206). Contracted forms are offered in frr. 1 (*μυθεῖται, δοκεῖ*), 30 (*ποιούμενος, ἐκχωρεῖν*), *FGrHist* 1 FF 154 (*κριθῶν*), 234 *Πριηνῆς* (nom.),⁴⁷ 305 (*περιπλεῖ*), 332 (*ἡμερῶν, πλοῦς*).

⁴³ *Contra Gigante*, 'Accessione bizantina ad Ecateo'.

⁴⁴ The difficulty of distinguishing vernacular Ionic from epic is well known; see e.g. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* 11–35; Dräger, *Stilistische Untersuchungen zu Pherekydes* 5–13; Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* 79–95; below on Pherekydes' dialect. For purposes of the analysis here I accept Jacoby's delimitations of direct quotations.

⁴⁵ Jacoby, *RE* 7.2.2750 = *Griechische Historiker* 227; Pownall, *BNJ* comm.

⁴⁶ I have restored the Ionic forms; see again *EGM* 1.xlv.

⁴⁷ An un-Ionic contraction; Lobeck wrote *Πριηνεῖς*.

Whether Herodotos meant his *ONOMA* to be understood as *ὄνομα* = *οὐνομα*, an epic lengthening *metri causa*, may be strongly doubted, but this is what his MSS consistently give us. The readings of Hippocratic MSS 'vary chaotically', and the epigraphic record is unanimous for *ὄνομα*.⁴⁸ In Herakleitos and Demokritos five instances of *ὄνομα* are transmitted. Hekataios is given the long form at *FGrHist* 1 F 282, the short one at FF 305, 354. A similar case is *κουλέος/κολεός*. Fr. 22 has τὸν *κολεόν* like Hdt. 3.64.1 (but *κουλεοῦ* some witnesses). According to *LSJ* Hekataios is nearly unique in using the word in the masculine gender (quoting otherwise only Hsch. κ3324 and Hippok. *De corde* 3 (*κουλεόν*)), but Herodotos' example at least is ambiguous. *ὄρος/οὔρος* may be a different case because of a lost sigma.⁴⁹ Both forms are found in Hdt. (the longer form is never without the shorter as a variant, but the shorter form is often attested alone);⁵⁰ in Hek. the shorter form is given at fr. 6, *FGrHist* 1 F 73; the longer one at FF 291, 292. *οὔρος* for *ὄρος* is certainly a case of lost digamma and accordingly we find *ὀμουρέω* four times in Hek. (1 FF 163, 202, 204, 206).

In fr. 21 Herodian states as a rule that no polysyllable ending in *να* is perispomenon except *Ἀθηνᾶ*; *Δανᾶ* is only an apparent exception because according to Hekataios this is a Phoenician, not a Greek form. *Χνᾶ* as another example from Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1 F 272). We would expect *α + η* to generate *ᾶ* in Ionic, but there seem to be few examples (I find only *δάμυνες* Archil. fr. 3.4 and *ἀδής* Theogn. 296). Danae's name is elsewhere always trisyllabic, as indeed it was for Hekataios: so his novelty presumes.

ἱρή is transmitted in *FGrHist* 1 F 305, *ἱερόν* in 1 F 319; the former is Ionic but the latter stem is preferred in certain words (see Lightfoot, *Lucian, On the Syrian Goddess* 103).

λεώς for *ληός* is transmitted in fr. 23; see §8.4.0 n. 42 and compare *Μενέλεω* Pher. fr. 64a.

NOUNS

Ionic long datives plural in the first and second declensions are preserved at *FGrHist* 1 FF 163 (*bis*), 202, 204 (*bis*), 206, 282, 291, 292a, 293; short in 1 FF 299, 305.

Οινέως is transmitted in fr. 15, and in the new fr. 369A, B we are assured that, although the real Ionic form is *-έως*, sometimes the Attic form in *-έως* is used, quoting *Ἀτρέως* and *Κρηθέως* from Hekataios. The older form *-ῆος* is epic, though plenty of examples of *-έως* can be found there when it suits the metre. The latter is the true Ionic prose form; the others creep in as variants in the MSS or, in later writers, under influence from Attic, which is hardly credible for Hekataios.

βορέω is the genitive of *βορέης* in *FGrHist* 1 F 100 as normally in Ionic (first declension masculine, *-ᾶο* with *metathesis quantitatis* simplified after a preceding vowel); but the Attic second-declension genitive has intruded in *FGrHist* 1 F 266 (*κυβερνήτου*).

⁴⁸ Lightfoot, *Lucian, On the Syrian Goddess* 102. Cf. Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* 90.

⁴⁹ Beekes, *Etym. Dict.* s.v.

⁵⁰ Lightfoot, *Lucian, On the Syrian Goddess* 102.

μύκην in fr. 22 as the accusative of *μύκης* instead of *μύκητα* shows that it is being treated as a first-declension masculine. Cf. *Ἀκέλην* in Hellan. fr. 112b, *Ἄρεω* in Archil. fr. 18, *μύκεω* in Archil. fr. 252, *φάλεω* in Hippon. fr. 21, *ἐσθήν* *SGDI* 5417.24 vs. *ἐσθήτα* in Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 284.

The forms *ὀφίων* (fr. 27b) and *δύσιος* (*FGrHist* 1 F 217) are correct Ionic; *κυπάσσεις* (accus. pl.) is transmitted in 1 F 234 instead of *κυπάσσῃς*, as often in Herodotean MSS.⁵¹

δέατα in fr. 364 is an instance of a vacillating declension; see §20.

ADJECTIVES

Fr. 368A is quoted for the irregular comparative *σπουδαιέστερος*; on such forms in Ionic and Doric see Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* 1.535.

The Ionic termination *-ήμιος* is preserved in *FGrHist* 1 F 299 (*βασιλήμιον*; Smyth, *Ionic* §232); the noun is given as *βασιλεία* in fr. 15.

PRONOUNS

ἡμεῖς etc. in fr. 360 may be mentioned here even though the uncontracted forms are false Ionicisms invented by grammarians. *ἡμέες* appears as a rare variant at Hdt. 8.22.2, 8.29.2, 8.144.4, 8.144.5. See Smyth, *Ionic*, p. 442; Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* 1.605; Lightfoot, *CQ* 50 (2000) 303.

καὶ ὅς in fr. 15 is a clear example of relative *ὅς* for demonstrative (*ὅς ille*) which is well attested in Attic, especially in dialogue (*ἦ δ' ὅς* 373 times in Plato according to *TLG*), but also sometimes in narrative. Apart from Plato's formulaic expression, the pronoun is normally used with *καί* and normally in the nominative, as in Hek.; the other cases tend to be found with *μέν* . . . *δέ*. Powell in his *Lexicon* lists seven examples in Herodotos (e.g. 4.68.1, 7.18.1). In our corpus the first word of Kreoph. fr. 1 appears to be an instance. Hellan. fr. 123 may be another one if *μέν* is not supplied (*τόν* taking the place of *ὃν* as happened from an early stage). On the construction see Kühner–Gerth 2.227–9; Cooper, *Greek Syntax* 1.356–7.

In fr. 15.4 τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα is transmitted, which I interpreted in *EGM* 1 as τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα. The pronoun must, however, be a direct reflexive, not a colourless 'his' (which would be simply τὸν παῖδα); interpolation is unlikely, so Hekataios will have written τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα, which was subsequently normalized to Attic.

Prepositions. *εἰς* is transmitted in fr. 15 and 19, *εἰ* in *FGrHist* 1 FF 206, 217 (including one in composition), 222, 289, 323a; according to the overwhelming testimony of the MSS of Herodotos and the Hippocratic corpus, Ionic preferred the shorter form even before vowels (as in fr. 15 and 19).

⁵¹ Rosén, *Eine Laut- und Formenlehre der herodotischen Sprachform* 77. In older editions 1 F 217 begins ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλαζία πόλι; Radt improves this to εἰτα Ἀλαζία πόλις, which has the effect of removing this example of the Ionic dative.

μέχρι not μέχρις in fr. 7a, *FGrHist* 1 F 206 as overwhelmingly in Herodotos; both forms are given in 1 F 299.

εἵνεκα or εἵνεκεν are Ionic (restored in fr. 27b).

VERB FORMS

In fr. 6 ἐώργει is Meineke's emendation for ἔοργε and ἔοργεν in the MSS, pluperfect for perfect, as is necessary after ἦν. The perfect form is common enough in epic, but the pluperfect is found only at *Od.* 4.693. M. L. West tentatively suggests ἐόργεε in Hekataios, which is closer to what the MSS offer and what many editors of Herodotos print at 1.127.2; but there several MSS offer ἐώργεε. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* 1.479–80, diagnoses an augment η- before Ϝ which resulted in metathesis after the loss of the digamma (ηϜο > ηο > εω): cf. ἐώρων, ἐωράκη, ἐώρταζον, ἐώκει, ἐώλπει.⁵² These forms were recognized as canonical by ancient grammarians (e.g. Theognost. *Canones* 903 *Anecd. Oxon.* 2.150.23, Choïrob. *Gramm. Graec.* 4.2.116.14 = Hdn. *Π. παθῶν* 2.381.23 Lentz, *Etym. Magn.* 351.29) so should probably be given the preference; if ἐόργεε or ἐοίκεε were competing in the living language with ἐώργεε and ἐωίκεε one would expect to find more examples.⁵³

FGrHist 1 F 196 reports the standard Ionic form μεμετρέαται.

In *FGrHist* 1 F 234 Herodian preserves ἔζοντο, which epic has alongside ἔζοντο; the latter is the form in Herodotos. This could be a vacillation in ordinary Ionic speech.

ἔσθι, fr. 361, is a secondary development from ἔσθι (Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.* 1.677) not attested anywhere else, but then the imperative of εἰμί is not often used. In Pher. 89 fr. 68 ii 4–5 Schibli σύ[ν]εσθι appears to have been written.

NU MOVABLE

In all cases where hiatus would result the quoting sources, at least as presented by modern editors, have inserted a nu.

LEXICON

πολυστάφυλος in fr. 15 is a poetic word, as is πελώριος in fr. 27b (he is actually quoting Hesiod).

The verb for which fr. 27b is quoted, ἐνδείκνυμαι in the sense of 'command', is known only from this papyrus, which cites Antimachos, Mimnermos, and Hesiod. One might

⁵² ἀπηύρα, ἦνικτο and ἦειδη are cited as further instances of eta-augment. Some cases are uncertain; it is also possible to see ἐώργει as arising from ἐφεόργει > ἐεόργει > ἡόργει > ἐώργει. Cf. Monro, *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect* §67; Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.* 1.653.

⁵³ TLG offers εοίκεε only at Eusebius' commentary on *Psalm* 89.2, PG 23.1128A.

think poeticism would be actively avoided in this deconstruction of a poet, so the word is probably ordinary Ionic.

Several other fragments are quoted for their diction. Fr. 8 is quoted for the verb ἀδελφίζειν (→§20). In fr. 22 the lexeme of note is μύκης (→§7.2.6). Fr. 23 is cited for λεώς (ληός) 'vassal' (→§8.4.0). Fr. 362 quotes γέγειος, which is otherwise known only from Kallimachos (fr. 59 = *SH* 265, 277 = *Hekale* fr. 102 Hollis, 510) and lexicographers. Fr. 363 quotes ἔπισσαι meaning 'lambs', a word likewise known only from Kallimachos (fr. inc. 735 = 'children' of the Muse, i.e. his poems) and lexicographers, though Homer has μέτασσαι in a similar context (*Od.* 9.221). An agricultural word, it is likely to be vernacular rather than poetic. In fr. 366 (σκορπίζεται) the link with Koine suggests the word was ordinary Ionic (→§20). Of χειρογράφοι in fr. 367 Wilamowitz remarked 'offenbar aus altionischer Mythographie' (*Glaube der Hellenen* 1.272 [1.277]); see §6.4.2 n. 68. κιβωτός (fr. 368) is an everyday word used in many places. μοιχίδιον in fr. 369 sounds like the sort of insult that would be at home in old Ionic iambos; Herodotos has it in the same sense at 1.137.2 (also Hyperid. fr. 42 Jensen).

Test. 14. Opinions differ on whether this testimonium refers to the Milesian or the Abderite Hekataios. It is a fragment of Agatharchides preserved in Photios, in which he says that, of the four quarters of the globe, the west has been discussed by Lykos and Timaios, the east by Hekataios and Basilis, the north by Diophantos and Demetrios, the south by Agatharchides himself. The date of Diophantos (*FGrHist* 805) is uncertain, but all the other writers in the list are post-Alexander, and, where we can compare, wrote works of a kind that would provide a more suitable comparison for Agatharchides' project than the Milesian's *Asia*. The Abderite seems to me far more probable.⁵⁴

Test. 15. Kallimachos' doubts about the authenticity of the *Asia* rest on unknown grounds, and his alternative author 'Nesiotes' is quite obscure. Kallimachos was capable of some egregious mistakes; small wonder, given the conditions in which he worked.⁵⁵ In the absence of any other evidence we need not be unduly concerned.

Test. 17. I began my article 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' with a discussion of test. 17a, referring in n. 1 to the main earlier treatments. Since then, Leone Porciani has offered an important analysis in *Prime forme della storiografia greca* 13–63; see also his further thoughts in 'Il problema della storia locale'. He argues convincingly that Dionysios has combined two different sources, one deriving ultimately from Theophrastos' *On Style*, the other from a commentary on Thucydides 1.21.1, which identified the λογογράφοι and explicated τὸ μυθώδες. The list of early historians derives from this second source. The two do not sit together entirely comfortably, as Porciani also shows well, but his assessment of Dionysios' failure is too harsh ('Dionigi ha

⁵⁴ See P. Lang's commentary on this test. (264 T 9) in her *BNJ* commentary.

⁵⁵ Dover, *Lysias and the Corpus Lysiacum* 23–6. Cf. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* 31–4.

confuso tutto', *Prime forme* 56). Dionysios is describing a matrix, as we would say, in which several axes (local—pan-Hellenic; myth—history; simple style—developed style) are mapped onto a chronological framework. Another axis, less easily stated, is that between the earlier writers who passed on what they found just as they found it, neither adding nor subtracting anything, and the 'grander and more splendid treatment of his subject-matter' which characterizes Herodotos. Part of the splendour, the antithesis implies, lies in his historical vision, his readiness to give shape to the facts rather than just record them. Conveying all of these ideas at once, Dionysios' difficulty is that he pretends there is only one axis, from 'before Thucydides' to 'Thucydides'. Fitting Herodotos onto the grid proved particularly awkward. But even if the result was bound to be untidy, his undertaking is not unintelligent. He has identified the key points, and captured the essential complexity of the situation.

How all this relates to the development of Greek historiography is the important question. Porciani downplays the reliability of Dionysios' data regarding the dates of his authors, which he has taken from his Alexandrian source. There are well-known difficulties, to be sure, but the ancients were in a much better position than we are to judge the date of a writer on grounds of his style and other internal indications. Their estimates are not often wildly wrong, and where they are we can usually determine the reason. Generalized, the principle would seem to be that one should ignore the *Pinakes* unless independently corroborated; this is too sceptical. Like me, Porciani does not accept Jacoby's scheme of development from grand historiography (Herodotos) to local history, but he has a different analysis. He argues that there was local history before Herodotos, not in the form of chronicles but in poetry and oral tradition (here the *λόγοι ἄνδρες* come into view); and that the impetus to write grand history, in the wake of such local history, came from the Athenian *λόγος ἐπιτάφιος*. This scheme does not replace, but supplements Jacoby's scheme of progression from epic poetry to prose genealogists to grand history. There are many points of contact, certainly, between the epitaphian orations and historiography, which Porciani does well to emphasize. Among other things he stresses the way they mediate between local and pan-Hellenic perspectives, enabling both grand history and the eventual emergence of local history as a written genre alongside it. Insisting that the distinction between local and universal history is crucial in ancient practice, he desires a specific mechanism for the emergence of the latter, and does not favour a model of contemporary development of the genres. Unsurprisingly, I had rather take the *λόγοι ἐπιτάφιοι* for part of the general atmosphere—a symptom, not a cause—and do not see the need for an explanation of the local/pan-Hellenic dynamic, which was typical of Greek culture since before Homer.

Much has been said also about the written records to which Dionysios refers. There is a problem first of all in the text (test. 17a, p. 117.8). Rudolf Kassel, *per litt.*, has persuaded me that the insertion of <ῆ> is unnecessary. As transmitted, *γραφαί* stands in apposition to *μνημαί*, so that Dionysios appears to be claiming that the early historians

used only written sources. He must have known from Herodotos' practice that this was not true, but his focus here is on the style of these writers and he is concerned to say that they passed on the documents they found without alteration (which is hard to claim about information acquired from an oral source). He says that these documents were deposited in temples or public buildings. However, while some kinds of document were available—inscriptions, poems, collections of oracles, letters, rudimentary public archives—the implication that our early historians' primary activity was the transcription of written records is certainly anachronistic. In fairness, Dionysios did have some encouragement from references to inscriptions and documents in Herodotos and Thucydides, and one might allow him this exaggeration in view of his immediate purposes.⁵⁶

Two further brief notes on the text: in test. 17a (p. 117.8) Usener ap. A. D. Schäfer, *Abriß der Quellenkunde der griechischen Geschichte* 1² (Leipzig, 1873) 9 deleted the second *κατὰ ἔθνη τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις* in l. 8, but was persuaded by the arguments of L. Sadé, *Jahrb.* 137 (1888) 549–50, to restore the words in his edition of Dionysios. The phrase appears to be repeated from above, and is certainly otiose. Translators have sometimes omitted it: e.g. F. Sevin, *Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles lettres* 6 (1729) 477; Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* 3.

In test. 17b (l. 11), I have written *πάσας* for *πάντων*. The choice is between 'the style of all of them has the basic virtues . . . but not all the supplementary ones' (the transmitted text) and 'their style has all the basic virtues . . . but not all the supplementary ones' (emended). The 'all' in the transmitted text is otiose, whereas in the emended text the thought is clear, and what Dionysios wants to say. The corruption arose by assimilation to the case of the nearest noun. For the distinction between 'basic' or 'indispensable' virtues of style (*ἀναγκαῖαι ἀρεταί*) vs. the supplementary (*ἐπιθετοί*) see Dionysios in the same treatise, chs. 22 and 49, and *Dem.* 53; but though he presents the distinction as well-known, it does not happen to be made in any other surviving text. All the commentators on Hekataios' style (testt. 16–19) present similar assessments of a progression from simple (pure, clear) style to one that uses tropes, periods, and other devices to achieve power and grandeur. On some points there is divergence; Strabo in test. 16 says that the early writers gradually removed the excessively poetic elements (a process we can see in our surviving texts, beginning with Pherekydes of Syros), while Hermogenes (test. 18) thinks Herodotos was more poetic than Hekataios. Hermogenes also thinks

⁵⁶ For discussion of the problem see Jacoby, *Atthis* 355 n. 15; Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 174–5; Porciani, *Prime forme della storiografia greca* 18; E. Gabba, *Athenaeum* 90 (2002) 521–4. On the evidence for public archives in the period see Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* 91–117; Maffi, 'Écriture et pratique juridique dans la Grèce classique'; Georgoudi, 'Manières d'archivage et archives de cités'; Boffo, 'Ancora una volta sugli «archivi» nel mondo greco'; Faraguna, 'Registrazioni catastali' and 'Gli archivi e la polis'; Lazzarini, 'La scrittura nella città'; Hedrick, 'The Prehistory of Greek Chronography'; J. K. Davies, 'Greek Archives' (with further references).

that Hekataios could have achieved what Herodotos did had he worked a little harder; the implication is that the means were latent in the language/dialect, awaiting discovery rather than invention. Dionysios in test. 17 and Hermogenes in test. 18 both work with a notion of the innate character of a dialect. Hermogenes' claim that some people consciously imitated Hekataios is somewhat surprising; he might be referring to the Ionic revival of his own time, of which Lucian's *On the Syrian Goddess* provides an example (though the model there is Herodotos). Early Ionic is not an undifferentiated category and some writers might well have pretended to be Hekataios rather than Herodotos.⁵⁷ As Fritz remarks (*Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 1.51), it is a pity that our paltry fragments do not allow us to evaluate ancient testimonies to the pleasure of Hekataios' writing.

New testimonium 17A. Alan Cameron draws my attention to this new testimonium to several of our authors in an Armenian translation of Theon's *Progymnasmata*, ed. M. Patillon and G. Bolognesi (Paris, 1997) 103–4:

Nous disons de même à propos des historiens qu'il en existe de nombreux genres. Il y a en effet l'historien généalogiste, de qui relèvent les généalogies qui font connaître les archontes et les éphores d'Athènes et d'ailleurs et celles qui dénombraient les prêtresses d'Argos [Hellen. test. **14A]⁵⁸ et les rois successifs de Lacédémone, de Macédoine et de Perse; tels sont Apollodoros d'Athènes [FGrHist 244], Akousilaos d'Argos [Akous. test. 9A] et Hécatee de Milet [Hek. test. 17A]. Il y a aussi l'historien politique, qui nous permet de suivre le déroulement d'événements comme les troubles, les guerres, etc., et comme on en trouve beaucoup chez Thucydide et Philistos [FGrHist 556]. Quant à l'historien des mythes, il propose à notre imagination les légendes des héros et des dieux, comme le font les fameux livres des *Tragôdoumena* d'Asclépiadès [FGrHist 12]. D'autres conservent le souvenir des belles paroles; à ce genre appartiennent les pages de Xénophon sur Socrate. On range dans la même espèce les historiens qui consacrent des recueils aux hommes illustres, comme sont les recueils de vies admirables d'Aristoxène le musicien [Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, vol. 2], Satyros [ed. S. Schorn (Basel, 2004)] et autres [sic] *legendum*: 'et autres Satyros' *liber impressus*].⁵⁹ Les historiens généralistes nous font connaître les campagnes, les villes, les fleuves, les situations, les sites, etc.; de ce genre sont les essais d'un [?] Kimnos,⁶⁰ d'un [?] Philias, d'un Philostéphanos [*deest ap.* Capel Badino] ou d'un Istros [FGrHist 334]. A cette même espèce appartiennent aussi les auteurs de recueils des constitutions de divers pays, comme Aristote.

⁵⁷ See Lightfoot's commentary, pp. 91–7, 139–42 for discussion of the phenomenon (she has much to say of relevance also to early Ionic). Her analysis of the language of the *De dea Syria* on pp. 100–33 is masterly. Another exemplary survey can be found in M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* 77–112.

⁵⁸ This is how Dionysios designates Hellenikos in fr. 84 and removes any small doubt whether he is the author there meant.

⁵⁹ 'Satyros et autres' would be a loose but acceptable rendering of the Armenian text, which seems to render οἱ τινές ποτε (οἱ τινες οὐδὲ ποτε?) τοιοῦτοι; my thanks to Professor Robert Thomson for this clarification.

⁶⁰ Skymnos is the obvious emendation; add to the testimonia in FGrHist (contd) 2047, ed. C. Orth. Skymnos, as Orth shows, was influenced by Pytheas' discoveries, which might be the name lurking in †Philias (cf. Polyb. 34.5), but that is further from the *ductus litterarum*. Philteas (FGrHist 498), author of a *Naxiaka*, is surely too obscure. It will not be Philistos, who is in a superior category (below). Perhaps delete as a doublet of Philostephanos.

Il en existe encore une autre espèce plus achevée, dans laquelle, comme l'avait fait Hérodote, la plupart des autres historiens pratiquent toutes les disciplines susdites. Aussi lirons-nous d'abord celui-là, qui a, malgré son savoir étendu, un style d'une grande simplicité. De lui nous passerons à Théopompe [FGrHist 115] et Xénophon, d'où nous en viendrons à Philistos [FGrHist 566] et Ephore [Hérodote *codd.*; *em.* Bolognesi; FGrHist 70], pour finir par Thucydide.

Theon's *Progymnasmata* were probably written in the first century AD.⁶¹ There are obvious links here to the categorization of historians offered by Polybios 9.1–2,⁶² though in the intervening years it has been extended to include memoirs, biography, geography, and constitutional history. Mythography is more clearly designated as a separate genre, whereas in Polybios it is subsumed in his first two types. Overlaid on this scheme, exactly as in test. 17, is a stylistic criterion, which tracks the progress of prose from simple beginnings to its *telos* in Thucydides. Herodotos (again as in test. 17) presents problems, since he belongs in the more developed group from one point of view, the less developed from another.

Test. 24. J. Davison, 'Dieuchidas of Megara', CQ² 9 (1959) 216–22, argues against Jacoby's supplement <δς> in l. 12.

Fr. 1. This fragment has been invoked countless times in discussions of early historiography, and the bibliography is large.⁶³ Short though it is, there are many interesting aspects:

(i) Self-identification and advertisement (mocked by Aristides in test. 8A). A fair number of early proems are known. Apart from Hekataios, in our corpus there is Antiochos fr. 2 (on which see above, p. 635). Outside it, we have Pherekydes of Syros Vors. 7 B1 = fr. 14 Schibli; Herakleitos fr. 1 Marcovich; Ion of Chios *Triagmos* fr. 114 Leurini = 20 von Blumenthal; Alkmaion of Kroton Vors. 24 B1; Philolaos of Kroton Vors. 44 B1; Diogenes of Apollonia Vors. 64 B1; Kritias Vors. 88 B32; Herodotos and Thucydides. In other cases, we have quotations that certainly seem to be near the beginning of the book, if not at the very beginning: Anaxagoras Vors. 59 B1; Demokritos Vors. 68 B165; Protagoras Vors. 80 B1 (the *homo mensura* line; cf. A 21a); Hippias FGrHist 6 F4.⁶⁴ In addition there are the anonymous openings of the Hippocratic treatises (notionally by Hippokrates), difficult to date but mostly post-classical.⁶⁵

⁶¹ See the discussions of Patillon and Bolognesi in their edition, vii–xvi.

⁶² τὸν μὲν γὰρ φιλήκοον ὁ γενεαλογικὸς τρόπος ἐπισπάται, τὸν δὲ πολυπράγμονα καὶ περιττὸν ὁ περὶ τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ κτίσεις καὶ συγγενείας, καθά που καὶ παρ' Ἐφόρῳ λέγεται, τὸν δὲ πολιτικὸν ὁ περὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἔθνων καὶ πόλεων καὶ δυναστῶν.

⁶³ See once again the authorities cited above, n. 1; also Corcella, 'Ecateo di Mileto così dice'; Porciani, *La forma proemiale*; Moles, 'Ἀνάθημα καὶ κτήμα'; Scodel, 'Poetic Authority and Oral Tradition' 135–7; Fowler, 'Early Historiē and Literacy' 101–3 and 'Mythos and Logos' 53–4; Ceccarelli, 'Messaggio scritto e messaggio orale'. On proems in ancient historiography generally, see Fehling, 'Zur Funktion und Formengeschichte des Proömiums' and Marincola, *Authority and Tradition* 271–5.

⁶⁴ For further examples for the pseudepigrapha of Pythagoras see Porciani, *La forma proemiale* 50 n. 137 (who provides on pp. 44–69 a thorough analysis of these openings).

⁶⁵ On the problem, Thomas, *Herodotus in Context* 24–6.

Not all the proems from books by known authors begin as do those of Hekataios, Antiochos, and others by actually naming them. It is possible that the opening *sphragis* was omitted by the quoting authorities as not needed for their purposes. Certainly if the book was being aimed at a readership (next point) the self-identification is understandable, but the loudness with which the trumpet of self-advertisement is blown varies considerably. The trumpet consists in stressing the truth of one's own account, and the falsity of others'; the value of one's sources; the novelty of what one is doing; the intrinsic worth of the subject-matter; the superiority of one's judgement. On this scale, Hekataios lies towards the louder end, as do Herakleitos, Herodotos, Hippias, and Thucydides. The verb *μυθεῖται*, of a solemn pronouncement, is thoroughly appropriate;⁶⁶ Bertelli, 'Hecataeus' 80, notes that the only parallel for use with *ὦδε* is *Il.* 7.70, in an agonistic context.

(ii) The closest parallel for this form of opening in Hekataios' time ('X speaks thus') in the edicts and letters of the Great King to his subjects.⁶⁷ The point is not that Hekataios is comparing himself with the King, but that the formula marks out what follows as the content of a written message, expected to be received at a distance, and understood by the recipients as a message. The next words, *τάδε γράφω*, confirm the written nature of the book; the formula even throws this writtenness into relief. The deixis of public performance, the *hic et nunc*, is replaced by this gesture of the absent author pointing (*τάδε*) to his own work.⁶⁸ This is a text with no relation to a public, social occasion. The idea of such an occasion-free text was not invented by Hekataios; indeed he seems to take it for granted. But it is important to stress this basic point about the nature of mythography from its origins. Public readings or performances of the works there must have been, but we have no way of knowing how what was said there relates to what was written in the book.⁶⁹

(iii) There is a repeated reference to how things 'seem to me'. The Muses of Homer and Hesiod and the Dike and Aletheia of Epimenides' dream have been replaced by the personal opinion of the writer. The verb *δοκεῖν* recurs in fr. 27b (and in *FGrHist* 1 F 234); in the proems listed above it is found also in Diogenes, but the same perspective is implied by many of them, if in different words: Herodotos for instance in 1.5 when he says he shall 'speak of the man I *know* to be the first to harm the Greeks', and of course throughout his narrative he appeals to his *γνώμη*, gives his estimates of probability, analyses the strength of arguments and so on (and uses *δοκεῖν* scores of times). Thucydides is similar, using numerous subjective expressions in his opening paragraph

⁶⁶ Fowler, 'Mythos and Logos' 54. In Ionic prose the verb occurs also in Demokritos *Vors.* 68 B 30; cf. *SHG* 26.845.5 (Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* 94).

⁶⁷ See Corcella, '«Ecateo di Mileto così dice»; Porciani, *La forma proemiale*; Ceccarelli, 'Messaggio scritto e messaggio orale'.

⁶⁸ Rösler, *WJA* 9 (1983) 7–28; Koenen, *ZPE* 97 (1993) 95–6; Calame, *The Craft of Poetic Speech in Archaic Greece* 92–3.

⁶⁹ C. W. Müller, 'Zur Frühgeschichte der erzählenden Prosaliteratur' 1–14 is eloquent on these points.

(ἐλπίσας, τεκμαιρόμενος, σαφῶς εὐρεῖν, σκοποῦντί μοι, νομίζω, φαίνεται, and so on). Hippias (*FGrHist* 6 F 4) adopts a slightly different pose; he claims to be taking the best that has been written (his list—Orpheus, Mousaios, Homer, Hesiod, and all the rest subsumed under 'poets and prose writers'—implies an interesting sense of the contemporary canon) and putting it together into a new, multi-faceted (*πολυειδῆ*) composition. His main stress is on the novelty of his enterprise, but it is he who has determined what is the best of tradition; this is the implied judgement. His frankly encyclopaedic approach, anticipating the scholarly research of the next century, makes explicit what earlier mythographers had implicitly been doing.

(iv) The first-person voicing is more a matter of author than genre. Some mythographers and historians, such as Pherekydes and Thucydides, wrote in the third person. Philosophers may do either; they may also simply get down to argument without spending much time on method. Doctors are, perhaps surprisingly, pugnaciously first-person, but the explanation lies in their need to boost their professional credibility.⁷⁰

(v) 'Truth', appealed to explicitly by Antiochos, Thucydides, Hippok. *De prisca medic.* in their proems, and by Herodotos often in the *Histories*. Early poets play on the popular etymological sense of 'not forgetting', of commemorating and placing *ἐς τὸ μέσον*;⁷¹ this is a social meaning of truth, of keeping something in the public arena that is important to people, validated by them and preserved on their behalf by the poet.⁷² The importance of commemoration survives in the historians, memorably in Herodotos' preface, but truth will be measured by other criteria, both objective and subjective. Thucydides thought that he had more of the former than the latter, and so pointedly comments that he has written his account neither on the basis of random informants οὐδ' ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, which has been read as being aimed at Hekataios,⁷³ but he could have many other mythographers/historiographers in his sights as well.

(vi) The stories of 'the Greeks'. This names the implied audience. They are the recipients of his letter. The words also reveal the pan-Hellenic stance of the author, spanning all local boundaries.

(vii) 'Many and ridiculous'. The ridiculousness consists in their multiplicity (above, p. 667). Only in a context of inquiry into objective truth, however, could the point be made that 'many' implies 'ridiculous'. The multitude of viewpoints in other contexts (particularly political) is irksome to those who would wish to still the multitude of voices, but their multiplicity is the natural and unsurprising state of affairs. The intellectual impulse to make unity an attribute of truth comes from the Ionian enlightenment, but Hekataios, like other historians and the doctors, but unlike Xenophanes

⁷⁰ For a careful analysis of the first person in early prose see R. Thomas, *Herodotus in Context* 235–48.

⁷¹ e.g. Solon fr. 10, Bacchyl. 3.96, 5.187, 13.204–9, Pind. *Ol.* 1.28–34, 46–51; Woodbury, *Collected Writings* 203–4; Pfeijffer, *Three Aeginetan Odes of Pindar* 122–4, each with ample references.

⁷² See e.g. Detienne, *The Masters of Truth*; T. Cole, 'Archaic Truth'; Rösler, 'Wine and Truth'.

⁷³ e.g. Moles, 'Ἀνάθημα καὶ κτήμα' 47, after Pohlenz and others.

(Vors. 21 B 34) or Protagoras, is not here approaching *δόξα* as a philosophical problem. It is at bottom an arrogant assertion that he, the expert, is right. Thus it is a mistake to read anything more than stylistic variation into the change from *δοκεῖ* to *φαίνονται*, or between both and *εἰσὶν*.

(viii) The laughter (*γελοῖοι*). Ridicule by public laughter is a device inherited from the iambic tradition.⁷⁴ In the end the literary act must have a social nexus. It is possible that Herodotos throws this laughter back at Hekataios with his own laughter at 4.36.2.

Fr. 6. On the verb form see above, under 'Dialect'.

Fr. 18. Martin Korenjak, *Philol.* 149 (2005) 347–51 disputes the diagnosis of a lacuna in fr. 18b (p. 132.12); because of the differences between fr. 18a and 18b he argues there are no grounds for thinking Hekataios of Miletos must be the author at 132.12, and he advances some not very strong reasons for thinking it is the Abderite. But in fr. 18a (p. 131.5–14) we have the complete passage that is abridged in fr. 18b (p. 132.12–15), and the lacuna is an easier solution to the problem. Aly, *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle* 119 n. 1, writing before Wendel's edition, thought *θάλασσαν* in fr. 18b referred not to *Okeanos* but the Black Sea, but this too is refuted by fr. 18a.

Fr. 19. In the scholion to Euripides Schwartz deleted *ἐν* in vol. 2 of his edition, p. 441. Cobet, however, suggested reading *ἐν πρώτῳ*, which is worth considering.

Fr. 27b. If the verb has its full force of 'command' then, as Vogliano observed in his edition of the papyrus in *PRIMI*, a complementary infinitive must have dropped out. If it means more weakly 'indicate' (sc. 'the task') then it does not quite illustrate the meaning the scholiast wants it to.

Fr. 28. For a plausible emendation by Knoepfler at l. 12 of the text see §8.6.

Fr. 30. On the stylistic device of switching without warning to direct speech see Kühner–Gerth 2.556–7; De Martino, 'Omero fra narrazione e mimesi'; de Jong, *Narrators and Focalizers* 10–12; Fantuzzi and Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation* 208–10; M. L. West, 'Colloquialism and Naïve Style in Aeschylus' 8–9; Fowler, 'How to Tell a Myth' 42; Currie, 'L'Ode 11 di Bacchilide' 236–7. Examples are found in all periods and genres of Greek literature; Metrod. fr. 2 is another instance in our corpus. Early writers are unaware or unconcerned about the distinction between direct and indirect speech; when one encounters the device in Plato, therefore, one suspects it is a 'considered artifice' (West). Xenophon too may be suspected of false *naïveté*. The figure can impart vividness and immediacy, or a sense of 'zooming', bringing the distant past into sharper focus. In mythography (and Xenophon) one would not deny that it enlivens the narrative, but it also seems to impart a business-like, matter-of-fact tone, as if the raw data were being passed on without interference (one thinks of Dionysios' remarks in Hek. test. 17a). These short outbursts of *oratio recta* hardly count as speeches or mimesis; they convey neither the drama of epic nor the analysis of historiography.

⁷⁴ Not unknown to epic: *Od.* 8.326 with C.G. Brown, *Phoenix* 43 (1989) 283–93.

New fragments

In the same palimpsest in which Hunger found fr. Deilochos fr. 1A, he found a new fragment from the *Europe* which Mette, *Lustrum* 21 (1978) 6 numbered as **FGrHist 1 F 145 bis**: *Σίγγοος· ἐστὶ δὲ πόλις, ὡς Ἐκαταῖος Περιηγῆσει Εὐρώπης*. Herodian is here explaining that proper names of this form are proparoxytone; *Etym. Magn.* p. 613.30 is pertinent: *τὰ διὰ τοῦ -οος ὀνόματα προπαροξύνεται, οἷον Σίγδοος (sic), Πείροος*. The town is otherwise unknown.

Phot. (z) a3352, dubbed **FGrHist 1 F 327 bis** by Mette, *Lustrum* 27 (1985) 33: *Ἀφθός θεός παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις, ὥσπερ ἡ Ἴσις καὶ ὁ Τυφῶν. Ἐκαταῖος Περιηγῆσει Αἰγύπτου*. The *Suda* (α4627) says that *Ἀφθός (sic)* is Dionysos. But for that one would assume that Ptah was in question here; see §1.7.2. But the Kabeiroi were also well associated with Dionysos, so it may be Ptah after all.

Note that Steph. Byz. *ὑποχαλκίς· πόλις Αἰτωλίας· Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ* is overlooked by all editors of Hekataios; Freitag *et al.* in *IACP* (= Chalkis, no. 145) have noticed the attribution. Strabo 9.4.8 p. 427 (where see Radt), 10.2.4 p. 451.

HELLANIKOS¹

THE rough span of Hellanikos' life is clear, but his exact dates of birth and death cannot be determined.² He was still alive in 407/6, to which *FGrHist* 4 FF 171–2 = 323a FF 25–6 refer.³ Ancient tradition held that he lived a long life (test. 8), though to what extent this is based on an artificially calculated birthdate we cannot know. His lengthy list of book-titles, however many duplicates it may contain, certainly suggests a long and productive professional life. But for the date of his birth the ancients probably depended on surmise. Apollodoros' birthdate of 496/5 (test. 3) may derive from his belief, based on his scholarly activity (half-way between Hekataios and Herodotos), that Hellanikos was Hekataios' natural successor (test. 1); Apollodoros probably fixed Hekataios' ἀκμή in the Ionian Revolt, so that he would have been born in the early 530s.⁴ Hellanikos' name was inevitably connected to the Greek victory over the Persians (test. 6), so that he was thought to have been born in 480. Onomastically this is not impossible (Ἑλλάνικος = Ἑλλανόνικος by haplogy),⁵ and if true would represent a patriotic act on the part of his parents. But

¹ Jacoby, *RE* 8.1, 104–53 = *Griechische Historiker* 262–87 (reporting and engaging with earlier work) and *FGrHist* 4, 323a; Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* 152–235; id., *The Local Historians of Attica* 1–26; Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 1.476–506, 2.221–38; Fornara, commentary on *FGrHist* 608a; Harding, *The Story of Athens*; Italian translation of Hellan. with introduction and commentary by D. Ambaglio (Pisa, 1980); id., 'Ellanico'; edition with introduction and Spanish translation by J. J. Caerols (Madrid, 1991).

² I may refer to my 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 66–7.

³ Toye, 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus on the First Greek Historians' 293, argues that Apollodoros would never have put Hellanikos' birth in 496/5 (test. 3) if he had known these fr., which must therefore be spurious. But Apollodoros was not immune to mistake, and it is surely less likely that the learned commentators of Aristophanes, who quote these fr., drew on a reworked or fraudulent version of the *Atthis* (of which there is no other hint).

⁴ So Mosshammer (above, p. 659 n. 4). But Porciani, *Prime forme* 135–8, argues with some plausibility that the real synchronism was with the accession of Alexander I of Macedon c.495. The suggestion of some scholars that 496 is forty years before the first victory of Euripides is wrong, because Apollodoros reckoned inclusively, and his ἀκμή for Hellanikos was therefore 457/6; Euripides' victory was in 456/5. Moreover, those who associated Hellanikos with Euripides (test. 6) did so on the basis of their shared birthday. Jacoby's idea that 456/5 was the mid-year of the pentakontaetia is open to the same objection. Test. 4 (*floruit* 500/499) may derive from a synchronism with the Ionian revolt, and a mistake in the interpretation of γέγονε as *floruit* instead of birthdate.

⁵ Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* 1263; Thumb–Scherer 2.267 §311.27. Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 4.673 n.1, argued that the name should mean 'victory over the Greeks' (cf. Pythonikos, Olympionikos), but Jacoby on test. 6 noted Dittenberger, *Syll.* 3 636.27, the shrine at Delphi of a hero Hellanikos. Later inscriptions (none before the 2nd c. A.D.) occasionally spell the name Ἑλλάνεικος, and it would seem *P.Oxy.* 3711 quoting Hellan. fr. 160A; Tzetzes scanned the iota long in fr. 152b.

the iota may be short rather than long, so that the name is formed from Ἑλλανικός with change of accent. *LGPN* reveals many examples throughout Aiolian and Dorian regions of Greece (though none before the fifth century), suggesting that it is related to Ἑλλαν as a historical name at home in the north, the original Hellas; if it was really connected to (pan-)Hellenic ethnicity or victory, it is curious that Ἑλλήνικος is nowhere attested. 'Hellanikos' is the form even in the small number of attested examples from Ionic cities.

Internally there are few indications of the dates of Hellanikos' works. The *Atthis*, as mentioned above, was composed after 406, but before Thucydides' criticism of it in test. 16, written in the early 390s. We can date the *Priestesses of Hera at Argos* with some confidence, if one accepts the traditional view that Thucydides 2.2 was written shortly after the end of the Archidamian War, which he says broke out in the 48th year of the priesthood of Chrysis at Argos (and during the ephorate of Ainesias in Sparta, and the archonship of Pythodoros in Athens). Though Hellanikos is not here named, surely no other person provided Thucydides with the information about the priestess (see also 4.133.2–3, the burning of the temple in 423, still in Chrysis' time). *FGrHist* 4 F 83, from the *Priestesses*, may refer to events of 429 (cf. Thuc. 2.80). In §19.3 I argued that Demokritos' dating of his own work, published in 421/0 according to Apollodoros, to 730 years after the fall of Troy was derived from Hellanikos' *Priestesses*.

FGrHist 4 F 73, from the *Barbarian Customs*, tells the story of Salmoxis in terms largely identical to those of Herodotos at 4.95. According to Porphyry (test. 17), Hellanikos pilfered his material for this book from Herodotos; the statement need be no more than an inference from this very fragment. The direction of borrowing is not determinable, even if Herodotos is more detailed; but if Herodotos was the debtor, it suggests a relationship with Hellanikos that has left no other trace—no other quotation, and above all no polemic. Müller (*FHG* 1.69) and others have thought the *Barbarian Customs* a forgery, which it might have been, though to assume it for the present purpose would be special pleading. Fornara in his commentary on *FGrHist* 608a argues that neither Herodotos nor Hellanikos knew each other's work on Egypt, which suggests that they were published approximately at the same time.⁶ Fornara forcefully restates the case he has made elsewhere for the date of publication of Herodotos after 421; if he is correct, it would be a *terminus ad quem* for the publication of Hellanikos' *Aigyptiaka*.⁷ Even if he is not, wartime conditions might have prevented them from knowing each other's text for some years at the end of the 420s.

⁶ See §18.5.3 for a case bearing on this point; in the absence of Hekataios' version we cannot be sure of the relationship. Testt. 3, 4, 9 and 12 assert or imply that Hellanikos was older than Herodotos. For Hellanikos' relationship with Damastes, see above on that author.

⁷ The argument for Herodotos is based on 9.73.3, but the Greek is ambiguous. Because of its service to the Tyndaridai the people of Dekeleia were given special treatment by Sparta, which διατελείεε ἐς τὸδε αἰεὶ ἐπὶ εὐδῆ, οὕτω ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, συνομένων τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελῆς ἀπέχεσθαι. The participle γενόμενον could be inceptive ('the war that broke out') or not ('the war that took place'); the latter translation indicates a time of writing after 421. The final infinitive could be imperfect ('they were spared [throughout the war]', again indicating post-421) or present ('they are being spared').

The list of his books has always been suspected of duplication and false attribution. The complete list is: *Phoronis*, *Deukalioneia*, *Atlantis* (*Atlantias*, *Atlantika*), *Asopis*, *Troika*, *Aiolika*, *Lesbika*, *Argolika*, *On Arkadia*, *Atthis*, *Boiotiaka*, *Thessalika*, *Kypriaka*, *On the Foundation of Chios*, *Aigyptiaka*, *Expedition to the Shrine of Ammon*,⁸ *On Lydia*, *Persika*, *Skythika*, *Foundations of Cities and Tribes*, *On Tribes*, *Names of Tribes* (these last three surely denote one work), *Barbarian Customs*, *Priestesses of Hera in Argos*, *Victors at the Karneia* (in Prose), *Victors at the Karneia* (in Verse). Scholars have advanced numerous suggestions for reducing the number, for instance that the *Argolika* was the same as the *Phoronis*; the *Asopis* was part of the *Deukalioneia* (or the *Troika*, or the *Atthis*, or the *Boiotiaka*); the *Thessalika* was part of the *Deukalioneia*; the *Atlantis* was part of the *Troika*; the books on *Lydia*, *Cyprus*, and *Scythia* might have been part of the *Foundations*, or part of the *Persika*; *Aiolika* and *Lesbika* were the same work;⁹ *On Arkadia* was part of the *Phoronis* (the link being Pelasgos), or of the *Atlantis*; the poetic *Karneia* was perhaps someone else's reworking of the prose original and so on.¹⁰

It is more important to observe the types of Hellanikos' work across which these titles are distributed: traditional books of genealogy; ethnography; local history; and the innovative chronography (*Priestesses*, *Victors at the Karneia*), of which more in a moment. On any reading the author's industry is evident. His extensive research resulted in the subdivision of what had been single works into separate ones. The style of his work anticipates that of the busy scholars of subsequent centuries. He may even have fostered this impression by his strategy of separate publication; in themselves, so far as we know, no title exceeded four books in length. (The transmitted book-number 10 in fr. 3 is corrupt.) In most cases only two books are cited; *FGrHist* 4 F 83 is cited from the third book of the *Hiereiai* (an event of the year 429); fr. 46A is cited from the fourth book of the *Atthis*.¹¹

More than his predecessors Hellanikos sought to resolve the contradictions between different genealogies, and to convert these into a chronological framework, thus laying the foundation for later chronography. Reference may be made to his treatment of the Pelasgians (§2.1); his work on the Trojan genealogies, Homer, Orpheus, and the fall of Troy (§6.3.3, §18.1.1, §18.4.4, §20); the Attic kings (§16.1.1, cf. §16.1.2); the history of Sicily

⁸ *FGrHist* 4 F 56; Athenaios, who quotes it, doubts its authenticity.

⁹ This seems possible, though one can easily imagine two books with different foci. Jacoby in his *III* article on Hellanikos and in his edition resisted most identifications, probably rightly (on the *Aiolika* and *Lesbika* see col. 133). The transmitted title 'Histories' in fr. 2 is a scholiast's careless slip.

¹⁰ Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* 1.490, reasonably argues that the *Foundations* was an independent work, since fragments on cities and tribes are cited without title which could not have gone in any of the named books. A similar argument applies to the *Barbarian Customs*. Martin West (*per litt.*) asks why, if the descent of Homer and Orpheus is traced from Atlas (§6.3.3), Hellan. fr. 5 (→§20) is quoted from the *Phoronis*; one answer might be that the *Atlantis* was part of the *Phoronis*.

¹¹ Jacoby read δ' in Harpokration as meaning δευτέρῳ not τετάρτῳ; see below, ad loc.

and Italy (§17.5); the Dorian and Aiolian migrations (§19.3–4); the settlement of Lemnos (§17.8). The constructions are elaborate, even dazzling in their detail and precision. The Sicilian migration, the Pelasgian migration, the Aiolian migration, the colonization of Lemnos, the wanderings of Aineias are all broken down into multiple stages. Another hallmark, probably his invention, is the trick of doubling names for chronographical purposes.¹² His powers of combination are on brilliant display in his work on the Attic stories of Melainai and Xanthos (§16.4).

Chronography was Hellanikos' great bequest to historiography. If Hippias of Elis compiled his list of Olympic victors before Hellanikos did the same for the *Karneia*, we might expect to have some evidence of it; most likely it was written later, not before 400.¹³ Some kind of list must have underpinned Charon of Lampsakos' book, whether it was *Prytaneis of the Lakedaimonians* or *Prytaneis of the Lampsakenes* (above, p. 642). But it was Hellanikos who first created a chronological scaffolding upon which to hang the events of Greek history from the very beginning. In the *Hiereiai*, as Dionysios of Halikarnassos says (fr. 84), he gave the complete list of priestesses, and catalogued events that happened in their time. Fr. 79b shows what it looked like, and the echoes in Thucydides 2.2, 4.133 confirm the impression.¹⁴ So also do later references to events during the time of various priestesses, such as are found on some of the *Tabulae Iliacae*.¹⁵ The specification of the precise year in fr. 79b shows that the length of each priestess' tenure was given. The genealogies of Argos extended further back in time than those of any other city's, so that a chronological framework derived from it would serve for all Greek history. The change in perspective is brilliant: from local histories, making more or less ample use of eponymous officials to clarify the sequence of events without much reference to the outside world, to a pan-Hellenic grid on which the histories of all cities could be mapped. In the *Hiereiai*, he must have stated his Trojan epoch; it is probably here also that he gave the date of the Boiotian and Dorian migrations (→§19.3).

Hellanikos availed himself of his chronographical methods also in his *Atthis*. We saw in §16.1.1 that Hellanikos even resorted to fractions of generations to bring about the necessary alignments of events and generations. Nonetheless he did not escape the criticism of the severe Thucydides, who says that his treatment of the Pentakontaetia

¹² Pelasgos I and II are the best example; he might also have doubled Ilos (§18.1.1 n. 11). *FGrHist* 4 F 63 says he had two Sardanapouloi.

¹³ Although the two preserved fragments of the *Karneionikai* (*FGrHist* 4 FF 85–6) treat musical matters (patriotically naming Terpanthos of Lesbos as first victor), they are only two, and one should not conclude that the book was only a history of music. The title suggests it contained a list of all victors and fr. 85b gives chronological information.

¹⁴ On the character and sources of the *Hiereiai* see Möller, 'The Beginning of Chronography' and Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists* 95–9. At the beginning of fr. 79a ἐν δὲ αὐτῶν χρόνοι may follow on a different story in the same part of the priestess's tenure rather than some other part of the Italian narrative.

¹⁵ See especially McLeod, 'New Readings in I.G., XIV, 1285, II, Verso'. Jacoby gives the list of known priestesses in his comment on *FGrHist* 4 FF 74–84 (p. 455). See also Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess* 69–72.

was brief and chronologically imprecise (test. 16). The remark has been much discussed.¹⁶ Two fragments of the *Atthis* suggest its annalistic character: *FGrHist* 4 F 171 = 323a F 15 ('in his account of events in the year of Antigenes, predecessor of Kallias [*διεξέειπε τὸ ἐπὶ Ἀντιγένους τοῦ <πρὸ> Καλλίου*], Hellanikos says that the slaves were freed and given joint civic rights as Plataian citizens') and *FGrHist* 4 F 172 = 323a F 26 ('Hellanikos says the golden coinage was minted during the previous year in the archonship of Antigenes').¹⁷ If these fragments imply that Hellanikos organized the whole of his book by archon-year, Thucydides' criticism would appear to be unreasonable on both counts (brevity and accuracy). One may note, however, Thuc. 5.20, where he explains that dating by eponymous officials can lead to inaccuracy, if one is not clear about which part of the year is in question; hence his own system of dating by successive seasons. So Hellanikos might have made mistakes of this (and other) kinds.¹⁸ The other part of the criticism, Hellanikos' brevity, remains irreconcilable with the idea that he gave a year-by-year account of the period in question. Such an account would in all likelihood be longer than Thucydides' own.

It has often been observed that these two archon-dates are the only ones in the surviving fragments. Conversely, many of the other fragments look like extracts from traditional genealogical works, or local histories (which often lack precise dates). Herodotos gives an archon-date (8.51.1), showing that one might provide occasional markers of time in the course of a work organized along quite different lines. Yet the scholiast's terminology strongly suggests that in the later part of Hellanikos' work, at any rate, the archon-year was not a casual or incidental reference. Thucydides' criticism also shows that the Pentakontaetia received discrete treatment. If the charge of brevity is not simply false, the inference must be that the book proceeded chronologically, but without recording events in every year. Some stretches would have been thinner than others. For the early periods of the *Atthis* Hellanikos probably specified the length of the kings' reigns and listed the things that happened during their time, as he had done with the priestesses in the *Hiereiai*; he might have gone so far as to say in which year of the reign the event occurred (as, for instance, the fall of Troy in the last year of Menestheus). If, as Jacoby thought (e.g. *Atthis* 348 nn. 28, 30), Hellanikos introduced the

¹⁶ Among recent treatments are Lenardon, 'Thucydides and Hellanikos'; Smart, 'Thucydides and Hellanikos'; Badian, 'Towards a Chronology of the Pentakontaetia' 292–3 = 76; Schreiner, *Hellanikos, Thucydides and the Era of Kimon*; Toye, 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus on the First Greek Historians' 291–2; Pritchett, *Greek Archives, Cults, and Topography* 42–8; Joyce, 'Was Hellanikos the First Chronicler of Athens?' (see also the 'Exchange' between him and L. Porciani in the same issue of *Histos*, pp. 101–8); S. Rainey, *Athenaeum* 92 (2004) 217–36, argues from Diod. Sic. 11.60–12.28 (Ephoros), that Thucydides nonetheless used Hellanikos' account of these years for his own narrative.

¹⁷ As given by its editors, the text of F 25 dates the battle to the wrong year and still requires repair (Dindorf's <πρὸ>). A simple way to put it right would be to delete *Ἀντιγένους τοῦ*, on the assumption that Antigenes crept in from another passage in Hellanikos (cf. F 26).

¹⁸ He implicitly approves of Antiochos' accuracy: above, p. 635.

ten-year archons into Athenian history for chronographical reasons, it would have been in this book. During the archaic and early classical periods he did not give the names of the archons, since for many of them he would have nothing to report; more probably he worked in the other direction, recounting the important events and (occasionally or always?) noting the archon. Just as one can fit archon-dates into a work that is not a chronicle, so one can deploy genealogies in a chronologically ordered work. In the case of fr. 125, for instance, the genealogy of the Neleidae is logically provided at this point of the narrative (→§16.4). So perhaps Hellanikos' account was briefer than Thucydides thought it should be. We are really in no position to judge whether he was also less accurate than the Athenian.

Apart from chronography, which he developed to new heights and in some senses invented, Hellanikos made ample use of the traditional tools of mythography. He was particularly fond of etymologies.¹⁹ Examples occur in fr. 7 (Ersyichthon called Aithon for his hunger), 19b (Hermes Philetes because he was conceived in love), 25 (Hill of Ate for Ilos' delusion), 33 (Apollo Maloeis from the apple of Manto), 35A (a law called 'lion' for its ferocity), 36 (Argos Hippobotos for the horse of Agenor), 38 (the Areiopagos because of the fixed spear), 50? (Encheleis from eels; →§10.2), 51? (Boiotia from cattle; but see §5.4.1), 71 (Sinties because they harmed their neighbours), 89 (the Daktylooi because they touched the fingers of Rhea), 107 (Amazons from their lack of a breast), 108 (Agammeia from Hesione being unmarried), 111 (Italy from *vitulus*), 123 (Pelias from his dark bruise), 125 (Apatouria from *ἀπάτη*), 130 (Aphetai from the launch, *ἄφεσις*, of the Argo), 148 (Kyknos because white from birth), 154 (Eremboi/Eremnoi = Arabes), *FGrHist* 4 FF 176 (Osiris/Hysiris from *ἵσασι*), 188 (helots because they lived in Helos). The etymology in schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 1374 (Aioloi from *αἰόλοι*) is probably Hellanikean (→§19.4). In fr. 23 one sees him drawing connections on the basis of similarities in names (Kadmos/Kadmilos, Elektryone/Elektra; →§1.7.2, §18.1.1). Hellanikos also made frequent mention of eponyms, a habit which has much in common with etymologizing; for instance, in fr. 199 Gela is named after Gelon son of Aitne and Hymaros. Other examples are attested in fr. 3 (46), 13–16, 24, 30, 34, 35, 36, 37, 40, 42, 43, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 81, 88, 91, 92, 105, 112, 117b (Opountioi < Opous by implication), 122, 136, 137, 151, 162, 163, 187A, 196, 197A, *FGrHist* 4 FF 59, 176. No doubt eponyms were provided in other cases too, where our fragment tells us only that he mentioned a city (e.g. fr. 11).

The practice of inferring an eponym from the name of the city was so habitual that it could lead to the opposite inference, that for an otherwise unexplained name there must have been a city. This could well be true of Phemiai in fr. 14 (→§5.4.1), Agatheia in

¹⁹ On ancient etymology see H. Diels, *Kl. Schr.* 68–74; Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision* 27–32; O'Hara, *True Names* 1–56; Peraki-Kyriakidou, 'Aspects of Ancient Etymologizing'; Allen, 'The Stoics on the Origin of Language and the Foundations of Etymology'; further references in my 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 72 n. 73.

fr. 11 (→§4.4 n. 83), and Lakereia in fr. 10 (→§1.9.2). Not only Hellanikos proceeded in this manner; Hansen suggested that Chorasmie in Hekataios *FGrHist* 1 F 293 was a city of this fanciful kind.²⁰ Related is the tendency to assume any settlement of the heroic period must have been a polis, whether or not there was any evidence for the assertion. Consequently the designation need not imply that the town had polis-standing in the author's own time, though sometimes of course it did. Instances of the word *πόλις* in *EGM* 1 are listed in the indices (pp. 420, 458–9); there are many more in Hekataios' *Periodos*. In the fragments of Hellanikos not included in *EGM* the word occurs at *FGrHist* 4 FF 61, 62, 188; used by the authorities quoting him in FF 54, 82. Representative cases are Andron fr. 16a (§9.1), Hellan. fr. 76 (§10.6), 102 (§8.4.2), 198 (§11.2.5),²¹ Pher. fr. 66 (§7.1.2), 70 (§8.4.2), 103 (§6.1.3),²² 147 (§16.3.2), 160 (§2.4), 161 (§2.4; this one is counted as a polis by IACP, no. 309). Pher. fr. 1/Hellan. fr. 136, Thetideion, is perhaps the clearest example (§15.2); probable also is Dotion (Pher. fr. 172, §4.5).

Other points Hellanikos has in common with usual mythographic practice are his interest in inventions (fr. 71, *FGrHist* 4 FF 175, 178, 189); his knowledge of foreign languages (fr. 197A, §18.2.4; *FGrHist* 4 FF 54, 60, 111), and his engagement with Homer (fr. 26 on 'Pergamos', §8.5.3; fr. 91, §7.1.2; continually in the *Troika*, e.g. fr. 30, §18.3.2; fr. 145, §18.3.5; fr. 147, §18.3.7; fr. 28, §18.3.8; fr. 154, §18.5.4; fr. 20 on the Homeridai, §20). He parades his local knowledge, which at least in some cases must be based on autopsy.²³ He continues the tradition of rationalism: in fr. 23, Iasion did not assault Hera, but her statue (§18.1.1); in fr. 28, the Skamandros is just a swollen river (§18.3.8); in fr. 168, Theseus and Peirithoos did not visit the Underworld but a Molossian king Aidoneus (§16.3.4); in fr. 191, the Niobe story arises from the petrifying properties of a stream on Sipylos (§10.6). He reduces the interaction of gods with humans in fr. 169 (§16.1.1), following Aischylos in having a human jury at the trial of Orestes; in fr. 104b Herakles, not Hephaistos, made the rattle (§8.4.6). Yet in fr. 26 (§8.5.3), he has kept Apollo and Laomedon in the story of Laomedon, while dropping the impious story of their rebellion against Zeus. Consistent with this rationalism is a general tendency to give realistic accounts of events, for instance of Menelaos' sojourn in Egypt (§18.5.3), the flight of Aineias (§18.6), the treaty with Minos (§16.3.1), and the fight with the Amazons (§16.3.3).

²⁰ M. H. Hansen, 'Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis*' 20 = 'Hekataios' 94. Hansen and Nielsen discuss the practice of Pherekydes and Hellanikos in their article 'The Use of the Word *Polis* in the Fragments of Some Historians'.

²¹ In this as in other cases the word *polis* might have been foisted on the ancient writer by Stephanos of Byzantium.

²² Pindar also mentions this polis (fr. 273), increasing the likelihood that it comes from lost epic.

²³ As the first Attidographer one assumes he went there; it appears he knew Andokides personally (fr. 156, *FGrHist* 4 F 170 = 323a F 24; §18.5.10). This does not necessarily imply a favourable attitude to Athens in all circumstances (→§6.7.2, §16.3.4, §17.5 n. 49). On his travels in Egypt see Fornara on *FGrHist* 608a pp. 1–2. Hellan. cites local knowledge in fr. 23 (§18.1.1); local knowledge is possible or probable in fr. 25 (§18.1.2), 26a (below ad loc.), 29 (§18.2.1), 31 (§18.6), 108 (§8.5.3), 130 (§6.3.2), 150 (§18.2.5), 137 (§19.3). We may take it as read that he draws on local knowledge when he treats Lesbian subjects.

Yet for all his virtuosity, one seeks in vain for the historian's voice such as one hears in Herodotos and Thucydides. Antiochos too scores better in this respect. This could be an accident of tradition; very few fragments of Hellanikos are quoted from the historical period.²⁴ His work, particularly on Attic history and chronography, was subsumed in unknowable ways by others, who may owe him more than we can tell; though we cannot show that Apollodoros used him directly in his *Library*, even in the *Troika* (→§10.3), his indirect influence must have been great (Arrian attests his authority in *Troicis*, test. 25).²⁵ The abuse of Ktesias (test. 24A), Ephoros (test. 18, fr. 116), or Strabo/Demetrios (testt. 19, 22–4, cf. fr. 118, 144, 186) may reveal no more than their jealousy. His prowess in local history is acknowledged by Dionysios (test. 11). Apollodoros of Athens certainly used him; he was still available for use in the first century (test. 30), and his name retained its cachet in a variety of contexts (testt. 18A–D, 20, 27–8). Yet overall the impression remains of a mythmonger, not a historian (testt. 19, 19A, 29); or, if he is to be considered a historian, one who was inferior to Herodotos and Thucydides (test. 31), and whose style no one would imitate (testt. 14, 15a, 18). Even for the mythical period, Hellanikos does not compare with the others for penetration of insight. Explicit discussion of method is absent.²⁶ His appearance on one list of canonical historians (test. 10) is exceptional, as Nicolai in his detailed study has shown.²⁷

Dialect

PHONOLOGY

Ionic eta for alpha is preserved in fr. 4.7, 79a.5 (*βασιλείην*; Hellanikos perhaps wrote *βασιληήν* like Herodotos and Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 299, etc.; Smyth, *Ionic* §232. Epic however has *βασιλείη*), 152A, *FGrHist* 4 FF 54, 59 (note *χώρη* and *χώρα* in the same fr.), 82. Alpha is transmitted in fr. 28.5 (corrected: *EGM* 1.xlv), 71a.3, 77 (note *Φαίαξ* as well as *Κερκύρας*, *Σχερία*), 79a (corrected), 123 (corrected), 169, *FGrHist* 4 FF 54, 59, 66.

²⁴ Apart from the ethnography, only *FGrHist* 4 FF 49, 170–2, 188.

²⁵ For this style of Homeric question-and-answer on papyrus see W. Luppe and G. Poethke in *APF* 45 (1999) 151; Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* 117–19.

²⁶ Lightfoot well asks (*Parthenius* 545 n. 399) what was Jacoby's evidence for his assertion that Hellanikos already cited variants and sources (cf. his 'Hellanikos', *RE* 8.1.127 = *Griechische Historiker* 274); the indications are very slender: possibly the alternatives at the beginning of fr. 31 are from Hellan. rather than Dion. Hal.; some alternatives appear also in fr. 125 (but see §16.4).

²⁷ Nicolai, *La storiografia nell'educazione antica* 249–339 on the canon in various authors; 308–9 on this passage. Hellanikos' name is out of chronological sequence and in one MS is presented as *Ἑλληνικός*; Kroehnert thought this was a corruption of *Ἑλληνικά*, i.e. of Kallisthenes who is mentioned immediately before, the remnant of a list including titles. But there is no other trace of a title; it is easier to suppose that Hellanikos' name has simply got out of order. The corruption to *Ἑλληνικός* is unremarkable (cf. fr. 103 *ἡμμανικός*, fr. 142 *ἡέλληνικόν*). Nicolai would substitute Timaios for Hellanikos.

The MSS present open forms in fr. 4.7 (καλεομένην), 19b.10 (Ποσειδέων), *FGrHist* 4 FF 53 (χάλκεον, but χαλκή and χαλκοῦς in the same fr.), 54 (ἄνθεος, ἀνθέουσι), 55 (καλέεται, but καλείται in the same fr.). More often they present contracted forms, probably a rough reflection of the actual state of affairs in Hellanikos compared with e.g. Hekataios: fr. 19b.15 (ποιεῖ), 26a (καλείται), 28 (ῥεῖθρον, ἡγοούμενος, ῥοὶν twice, ὁρῶν), 71a (κατοικοῦντες, ἐκάλουν), 74 (καλοῦνται, οἰκοῦντες), 77 (Ποσειδῶνος), 79a (καλουμένην, καλουμένης, ὠκοῦν), 169 (ἐπαινούντων, Ποσειδῶνι, ἀδελφιδοῦν), *FGrHist* 4 FF 59 (ἐνοικοῦντες), 66 (ρίζων, κριθῶν), 70 (οἰκοῦσι), 82 (Θεοκλῆς).

Ionic *Τυρσηνίη* in fr. 4 rather than Attic *Τυρρ-* (Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* 1.534–7).

μεσογείω in fr. 4 contrasts with Herodotos, who uses -γαιος in compounds (Smyth, *Ionic*, pp. 193–4).²⁸ But μεσόγειον occurs once in the Hippocratic corpus (*De morbo sacro* 1), and the vowel-change accords with Ionic trends. Stephanos of Byzantium uses μεσόγει- nine times in paraphrasing Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1 FF 64–71), μεσόγαι- never, which might be significant.²⁹

ὄπου rather than ὄκου occurs at fr. 28.7.

ὄνομα rather than οὔνομα is transmitted in *FGrHist* 4 F 54 (cf. above, p. 670) and ἱερὸν rather than ἱρόν in the same fr. (above, p. 670).

Ionic psilosis is preserved in fr. 78 (τ' εἴλε), but not in fr. 71a (ἀφίκοντο); <ἀφ'> οὐ is suppl. in fr. 74, and ἀφ' ἧς is transmitted in fr. 77.

DECLENSIONS

An Ionic long dative plural is preserved only at *FGrHist* 4 F 54; otherwise short ones prevail (fr. 19b.14, 71a.5, 169, *FGrHist* 4 F 53). νῆας is transmitted in fr. 4.5; νέας is overwhelmingly attested in Herodotos (Smyth, *Ionic*, p. 405), but it is clear that the form in νη- competed by analogy with other cases; for the situation in archaic poets see M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* 97. Attic ναῦς occurs in fr. 71a.7. Fr. 26a offers both Attic Ποσειδῶ and the usual Απόλλωνα.

Ionic Μεγαρέα is transmitted in fr. 78 (if it is not Attic Μεγαρέα), and Κηφέως in *FGrHist* 4 F 59 (v.l. Κηφέως), but Δηϊονέως and Ἐρεχθέως in fr. 169.

In the same fr. the accusative Τάλω occurs, found also at Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.214 and Lucian *Salt.* 49, in a passage that appears to be drawn from a mythographical handbook; cf. *Suda* σ124 = Simon. *PMG* 568. Τάλων is found in later texts (e.g. Paus. 8.53.5, Ath. 13.80 p. 603d = Ibyk. *PMGF* 309, schol. *Od.* 20.302), but this variation in the declension of -ω- stems is old: we have Μίνωα (*Il.* 13.450, *Od.* 11.568) alongside Μίνων

(*Il.* 14.322, Hdt. 1.171.1) and Μίνω (Pl. *Leg.* 630d, Ap. Rhod. 3.1107); ἥρωα alongside ἥρω (Carm. Pop. *PMG* 871(?), Attic from the fourth century) and ἥρων (Hdt. 1.167.4); Attic ἄλω (Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* 2.271) alongside ἄλων (Nik. *Ther.* 166) and ἄλωα (Kallim. *Hek.* 42.1 Hollis).³⁰

The epic dative σπῆϊ resounds in fr. 19b.1.

Fr. 112b is cited specifically for the form Ἀκέλην as opposed to Ἀκέλητα, which is treated therefore as a first-declension masculine noun (cf. above, p. 671). Heteroclite ῥοῖ occurs in fr. 28.3 (alongside ῥοὶν twice); *TLG* turns up a preponderance of instances of this dative in later medical writings, which suggests they got it from their Hippocratic (i.e. old Ionic) tradition. Heteroclite Ὀρέστου (standard from the fifth century) as opposed to Ὀρέστω (Hdt.) occurs in fr. 169.

PRONOUNS

Demonstrative τοῦ/τῶν are used in fr. 4 and 19b according to a familiar mythographical pattern (above, p. 629 on Akous. fr. 44), and in fr. 123 if <μέν> is not inserted (above, p. 671).

Relative τοῦς occurs in *FGrHist* 4 F 54 if Kaibel's deletion of στεφάνους is accepted, but ὦν occurs in fr. 79a.2.

Ionic μιν occurs in fr. 28.4; Attic εαυτόν in l. 6 of the same fr., and again in fr. 71.6.

ὅστις for ὅς is found in fr. 26a (see below ad loc.) and 169; cf. fr. 42b (ὅστις οὔτως ὀνομάσθη) and *FGrHist* 4 F 63b (ἐν Ἀγχιάλωι τῇ πρὸς Ταρσῶι . . . ἧτις νῦν καλεῖται Ζεφύριον; but in these cases the word could be that of the quoter) and above, p. 634.

PREPOSITIONS AND ADVERBS

εἰς is transmitted at fr. 71, 79a, 112b, εἰς at fr. 152A and εἴσω *FGrHist* 4 F 54 (above, p. 671).

ἐντεῦθεν instead of ἐνθεῦτεν occurs in fr. 4, 79a, each time with a form of ὀρμάσθαι, a collocation occurring often in Herodotos (e.g. 1.167.3, 5.31.3, 6.17, 6.137.3, 8.138.3), but not in Thucydides; twice in Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.5.19, 5.2.24).

Ionic αἰεί is preserved in *FGrHist* 4 F 54.

ἔπειτα is written in fr. 152A (cf. below on Pher. fr. 21).

VERB FORMS

γίγνεται transmitted in fr. 19b.2, 11, suppl. in 6.

ἐδύναντο instead of ἐδυνέατο is written in fr. 28.7, ἐπιβέβληνται instead of ἐπιβεβλέαται in *FGrHist* 4 F 54.

²⁸ Rosén on Hdt. 2.12.2 argues that Hdt. uses forms in -γεις when the first part of the compound is adjectival, -γαιος when the first part is a preposition.

²⁹ The alternation of feminine and neuter in this word to denote 'hinterland' is a matter of preference; Hdt. and Thuc. uses the feminine; Hellan. fr. 4 uses the neuter; Steph. Byz. uses both.

³⁰ *Τάλωα is not attested but should be original; the fr. of Kallimachos is the only example of ἄλωα, quoted precisely for the form, but he would have got it from older poetry. Rosén, *Eine Laut- und Formenlehre der herodotischen Sprachform* 46, argues that the choice between e.g. ἥρωα and ἥρων is a function of sandhi, which it could be in theory, but must be hard to establish on the basis of so few examples. On the alternation see Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* 1.479–80, 557–8.

The temporal augment is used in fr. 71a (ὥιχοντο) and 79a (ὥικουν); Herodotus always omits it for this diphthong.

Koine ἐγεγόνεισαν for ἐγεγόνεσαν is transmitted in fr. 71a.

NU MOVABLE

This obviates hiatus in fr. 26a.3, 28.6, 169.7.

LEXICON, MISCELLANEA

μεσογείωι (neut.) in fr. 4 (v.l. μεσογεία); above, n. 29.

The unusual and colourful word ἀναρριχῶνται in fr. 197 may be colloquial; cf. Hippon. fr. 137 (the simplex), Ar. *Pax* 70, Phrynich. *Praep. Soph.* p. 32 de Borries (πῶν Ἀττική ἢ φωνή, he says). Possibly a historic present; see further §20.

ἀμφίσβατα from ἀμφισβατέω in fr. 193 is Ionic (Attic has ἀμφισβητέω).

In fr. 28 τὸ ἔχον κοῖλα χωρία is an interesting periphrasis; cf. ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ὁρῶν ὑπερέχοντα in the same fr., and Thuc. 3.107.3 κατὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῶν ἐναντίων, 4.108.6 διὰ τὸ ἡδονὴν ἔχον. Thucydides, steeped in Sophistic tools of rhetoric, delights in finding new uses of the neuter article, but Herodotus too can take advantage of its possibilities (e.g. 9.61.1 τὸ προσκείμενον = οἱ προσκείμενοι, 9.63.2 τὸ τεταγμένον = οἱ τεταγμένοι; Cooper, *Greek Syntax* 1.63, 3.1925).

Fr. 19b is notable for its poeticisms: σπῆϊ, ἀγήραος καὶ ἀθάνατος; probably also θεῶν κῆρυξ in 6–7 and ἐν μακάρων νήσοις in 13–14. This could be an argument against Hellanikean authorship of the fr. (→§13.1). μίσγεται in the same fr. is Ionic (epic, Hdt., Hippocr.) as opposed to Attic μείγνυται (unless μίσγεται is old Attic; below, p. 715 on Pherekydes' dialect).

Apart from the genealogies in fr. 19b, the historic present is not certainly attested in the fr.; a possible example is fr. 197 (→§20).

New testimonium **14A. See above, Hek. test. 17A.

Fr. 5c. Emend *Mῆτιν* to *Εὐμήτην*? See §20.

Fr. 19b. The palaeography of this fr. is discussed by Cavallo, *ASNP* 2.36 (1967) 209–10. On its authenticity see §13.1.

Fr. 23. Πολύαρκης and Πολύαρχος are well attested as personal names in *LGPV*; Πολύαρχης never.

Fr. 26a. On the idiomatic (Ionic) use of ὅ τι see above under Pronouns and p. 634. Trachsel (*La Troade* 156) suggests that ὅ τι νῦν Πέργαμος καλεῖται might belong rather to the commentator who cites Hellanikos; but though this is possible (ὅστις often replacing ὅς in later Greek) it is also very much at home in old Ionic mythography (cf. Hdt. 2.99.4 πόλιν . . . ἣτις νῦν Μέμφις καλεῖται). Trachsel hypersceptically considers that all Hellanikos' topographical information on the Troad might have come from literary sources, especially Homer, and that nothing he says can definitely be shown to arise from autopsy, but the 'now' of this fragment, to judge from dozens of parallels in

the corpus, surely refers to Hellanikos' own time and not that of the *Iliad*. Like other mythographers, Hellanikos often drew on local knowledge. His own home was after all not far from the Troad and he was aware of controversies surrounding the relation of modern to ancient Ilion.

Fr. 41. Steph. Byz. α131 (cf. Eust. ad Dionys. Per. 428): Αἶμος· ὄρος Θράκης. λέγεται καὶ οὐδετέρως, ὡς οἱ πολλοί. ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ Αἶμος υἱὸς Βορέου καὶ Ὀρειθυίας, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ὄρος. Hdt. 4.49.1 has ὁ Αἶμος; Strabo has both (Radt on 7.5.1 p. 313.12). The word is Thracian for 'mountain range' (Duridanov, *Die Sprache der Thraker* 30); for the geography see Oberhummer, *RE* 7.2.2221 s.v. Haimos (5); Corcella on Hdt. loc. cit. The names of mountains (Haimos, Taygetos, Sipylos, Mainalos)³¹ often vacillate between masculine and neuter; a fact not sufficiently recognized by our grammars.

Fr. 46A. Jacoby was 'not prepared to believe' (323a Introduction, p. 12) that the *Atthis* had four books, much less five in one reconstruction, which 'fails because of F 6 [= 4 F 43] according to which the reform of Kleisthenes occurred in the second book' (ibid. n. 95). But fr. 43 only notes that the son of Alope was the tribal eponym Hippothoon; this does not need to have been related in an account of the events of 508/7 any more than Pher. fr. 2 comes from a history of the early fifth century, or any number of other mythographic fragments that note eponyms in passing. The other fragments attributed to the first two books of the *Atthis* all treat quite early history, and there was certainly enough material to fill four books, with a treatment of the Pentekontaetia still brief enough to provoke Thucydides (test. 16). This dogma prevented Jacoby from accepting the obvious context for Hellan. fr. 45 (→§16.2.3).

Fr. 51. On the text of fr. 51b at p. 180.30 see §10.3.

Fr. 94. For the scholiastic verb προσιστορεῖν cf. schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 2.40b (=Pher. fr. 51a).

Fr. 107. Further investigation has failed to turn up the source of the final words in this fragment. They cannot be Jacoby's guess as to what must have followed, since he quotes an emendation of Wachsmuth's. This too I have not found, despite searching through all the relevant volumes of *Bursians Jahresbericht*, and of *Rheinisches Museum*, in which Wachsmuth published many notes. I have found no list of his writings. (Wachsmuth died in 1905, before Jacoby was working on this fragment.) Possibly Heyne published the complete scholion somewhere in his voluminous works, as according to Jacobs in his 1793 edition of Tzetzes' *Antehomerica* (p. vi n.) he had prepared an edition; Jacobs had his copy of the scholia (p. xi), but deliberately omitted most of them from his edition. There is nothing in Heyne's *Opuscula*, however, or his edition of Apollodoros, or in his *Observationes* on that writer. Ten Brink in *Philologus* for 1851 and Crönert in *Wiener Studien* for 1899 published some other scholia, but not this one. As late as 1948 an edition was still a desideratum (Wendel, *RE* 7A 2.1985), so where in 1923 did Jacoby find these words?

³¹ I am no longer sure that Wilamowitz's emendation in Hellan. fr. 162 is needed.

Fr. 118. For the various spellings of Molykria in the sources see Freitag, Funke, and Moustakis in *IACP* (no. 150). Strabo's MSS have *Μολύκρεια* at 9.4.8, *Μολυκρία* here (cf. Polyb. 5.94.7, Diod. Sic. 12.60.3 etc.); the alternative Molykreion is classical (Thuc. 2.84.4, 3.102.2; cf. Lamponion/eia fr. 159). Freitag *et al.* do not note Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 112, where we find the unusual spelling *Ὀλύκραι*; Meineke, that remarkable scholar, well compares *μάλευρον* = *ἄλευρον* (cf. Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.* 1.351).

Fr. 125. For the text of the scholion see now Cufalo's edition pp. 108–10. Jan Bremmer draws my attention to an overlooked testimonium to this fragment, published by J. Lippert in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 48 (1894) 486–9 under the title 'Ibn al-Qiftī über den Ursprung der Apaturien'. This is a translation of pp. 200.12–201.6 of *EGM* 1, which Ibn al-Qiftī (1172–1248) included in his *Ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā'* (Chronicle of the Philosophers). Peculiarities of the version reveal that it has come to Ibn al-Qiftī by way of a Syriac translation. Sensationally he names his source as Theon, who must be Theon of Smyrna, the Platonic commentator otherwise known to medieval Muslim scholars.³² The note may come from his commentary on the *Republic* rather than an unknown commentary on the *Symposium*; since Plato was descended on his father's side from Kodros, this story would form an excellent part of the philosopher's biography at the outset of the commentary. No family nobler than his.

The two sources of fr. 125 are the scholia to Plato and the paroemiographers. In his note on Zenob. Ath. 2.6, Bühler argues that the paroemiographer Loukillos, Zenobios' source, had no need of all this information—the entire genealogy, the sacrifice of Kodros told at length—whereas it suited a Platonic commentator very well; therefore, the paroemiographer has taken it from the Platonic scholiast rather than the other way around. Bühler suggests further that such learning suited Didymos, Loukillos' source, better than Loukillos himself, so it was the Augustan scholar who inserted this material into the paroemiographic tradition. Theon of Smyrna lived under Hadrian (Fritz, *RE* 5A.2.2067), which is not only well after Didymos but also after Loukillos' *floruit* in the mid-first century (Gudeman, *RE* 13.2.1785–7); but it is good to have independent evidence, in the new testimonium, that the Platonic tradition goes back at least to the beginning of the second century.

Fr. 153. A diagnostic conjecture can result in the right reading's being found, or the paradoxis defended. Objecting to *ἐφιλοτιμείτο* that there was no suitable parallel for the meaning required, I wrote *ἐφιλοφρονείτο*, though the change was somewhat radical; for this word one may cite Hellan. fr. 29, *μάλα φιλοφρόνως ὑπεδέχετο*, and Pher. fr. 116, *θεοκλύμενος φιλοφρονούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ὀδυσσεᾶ δέυρο τὸν βίον καταστρέφει*, to look no further than our own corpus; cf. also *ξενίζεται φιλοφρόνως*, Konon *Dieg.* 3. In Achilles Tatius 1.7.1, however, one reads *οὕτω εἶχε φιλοτιμίας πρὸς αὐτόν* sc. τὸ μειράκιον, of a lover bestowing lavish gifts upon his beloved. When bestowing favours or hospitality

the distinction between *φιλοφροσύνη* and *φιλοτιμία* is that between disinterested and interested motives; but a desire to gain recognition for acts of kindness need not mean the kind impulse is hypocritical, and one word may shade into the other. We read further at 7.9.11: 'Before she knew that the woman in Sosthenes' house was his beloved, she took pity on her and released her from the bonds in which Sosthenes had placed her; she took her into her house and did her every other kindness (*ἐφιλοτιμήσατο*) as befitted a free woman in distress. But when she found out, she sent her to the fields to labour . . .'. Here, the hospitality responds to the perceived standing of the recipient, which is presumably what we have in Hellan. fr. 153 (and similarly, when circumstances change—when he sees Helen—Thon's behaviour changes). Cf. also Philostr. *VA* 2.17. Restore the paradoxis in Hellanikos.

Fr. 158. All MSS of Stephanos in fact have *πάλαι γάργαρας*.³³ Elsewhere in Stephanos compare *Καπετώλιον* . . . *λόφος Ταρπαῖος* *πάλαι λεγόμενον*, *Λάμψακος* . . . *πάλαι Πιτύουσα λεγομένη*. With *Παλαιγάργαρας* one needs at least <ῆ καί>.

Fr. 159. The alternatives Lamponion/Lamponeia are classical; Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 223 (quoted with fr. 159) and *IG* P 267 i 28 (445/4) support Lamponeia, whereas Hdt. 5.26 supports Lamponion. Cf. Molykreion/a fr. 118.

Fr. 160. According to Arcad. p. 76.12 Barker = p. 87 Schmidt *Ἀσσός* is oxytone, but the list of exceptions to the rule is very long (Chandler, *Greek Accentuation* §319) and one might as well follow the *consensus codicum*. (Meineke and Billerbeck emend Stephanos; Radt does not emend Strabo.)

Fr. 169. Probably from the *Hiereiai*; see §16.1.1.

Fr. 186. Hdn. *II. διχρ.* 2.14.25 Lentz records the exceptions to the rule that alpha is short before zeta: *μᾶζα*, *Ἀμᾶζών*, *ἀλᾶζών*. Kassel suggests that the last word is rather *Ἀλαζών*; see §8.4.9 for the context. Herodian distinguishes between *Ἀλαζών*, *-ῶνος* and *ἀλαζών*, *-όνος* (cited by Theognostos, *Anecd. Oxon.* 2.38.24–5).

Fr. 187a. For the alternation of *-ει-* and *-ε-* in the spelling of *ὑπερβόρειοι* see Radt on Strabo 1.3.22; the former spelling appears to be original, but constant shortening especially in poetry made the latter normal, so that Hellanikos' form seemed unusual and worth comment.

Fr. 202B. See §1.4.2. Given that Fulgentius is making this title up, *Διὸς πολιτεία* could perhaps be put in the text.

New Fragment. Mazzarino, *Il pensiero storico classico* 1.595 n. 209, drew attention to a fragment preserved in the Syriac *Mānārāt Qūdšē* (Lamp of the Sanctuaries) of the 13th-c. Orthodox Maphrian Gregorius Abu'l Faraj (Bar 'Ebrāyā, Bar Hebraeus, Ibn al-'Ibrī), *Patrologia Orientalis* 24.3.407: 'Hellanikos says that in Libya there is a people that never sleeps' (fr. 208 Ambaglio, 204 Caerols). Cf. Arist. *HA* 4.10; Mazzarino's guess that the fragment comes from a commentary on Aristotle is reasonable. It could be a fragment of Hellanikos' *Aigyptiaka* or his *Names of Tribes* (cf. *FGrHist* 4 F 67).

³² *RE* Theon 14; *LGGA* Theon 3.

³³ I have checked the reading of R, which Billerbeck reports as *παλαιγάργαρας*.

HERODOROS¹

LITTLE is known of the life of Herodotos, but his son Bryson the Sophist (Herod. test. 1A = Bryson fr. 202 Döring) lived from about 400 to 340 BC. Slight traces of Ionic dialect in his fragments suit an older mythographer.² He was a citizen of Herakleia on the Black Sea, which probably explains the two books for which he is most often cited, *Herakles* and *Argonautika*. He is also credited with a *History of Orpheus and Mousaios* (fr. 12 = *Orphic*. 1129 Bernabé) and a *Pelopeia*; the title *Oidipous* (ἐν Οἰδίποδι), which would have to be a tragedy, was convincingly emended by Müller to 'by one foot' (ἐνὶ ποδί, fr. 19). The *Herakles* comprised 17 books, a hefty work; no fragment is cited by book-number from the *Argonautika*, and only one fragment is cited from each of the other two books. These facts have led to the suggestion that there was actually only one work, the *Herakles*, of which the others formed parts. Leisurely though the treatment of Herakles may have been, it is hard to see how within that hero's life digressions of such length on Orpheus and Mousaios or the Pelopidai would be possible; and with respect to the *Argonautika*, according to Herodotos (fr. 41), Herakles did not even participate in the expedition. Regarding Orpheus, however, serious consideration must be given to Linforth's observation that Diodoros' digression on Orpheus at 4.25 is set in the midst of his account of Herakles, and looks to be taken from the same source. The connection is Herakles' requirement to be initiated into the Mysteries; Mousaios, son of Orpheus, was in charge at the time.³ In Diodoros, the discussion of Orpheus here is confined to one brief chapter; it would have been much longer in Herodotos if it could be cited as if an independent work.

The length of the *Herakleia* is more probably accounted for by digressions of a different sort. Jacoby's characterization of Herodotos as a Sophist is just; within his account of Herakles' career, he seized opportunities to discuss topics of contemporary scientific interest: botany (frr. 1, 31), geography and ethnography (frr. 2, 18, 29, 35), zoology (frr. 22, 58), life on the moon (frr. 4, 21, 22?; →§8.4.1). His allegorizing (frr. 13–14)

and rationalizing treatment of myths (frr. 28, 30, 38A, 57) are at home in this intellectual environment.⁴ The rationalism appears to be deployed as a matter of basic principle and consistent method. Making Prometheus a human king and Atlas a sage anticipates Euhemeros' idea that gods were originally great men. Rationalization does not, however, preclude belief in divinities (→§18.5.8), but it does dictate a realistic treatment of wonders such as the Pillars (→§8.4.11). Though this realism might have lent the book a novelistic flavour (cf. §16.3.4 on fr. 27), given its scientific focus, variety of topics, and ostensible historical accuracy, it is not best thought of as a proto-novel like Xenophon's *Kyroupaideia*;⁵ it is better thought of as an ancestor of Philostratos' *Life of Apollonios*.⁶ The presentation of Herakles as a moral hero (§§8.5.4, 8.5.10) is part of this picture (in Sophistic circles most famously associated with Prodikos' *Herakles at the Crossroads*, Vors. 84 B 2; cf. Plat. *Symp.* 177b). Closely engaged with the intellectual trends of his day, Herodotos' choice of topics closely connected with his native city would have helped put it on the cultural map.

The fragments of the *Herakles*, certainly or conjecturally assigned, come from an impressively wide range of sources, so the work was evidently well known (cf. also testt. 1B–D). His place in the mythographical tradition is also clear, particularly from his use by the learned commentators of Apollonios of Rhodes. He is cited with Hekataios (fr. 10), Akousilaos (fr. 39), Pherekydes (frr. 11, 16, 23, 30, 32, 40–44), Hellanikos (frr. 3, 25, 38), Epimenides (fr. 39), and Aristophanes (fr. 17). In fr. 42 he probably made use of Hellanikos in his theory of two Orpheis (→§6.3.3), and his insistence that Theseus and Herakles hardly crossed paths could be as much a product of Hellanikean chronology as it was of putting down Athenian pretensions (→§16.3.4). His influence must have been felt indirectly through Hellenistic handbooks on Diodoros and Apollodoros, but no instance of direct use can (as usual) be proved.⁷

Test. 1B. Now = Epaphroditos fr. 64 Braswell–Billerbeck.

Fr. 14. As his text is transmitted, ps.-John says Herakles' family named a star after him and called it 'starry-cloaked Herakles', the awkwardness of which is enough to make one suspicious; Kedrenos omits τὸν ἀστροχίτωνα. 'Astrochiton Herakles' is in fact known from Nonnos *Dion.* 40.366–580, where he is equated primarily with the Sun, but also with Zeus, Apollo, Aither, Kronos, etc. The starry cloak worn by the Sun is the whole of the night sky, not just one star. The adjective occurs in Orphic literature in conjunction with μῆνη and νόξ (*Argon. Orph.* 513, 1028).

¹ Jacoby, *RE* 8.1. 980–7 = *Griechische Historiker* 241–5; id., *FGrHist* 31; Borin, 'Ricerche su Erodoro di Eraclea'; Blakely, *BNJ* comm. on Herodotos.

² ἐόν, δυσμέων fr. 2; but the fairly thoroughgoing Atticism in the frr. is probably due in some measure to the author. The verbatim quotations are admittedly few (frr. 2, 34a, 52A, 59, 64A; on fr. [60] see below).

³ Linforth, 'Diodorus, Herodorus, Orpheus'.

⁴ The extent of Herodotos' contribution in fr. 14 is uncertain, but some of it is probably his (→§8.5.10). Fr. 31 appears to pass up a chance for rationalization, but see §8.4.12.

⁵ Wilamowitz, *Euripides: Herakles* 2.100.

⁶ The tone and style of fr. 60 puts one in mind of such works.

⁷ For instance, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.129 ~ fr. 32 (→§8.3), *Bibl.* 2.150 ~ fr. 3 (~§8.5.9) have been suggested (Jacoby after Müller); hardly probative.

Fr. 60. This is a fragment of the Epicurean Metrodoros (fr. 55 Körte), quoted by Stobaios 2.31.67 p. 213 Wachsmuth, and may be deleted from *EGM* 1.

Fr. 65. The scholia here have a better version of the Mythographus Homericus than the papyrus; λέγεται δὲ Ἄμμος ὁ τόπος (a 13) has been corrupted to ἔστι δαιμόνιος ὁ τόπος οὗτος (b 14).

Fr. 67B. This fragment, conjecturally assigned to Herodotos, may now safely be discarded as the product of scholiastic error. In a wonderfully learned note, Aldo Corcella has shown that it is an echo of a comment on Herodotos 3.17–18, where the historian mentions the Ethiopian ‘table of the Sun’.⁸ A scholion dating to about AD 1200 in MS B (Rome, Ang. gr. 83) comments ‘(I would not do what you ask) even if you offered me the table of the Sun and the silphium of Battos and the gold of Kolophon and the treasures of Kroisos etc. etc.’. Corcella gives parallels for this kind of expression; the list of precious objects hypothetically declined is variable. The whole tradition springs from the ancient commentaries on Aristophanes *Wealth* 924–5, οὐδ’ ἂν εἰ δοίης γέ μοι / τὸν Πλούτων αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ Βάττου σίλφιον. The Herodotean commentator, on encountering the table of the Sun, recalls the proverb and writes it in the margin; the paroemiographer behind Herod. fr. 67B took it over into his collection, but has forgotten or not noticed that his source was Herodotos’ scholiast, not the historian himself.

⁸ Corcella, ‘Qualche note in margine alla tradizione manoscritta erodotea’.

ION¹

It is not my intention here to provide (yet another) overview of this multi-faceted and fascinating figure; numerous excellent studies including some quite recent ones are available. Two things are of particular interest for this collection. Firstly, Ion’s personal links with Kimon, which are explicit in test. 5a, and implied by his making Oinopion and Staphylos sons of Theseus (eleg. fr. 29 West; → §19.2.2). He shared this association with Pherekydes, who was active in the preceding generation but could easily have been alive when Ion won his first victory some time after 451 (test. 1). Secondly, the fact that Ion combined his mythography—for the *Foundation of Chios* qualifies for this label—with many other literary activities, through which he developed an extensive network of contacts to go with those provided by Kimon. Both these points are direct evidence for what is otherwise a strong *a priori* presumption that mythographers were at the heart of fifth-century intellectual life.

That Ion wrote tragedies is especially interesting, as one suspects, again on *a priori* grounds, that the tragedians did not acquire their vast knowledge of the mythological encyclopaedia only by passive absorption of an oral tradition. This was obviously true of the tragedies themselves, to which other dramatists responded in subtly intertextual ways; in most cases the texts could only have been consulted in written form within a few years of first performance. The poets would have consulted more than just dramas; they were in dialogue with epic and lyric as well. They could easily have used works like those of Pherekydes; and here we have the dramatist Ion, who was an active mythographical researcher in his own right. The use of the mythographers by the tragedians is not easy to prove, given that a shared version of a myth could always have come from a common source. But Euripides, who had the reputation of bookishness in antiquity, may provide some direct testimony. At *Hipp.* 451–8 he makes the Nurse say to Phaidra:

ὅσοι μὲν οὖν γραφάς τε τῶν παλαιτέρων
ἔχουσιν αὐτοί τ’ εἰσὶν ἐν μούσαις ἀεὶ

¹ In addition to the editions of Diels–Kranz (*Vors.* 36), von Blumenthal, Jacoby, Leurini, M. L. West (*IEG* 2.79), *TrGF* 19, Gentili–Prato (2.61), Campbell (Loeb, *Greek Lyric Poetry* 4), and A. Katsaros (whose recent *BNJ* commentary is thorough), see the essays in Boardman and Vaphopoulou–Richardson, *Chios*; those in Jennings and Katsaros, *The World of Ion of Chios*; Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 4.434–8; Jacoby, ‘Some Remarks on Ion of Chios’; Huxley, ‘Ion of Chios’; M. L. West, ‘Ion of Chios’.

ἴσασι μὲν Ζεὺς ὥς ποτ' ἠράσθη γάμων
 Σεμέλης, ἴσασι δ' ὥς ἀνῆρπασέν ποτε
 ἡ καλλιφεγγὴς Κέφαλον ἐς θεοὺς ἔως
 ἔρωτος οὐνεκ'· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐν οὐρανῶι
 ναίουσι κοῦ φεύγουσιν ἐκποδῶν θεοὺς,
 στέργουσι δ' οἶμαι, ξυμφορᾶι νικώμενοι.
 σὺ δ' οὐκ ἀνέξι;

If we ask what kind of old books are in view here, mythography like that of Pherekydes is a good answer. This does not sound at all like the description of an art-form such as epic or drama that was thought of in the first instance as something to be consumed publicly; these books are old, authoritative, and recondite (experts own them). The Nurse might have appealed directly to Phaidra's own mythological knowledge; probably, indeed, everybody knew these two stories. But the Nurse finds it rhetorically useful to appeal to the insider's knowledge. Her description of the uses of mythography accords with what we know of it throughout the rest of antiquity; it provided useful information for a variety of purposes, especially rhetorical ones. That the Nurse cites two examples underscores this point: one has a theme to argue; one consults the work of reference for a few parallels. One expects the work to be arranged in such a way that one can, in fact, find such information.

Test. 2a. The grounds for Wilamowitz's typically brilliant emendation are that the slave, both in 834 and in 838, seems to be testing Trygaios' confident assertion (*μάλιστά*) by asking about some specific stars; ὄνπερ then provides an idiomatic use of the suffix. As 834 stands in the MSS, the slave's question seems odd ('who's a star there now!'), when he's just been told 'everybody'. The emendation also has the advantage of posing a challenge to Trygaios, which he triumphantly overcomes. Alan Sommerstein, *per litteras*, objects that Wilamowitz's conjecture makes 837 give away half if not all of the joke, which is then repeated feebly in 838: 'Which star is Ion of Chios?' 'The one he wrote about while he was here, the morning-star; when he arrived, everybody started calling him the morning-star.' This is not a mistake a professional comedian would make. Olson ad loc. translates *νῦν* as 'lately' in an effort to remove the awkwardness. But *δοῖον* may have some significance that escapes us: perhaps it was thought to be a particularly outlandish dithyrambic word (it may be an accident of tradition, but it occurs nowhere else), or was some kind of nickname, or had an unknown colloquial meaning. Line 837 then alerts the audience to what is coming by referring to Ion's poem, and in 838 *δοῖον* would be pronounced in a comically exaggerated manner.

On celestial immortality see Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* 357–68; Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Reading' *Greek Death* 194 n. 342, 202; ead., *Athenian Myths and Festivals* 126–8.

KREOPHYLOS¹

THE inscription from Priene (test. 1) of the early second century BC gives a *terminus ante quem* for this author's date. In it, he is reported to agree with others that Phygela was awarded to the Samians after the Melian war c.700 BC; see §19.2.2 *ad fin.* This information was probably found in his *Ephesian Annals*, from which Athenaios quotes fr. 1; the book therefore proceeded chronologically from the Ionian Migration (if not before) to the historical period. Fr. 3 on Medeia is quoted without a book-title, and has no obvious place in Ephesian history, so he must have written more than one book; there is no *Suda* entry to help us here. The work was available to the Augustan grammarian Didymos (test. 2). Analysis of the myth suggests that Kreophylos was writing after Euripides' *Medeia* of 431 BC (→§6.73).

Unusually for an author of so low a profile we have two good verbatim quotations. The traces of Ionic in them, though very few, suffice to place him among the early writers (1.12 ἔτεα; 1.14 ἀγορή; 1.10, 13 Τρηχεῖα;² 3.4 ἡδύναντο.³ ἀλιέας in fr. 1.6 is also the Attic form: Alexis fr. 159.1, Antiphanes fr. 188.17). It is impossible to know how many Attic forms a writer of this date would have admitted to his text, but it would surely be fewer than we are offered here; the dialect has been effaced in the course of transmission. *ναός* in 1.11 is an interesting case. The form is rare in early Attic prose; *LSJ* quote three examples from Plato, one from Aristotle, and note that it is more frequent in Xenophon;⁴ in inscriptions, it does not appear before the last quarter of the third century BC (Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* 2.39–40). The third-century comedian Poseidippos offers an instance (fr. 31.1). But the word is common in later prose. Kreophylos probably wrote *νηός* like Herodotos, or *νεώς* as in the usual Attic/Ionic of his day, but one cannot rule out *ναός*. On the level of diction, ἀποθρώσκω (1.7) is attested only in Ionic epic and Herodotos, which may suggest it was used in ordinary

¹ See now Dowden's commentary in *BNJ* (except that he contrives to date this author to the 3rd c., finding the Ionicisms 'illusory').

² Smyth, *Ionic* §§217.2, 506.

³ First in Attic inscriptions from the late 4th c.: Threatte 2.474; before that found often in the Hippocratic corpus and in some MSS of Hdt. 4.110.1, 4.185.2, in all of them at 9.70.1; not in Thucydides, Plato or Xenophon, or Attic drama except PV 206.

⁴ 'There are a great many items in [Xenophon's] vocabulary which are alien to the rest of fourth-century Attic prose': Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* 110; cf. Gautier, *La Langue de Xénophon* 22–65.

Ionic.⁵ Stylistically, the sentences are more elaborately structured than, say, those of Charon, through the use of participles and dependent constructions, but nothing here exceeds the (admittedly considerable) capacity of Herodotos. Fr. 1 in its middle stretch has a somewhat ungainly heap of successive subordinate clauses. λέγεται in 1.5, 3.1 is a stylistic tic in historiography and mythography from Herodotos onwards; cf. in our corpus Aristoph. fr. 3, Hellan. fr. 26a, Metrod. fr. 2.⁶

⁵ Cf. W. G. Rutherford, *The New Phrynichus* 29. I take the pronoun οἱ (first word of fr. 1) as equivalent to οὗτοι (ὅς ille).

⁶ Fowler, 'Herodotos and his Contemporaries' 78; on 'Thucydides' use see now V. Gray, *CQ* 61 (2011) 75–90.

MENEKRATES¹

THE Ionic of fr. 3, and the implication of Dionysios' words in 1.48.1 (τῶν παλαιῶν συγγραφέων), are sufficient to place this author in the early fourth century or even before. It is likely that in a book of local Lycian history (from which fr. 3 no doubt came) he would have discussed Bellerophon, Sarpedon, Glaukos, and others. Frr. 1 and 2 show him creating a prehistory for Xanthos (→§17.9), and bidding for a place in Hellenic consciousness and culture of this still semi-Hellenized city. What contemporary context produced the hostile portrait of Aineias (→§18.6) cannot be determined; were Menekrates writing a little later, one would assume the target was Rome. But this negative image of Aineias might already have been found in archaic literature, arising from opposition to the historical Aineiadaí of the Troad.

Fr. 3. Menekrates uses a vivid image to describe the feelings of the Achaioi on the loss of Achilleus: 'the army thought its head had been stricken from its body'. The image is similar to the famous metaphor of Perikles, that the youth had been taken from the city as if the spring were taken from the year (Arist. *Rhet* 1365a 31–3 οἶον Περικλῆς τὸν ἐπιτάφιον λέγων, τὴν νεότητα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνηρῆσθαι ὥσπερ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰ ἐξαίρεθείη; cf. 1411a 2–4 ὥσπερ Περικλῆς ἔφη τὴν νεότητα τὴν ἀπολομένην ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὕτως ἠφανίσθαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὥσπερ εἴ τις τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξέλαι); note that the occasion in Menekrates is the funeral of Achilleus. Since the image was Perikles' own, rather than a topos of epitaphian oratory, we may believe that Menekrates was inspired by this same speech, generally believed to have been delivered in 439 BC after the Samian War. Of course he could have been writing decades later, given its fame.

Frr. 4–5B. Jacoby assigned fr. 4 to Menekrates of Xanthos for unclear reasons. It is cited by Steph. Byz. β108; 'Blaudos is a city in Phrygia, from Blaudos who discovered the place, as Menekrates says'. It seems to me that, of the various Menekrateis printed together by Müller *FHG* 2.342–5, the one from Elaia is the likeliest source of this fragment. He is cited three times by Strabo (12.8.3 from an unnamed work, 13.3.3 from a work *Κτίσεις*, and 12.3.22–3 from a *Περίοδος Ἑλλησποντιακή*). The fragments of the *Κτίσεις* deal with the previous inhabitants of Ionia and the name of the Mysians; the fragment

¹ Asheri, *Fra ellenismo e iranismo* 83–166; F.W. Jenkins, *BNJ* commentary.

of the *Periodos* discusses the Amazons. These subjects are at least geographical/ethnographical, and in the right general part of the world. But certainty is hardly possible.

The same must be confessed about fr. 5, which should be demoted to the *Dubia*. It contains a rationalistic reworking of the myth found also in Palaiphatos *Incred.* 13; rationalism is not what one would expect from the author of Menek. fr. 2, in which Leto turns the cowherds into frogs. That could be from Nikandros, not Menekrates (⇒§17.9), but the other part of the story, with its fawning wolves, is not entirely realistic either. That said, there are degrees of rationalism; the authors in our corpus, beginning with Hekataios, are not completely consistent in their application of the technique. Fr. 5 is at least a mythographical topic, quoted from a mythographic source. (I take it to be purely coincidental that Menekrates of Elaia is cited in the same breath as Hekataios, *FGrHist* 1 F 217, and Palaiphatos, *FGrHist* 44 F 4, by Strabo 13.3.22, who has got them all from Demetrios of Skepsis.)

Fr. 5A should probably be withdrawn from *EGM*; it is natural to take the Menekrates here cited as the Menekrates cited elsewhere in the Pindaric scholia (*Ol.* 2.166, 1.64 ff. Drachmann), who is there engaged in polemic with the Pergamene scholar Artemon; he was a pupil of Aristarchos (*RE* Menekrates 27; *LGG* Menekrates 2). If so, fr. 5B, which is also about Herakles (and also purveys odd data, typical of post-classical invention), might be assigned to the same author (so Müller, *FHG* 2.345).

Malcolm Heath, 'Menekrates on the End of the *Iliad*', speculates that our author may underlie ΣbT *Iliad* 24.804, which contains comments about why Homer ended the *Iliad* where he did, and the contents of the *Odyssey*. He shows that there are internal inconsistencies in the scholion, and suggests that its second part about post-Iliadic events might be assigned to our Menekrates (cited without ethnic in the first sentence of the scholion), since he wrote about these events (fr. 2), and might have made a comment in that context about Homer's dispositions. As he acknowledges, this is quite speculative.

METRODOROS

METRODOROS of Chios was a pupil of Demokritos (test. 1); despite some small discrepancies, the list of diadochoi is consistent and dates Metrodoros securely in the early fourth century (see also test. 3). With this the forms ἀτρεκέως and θέλομεν in fr. 2 are in accordance; the fragment's simple style, however, is a matter of choice rather than necessity. This is by now the established register of mythography (cf. below on Pherekydes). You could deny that this writer was the same as the philosopher, and no one could prove you wrong, but it seems unlikely that there were two prominent Metrodori of Chios at just this time. His countryman Ion similarly combined mythography and philosophy. One could perhaps with more probability doubt whether the Metrodoros quoted without ethnic who wrote on Ionic affairs (test. 4, frs. 3–3A) is the same as our author. (Jacoby at first attributed fr. 3A to Metrodoros of Skepsis, *FGrHist* 184 F 9). I have little doubt that Porphyry, *Quaest. Hom.* 1.147.10 Schrader = p. 170 MacPhail (ed. 2011), which Jacoby printed as *FGrHist* 43 F 4, on the meaning of πλείον in Homer, is not our Chian. Nicholas Richardson, *PCPS* 21 (1975) 68, attributed it to Metrodoros of Lampsakos, whose interest in Homer is attested by Plato, *Ion* 530c = *Vors.* 61.1. It could also be a Hellenistic grammarian.

Fr. 2. Metrodoros charmingly expresses the anonymity of the gods in this story (⇒§8.5.3) by saying that no one could determine ἀτρεκέως who they were. The word comes from old Ionic ἱστορίη, used often by Herodotos not only to describe his own diligent inquiries, but of characters in his *History* making inquiries; as has often been noted, their methods reflect his own. The fragment is introduced by the word λέγουσι, which suggests the detached stance of the researcher (see above on Kreophylos); but the tone of the fragment is casual and chatty, as if Metrodoros is passing on a good anecdote, something he has heard in the street ('people say that . . .'). The ploy only partly conceals the professional historian, nor is it meant to; it is a false modesty. On the unannounced switch from indirect to direct speech, see above on Hek. fr. 30.

PHEREKYDES¹

HEKATAIOS may be more glamorous, Akousilaos more mysterious, and Hellanikos more prolific, but Pherekydes is the real star of this collection. He is the revolutionary who defined the genre of mythography. His influence on subsequent mythographers and commentators far outstrips that of any other writer in our corpus. It is an ironic paradox that, since he revealed little of himself in his work, his testimonia are few and contradictory, a poor reflection of his actual contribution to learning. Adopting the stance of an impersonal recorder of facts was also part of the genre, imitated for instance by Apollodoros in his *Library* (so we also know very little about him); but it had unfortunate consequences for his personal posterity.

His work resembles that of his predecessors only superficially, as a systematic treatment of the genealogies. Whereas Hekataios and Akousilaos produced self-aggrandizing, iconoclastic or propagandistic arguments, Pherekydes produced an unpretentious text and let the facts speak for themselves. Like Thucydides he made his selection from competing variants, and presented only one, never overtly revealing the divergences in his sources. The very factuality of what he reported was thus accentuated.

Furthermore, Pherekydes included a lot more facts. His *Histories* ran to ten books: possibly even bigger than Herodotos and Thucydides. He gives the impression of having done much detailed research, even if in some cases one suspects the details are made up; for instance, he is in a position to tell us the names of the members of Odysseus' crew devoured by Skylla (fr. 144), or the names of Megara's children killed by Herakles (fr. 14). Some of these would have occurred in archaic poets, who were very inventive too; but the sheer amount and concentration of such information in Pherekydes' work is impressive. Nothing is too insignificant to escape his attention. For instance, he knows the fate of Ialmenos son of Ares, who with his brother Askalaphos led the people of Aspledon to Troy; but Askalaphos was killed there (fr. 143). He has access to some quite unusual information about Dionysos/Hyes and Semele/Hye (fr. 90; §10.8). He is cited seven times for his views on Homeric words (→§18.3.9), and there are many places where

he implicitly engages with Homeric traditions.² He has gathered recondite information from all over Greece, not all of it from literature; like Herodotos, he must have talked to people. So we hear about Neoptolemos at Delphi (fr. 64; §18.5.11), Chariklo and Teiresias at Tilphossa (fr. 92; §12.1), Hismene at Thebes (fr. 95; §12.2.3), Akrisios' heroon at Larisa (fr. 12; §7.2.5), the Kerkopes at Thermopylai (fr. 77; §8.5.6), the Kyrbantēs in Karia (fr. 48; §1.7.5), the Hypereie fountain at Pherai (fr. 101; §6.1.3), and the obscure genealogy of Oitylos at Sparta (fr. 168; §17.7). Local Attic knowledge goes without saying.³

After only a few decades since its beginnings, Pherekydes realized fully the inherent purposes of the genre. The proof lies in the stylistic register.⁴ The register is not defined by the literary devices—the use of poetic words and rhythms, hypotaxis vs. parataxis and the like; in such matters Greek prose still had far to go. The register is the combination of linguistic features appropriate to, and determined by, the context of utterance. One speaks differently in public and private, to the powerful and the lowly, when putting words on paper and when delivering them *viva voce*. Vocabulary, tone of voice, body language, self-reference, attitude to the text, and much else change subtly depending on the situation. Crucially, one can draw inferences in both ways: from the situation, one can infer the reasons for the change in register; from the register, one can infer the situation. By its impersonality, its lack of reference to the immediate circumstances of production and delivery, and its pragmatic, just-the-facts style, mythography reveals itself from the start as a literate, not an oral, genre whose primary purpose is to communicate information to audiences at a distance. Unlike poetry, no occasion was required for its consumption. The books were meant to be read by people who wanted to know what was in them. This is the nature of the genre that Pherekydes brought to its τέλος, in effect, the first encyclopaedia, a work of reference. Seen in this perspective, the plain style was just right for the purpose. Its positive advantages should be appreciated even if, at this stage of literary history, Pherekydes did not have the choice of writing in a more sophisticated manner. The style remained standard for ancient mythography, long after Greek prose had discovered many other possibilities of expression.⁵

Pherekydes created the mythographical patrimony. Hekataios and Akousilaos, in their different ways, summarized archaic poetry, but Hekataios' selections (and new versions) were too idiosyncratic, and Akousilaos' work (which also included a theogony)

² For instance fr. 55 on Elare (→§1.9.1), fr. 115–16 on Theoklymenos (→§5.3.4), fr. 131 on Admetos (→§1.9.2). Gourmelen (last n.) provides an exhaustive discussion of Pherekydes' relationship with archaic literary sources and influence on later writers. For possible links to Aischylos see §1.3.2 on fr. 45, §1.5 on Prometheus, and §4.5 on fr. 51; to Bacchylides, §5.3.3 on fr. 114; to Pindar, §7.2.5 on fr. 11–12.

³ For instance, about Daeira (fr. 45; §1.3.2), Prometheus' cult (*Bibl.* 2.119 ~ fr. 17; §1.5), the Thriai (fr. 49; §1.9.5).

⁴ This paragraph summarizes the argument of my article 'How to Tell a Myth'.

⁵ Cf. Morison's comment, *BNJ* comm. on test. 8: '... despite its plain character, Pherekydes's writing may be said to have had a direct and rapid flow that was accessible and clear to his readers.'

¹ There are several recent commentaries: Dolcetti, *Ferecide di Atene*; Pàmias i Massana, *Ferecides*; W. S. Morison in *BNJ*. I have been able also to benefit from advance sight of Laurent Gourmelen's forthcoming commentary.

was too short. Pherekydes was orthodox and thorough. When the papyri of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* were first published in quantity, it became clear that, in broad outline and often in detail, the genealogical structure of the poem corresponded to that of Apollodoros' *Library*, which could thus be used to reconstruct it. The link is Pherekydes. In general, Hellenistic mythography remains to us uncharted territory; every new papyrus complicates the picture, and the theory of a single source underlying Apollodoros, Diodoros of Sicily and the scholia to Homer has long since been exploded.⁶ Much of what Apollodoros tells us has been filtered through this morass of tangled sources, resulting in error and distortion, as if he were a *codex recentior* in a very contaminated manuscript tradition. We may doubt whether Apollodoros consulted Pherekydes directly. But the broad continuity of the tradition from the *Catalogue* to the *Library* is clear. In some stretches Apollodoros may be only one remove from Pherekydes; the clearest case is the story of Perseus, closely paralleled in the scholia to Apollonios (→§7.2.1). Apollodoros' account of the Labours of Herakles also owes much to him (→§8.4).

For those ancient readers who simply wanted the myths, not myths turned into something else by allegorization or rationalization, Pherekydes was their man. Such devices were already available to him, but he turned his back on them. Once *mythos* was contrasted with *logos*, historians still wishing to use the myths had to adopt some kind of strategy to render them usable. Already Herodotos does this; his strategy was to write the gods out of the story, and humanize the heroes.⁷ Others appealed to the moral value of the myths, or to their symbolic meaning. Mythography simply ignored the problem, leaving questions of belief for others to worry about. The myths had, after all, many literary and cultural applications, to which belief is irrelevant. Pherekydes' book implies that myths were already serving as cultural capital in the fifth century BC. Cultivated people needed to know them. But of course for Pherekydes belief was still strong. I imagine him like Xenophon, resolutely conservative, the best of pagans, typical of the majority. It was not only his mythographical acumen that ensured the success of his book, it was his very normality.

For all his matter-of-factness, however, Pherekydes had a point of view like anybody else. He probably started his book with Athenian mythology for patriotic reasons (see below), and his account of Pelasgians (fr. 156; §2.1) and Triptolemos (fr. 53; §1.3.2) unsurprisingly betray an Athenian perspective. His treatment of Theseus not only glorifies the Athenian hero, but throws up specific connections with Kimon which, as Huxley persuasively argued, is the best evidence we have for Pherekydes' *floruit*, c.465 (Huxley,

⁶ Söder, *Quellenuntersuchung* vs. Bethe, *Quaestiones Diodoreae mythographae*. On Apollodoros' sources see Schwartz, *RE* 1.2.2877–6; Wendel, *RE* 16.2.1365–6; M. Huys, *AC* 66 (1997) 326–38, 346–7; id. and D. Colomo, *AC* 73 (2004) 223–9; van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* 25–8, 108–11; Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* 93–106.

⁷ Fowler, 'Gods in Early Greek Historiography'.

'The Date of Pherekydes of Athens'; →§16.3.1).⁸ On the other hand, there is at least one case where he seems to prefer a pan-Hellenic version to the Athenian one (fr. 120 on Philonis; §5.3.7).

Pherekydes was also not immune to the pleasures of the tale. He shows a tendency to elaboration, for instance in speaking of Sisypheos (fr. 119; §5.3.5), Perseus (fr. 11; §7.2.4), and Pelops (fr. 37b; §14.1); his treatment of Herakles' travels is quite exuberant (→§8.4.10 *ad fin.*). Touches of realism and pathos, and other story-telling tricks enliven the narrative (several points in the Perseus saga, §7.2; the trials of Ariadne and Prokris, §16.3.1, 16.2.2; the sad Niobe, §10.6; an anxious Zeus, §1.9.1). He avoids impiety: Apollo killed not the Kyklopes, but their sons (fr. 46; §1.7.6); not Hera but Amphitryon introduced the snakes into the cot (fr. 69, §8.2); he whitewashes Herakles (fr. 82, §8.6; van der Valk, *Researches* 1.382 n. 280).

We can occasionally glimpse his methods as a scholar. Rationalism, as already mentioned, is avoided.⁹ He does not, like Herodotos, talk about differences in his sources; Schwartz was right to delete the alternative genealogy in fr. 136a (§18.1.4). But differences there were; we see him combining versions in fr. 72 (§8.4.6), fr. 90 (§10.8), and fr. 95 (§12.2.3). In the last example, the wives of Oidipous, he gets himself into some difficulty by his combination. In fr. 25 (§6.1.3) he reveals at least by implication alternatives in his sources, which he resolves. There is no evidence for interest in chronology, in the form of converting generations to years or reconciling contradictions across the genealogical grid.¹⁰ Like Hekataios and others he is much interested in names: eponyms figure in various ways in fr. 8, 27, 39, 66, 90, 95, 101, 103a, 125, 127, 135a, 146, 147, 156, 168, 172.¹¹ He is quoted for his unusual form of the name of Medeia's Brother ('Axyrtos', fr. 32c), and his interest in Homeric onomastics was mentioned above. Etymology, though a related kind of interest, does not appear so often; there is fr. 102 on the city Teos, and in fr. 10 the link between Diktys and δίκτυον is noted. If fr. 175 comes from the Ixion story, Pherekydes is presumably etymologizing the epithets of Zeus 'Hikesios' and 'Alastor' (→§1.8.6).

⁸ Dolcetti, *Ferecide* 30 even suggests that maybe Kimon commissioned the book. The treatment of Ephesos in fr. 155 affords a slim argument for the same date (→§19.2.2). That Hysia is in Arkadia rather than the Argolid also fits (fr. 5; →§2.4). Fr. 139 could link to Tolmides' expedition in 456 (→§16.2.2). Sourvinou-Inwood, *Theseus as Son and Stepson* 54–5, and 'Myths in Images: Theseus and Medeia as a Case Study' 413–14, suggests that the myth of Medeia's banishment from Athens was first advanced by Pherekydes, in the context of the Kimonian programme; it is at a minimum a reflex of the Persian Wars, ergo post 480. Eusebius' date of 455/4 (test. 6) is unexplained, but not far wrong.

⁹ See §5.3.2 n. 55; §10.6 on fr. 38; §15.2 on fr. 62. The ship Argo speaks in fr. 111, and Hera intervenes directly in fr. 105.

¹⁰ He is sensitive to order within a single genealogical line. Cf. §6.2 n. 34; §6.5 on the dragon's teeth; §7.2.2; §10.2 incl. n. 19 on the order of events at early Thebes; §16.3.1 at n. 105. There are conflicting indications about Proitos and his grandson (§10.4) but on any reading Pher. has overlooked a mismatch; he may have overlooked a problem in fr. 168 (§17.7).

¹¹ Dolcetti, *Ferecide* 40–5 discusses these in detail.

Pherekydes' general influence on the mythographical tradition has already been stressed. He is quoted by a wide range of sources, especially by the commentators of Homer, Pindar, Euripides, Apollonios, and Lykophron, but also by Eratosthenes, Philodemos, Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Strabo, Plutarch, Athenaios, the scholia to Sophokles, the usual lexicographers, and a commentator on Alkman. See also test. 7A, and fr. 159 (→§2.4). Ariaitchos of Tegea (*FGrHist* 316) probably quoted fr. 58, and took issue with fr. 157 (§2.4 n. 66, §4.5). Very attractively, Marek Węcowski in his *BNJ* commentary on Hippias of Elis (*FGrHist* 6), argues that the *Zitatenmeister* in FF 9 and 11, which quote Pher. fr. 90e and 98, came in their entirety from Hippias' *Synagoge*, which would make him the earliest known person to have cited Pherekydes. It would be nice to think that Herodotos consulted him, but unfortunately it cannot be shown; on the one clear point of contact, the genealogy of the Philaidai, they contradict each other.¹²

The Structure of Pherekydes' Book¹³

Discussion must begin with the fragments transmitted with book-numbers. Some of these have been suspected of corruption, either on the basis of something amiss in the manuscripts or (more often) because conjectural reconstructions of the *Histories* raise doubts about the assignations. Since, however, there are often several different contexts in which a character might have been mentioned, and since the genealogy of a character who figured more than once might have been repeated (so that we cannot safely assume that the genealogy assigned to a given book always indicates the primary context in which the whole of his stemma was narrated), conjectural emendation of transmitted book-numbers must be regarded as hazardous.

The clearest indications of structure come in books 2–8. Books 2–5 dealt with Inachids, first the descendants of Belos father of Danaos, then of Agenor father of Kadmos. In book 2 fr. 8 reports the marriage of a daughter of Danaos; fr. *10–12 tell the story of Perseus; fr. 13–17 recount exploits of Herakles. At the beginning of book 3 Herakles is still labouring (fr. 18); fr. 19 is from the same history, and fr. 20 could belong there too, since Kleonai is the place where Herakles fought the Molionidai according to fr. 79a. (Jacoby thought the fragment belonged in book 10 because it appears to be telling the history of one of Pelops' sons—cf. fr. *40—but it may be an example of a genealogy

¹² Fowler, 'Early *Historiē* and Literacy' 114 n. 34 against Ruschenbusch, 'Eine schriftliche Quelle im Werk Herodots'.

¹³ The following discussion is heavily indebted to Uhl's clear-headed dissertation. See also Dolcetti, *Ferecide di Atene* 16–33. The title *Histories* was probably bestowed by later hands; to the list of testimonia on *EGM* 1.275 add Macrob. 5.21.3 (cf. fr. 13a) in *libris historiarum*. On the title *Theogony* in fr. 54 see below, n. 23. Pàmias in his edition advances the arresting theory that Pherekydes' MS was radically reorganized in the Hellenistic period into an encyclopaedia of *historiai* arranged alphabetically. This seems to me an unnecessary hypothesis, and not entirely consistent with some of the book attributions (e.g. fr. 9 from Book 2, on Leda), but Pàmias is right to stress the real difficulties besetting other reconstructions.

recounted in a secondary, not a primary context; so Uhl.) Fr. 21 is the only one quoted from book 4, but it is valuable because it looks very much like the start of a major branch. The first part of the fragment tells of Agenor's first marriage, which produced a wife for Danaos; the story of that line has just been concluded, so this is a kind of ring-composition, summarizing all that has gone before by referring back to its starting-point. The second marriage produces Kadmos, whose story was in the fifth book (fr. 22); some material must have intervened between fr. 21 and 22, but perhaps not much if fr. 21 came towards the end of its book.

Books 5–8 dealt with Deukalionids. Fr. 23 reports the birth of Protogeneia from Pyrrha and Deukalion, so we are near the start of the stemma. The context of fr. 24, which reports the name of the lesser Aias' mother, is difficult to determine; as a Lokrian he could be descended from the Lokros of fr. 170, but that fragment's original situation is equally problematic. Lokros there is descended from Thersandros, who is everywhere a son of Sisyphos and Merope, daughter of Atlas (their marriage figures in fr. 119). Sisyphos being an Aiolid, fr. 24 could belong with the Deukalionids in book 5; Uhl, however, prefers to think that the story of Lokros in fr. 170 was told as part of the Atlantid stemma in book 10 (fr. 41), because he is linked with Amphion and Zethos (→§10.4). Another solution is to assume that the eponym of the Lokrians was not the Lokros of fr. 170 (it would be a little odd to find him so many generations after Aiolos)¹⁴ but a descendant of Protogeneia. With fr. 25–30, from book 6, we are on firm Aiolid ground with the Argonauts, whose story was continued in book 7 (fr. 31–2). Still in book 7, fr. 33, the story of Bias and Melampous, follows well on the Argonaut saga (one branch of the progeny of Kretheus, son of Aiolos, led to Jason, while another branch led hither), and fr. 34, the story of Kephalos and Prokris, can be seen to belong also with the Aiolid rather than with Attic history (Kephalos' father was Deion or Deioneus, son of Aiolos). A new book begins with fr. 35, which reports the death of Asklepios. Apollo and the Kyklopes might seem to put us in the realm of theogonies, but the mention is oblique; the connection is drawn through Admetos, as the opening words of the quotation show. Admetos is an Aiolid, and so was his wife Alkestis; if the story was told for her sake rather than Admetos', we are onto a new branch of the Aiolid family in this book (Salmoneus son of Aiolos was her great-grandfather). Or the line of Kretheus, having been started in book 7, spilt over into the next one.¹⁵ Fr. 36 tells us that Ankaios died at the tusks of the Kalydonian boar; if this is the primary locus of the

¹⁴ Five, to be exact. According to West's conjecture in Hes. fr. 10a (see §4.1 n. 3) Lokros was a grandson of Aiolos. Perhaps Pherekydes made this younger Lokros the eponym of the Ozolian Lokroi. He is contemporary with Amphion and Zethos, who are exactly the same number of generations away from Atlas (5).

¹⁵ If the book-divisions originated with Pherekydes, as seems probable to me, this is less likely. The book was meant for reading and consultation; a division into scrolls would facilitate that process. The debate about the origin of book-divisions is ongoing; for Homer, see e.g. B. Heiden, *CP* 95 (2000) 247–59; Jensen, *Writing Homer* 329–62.

story,¹⁶ we are now dealing with Aitolians. Except in Hekataios (see §4.2), these usually count as Aioliens.

So much is clear, then: books 2–5 Inachids, 5–8 Deukalionids. Books 8–10 are a little less clear, but probably dealt with Atlantids. These are unambiguously attested in book 9 (fr. 39) and ambiguously in 10 (fr. 41; Antiope according to fr. 124, if we can trust the Mythographus Homericus, is a daughter of Nykteus, grandson of Alkyone, rather than of Asopos as in *Od.* 11.260; Uhl is right against Jacoby that schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.735–7a (=FGH Hist 3 F 41c, referred to at my fr. 41b)—the scholiast reports the Odyssean genealogy before quoting Pherekydes for a detail—does not imply that the latter followed the former). In book 8 (fr. 37) we have the story of Pelops and Hippodameia. Oinomaos her father was perhaps, as in Hellan. fr. 19a, the son of the Atlantid Sterope, and Tantalos too counts as an Atlantid in one late source.¹⁷ His daughter Niobe's sad fate is the subject of fr. 38, also from book 8. Matters are uncertain, however, because in book 10 Pelops' genealogy was once again recounted (fr. *40; the text is not quite certain) and the story of Niobe's husband Amphion and Zethos, sons of Antiope, was told (fr. 41). Jacoby on fr. 37–41 concluded tentatively that the Pelopidai belonged in book 10, the story of Antiope in book 8 (he therefore approved the emendation of the book-numbers in fr. 41); he also thought that the story of the Trojan War and the Nostoi would have come towards the end of Pherekydes' book. Consequently he placed fr. 132–44 in book 10. However, the book-number in fr. 41 is transmitted by two quite separate sources, so emendation is hazardous. The run of the words in the verbatim fr. 37 and 38 clearly suggests that book 8 was the primary locus for the stories of Pelops' chariot-race and Niobe's petrification. The story of Niobe and the story of Antiope did not necessarily have to be told together, and there is no real difficulty in keeping the transmitted book-numbers. As for Pelops, his line might have been suspended at this point; fr. *40 is then resumptive (as it is even on Jacoby's view), unless the book-number is incorrectly restored. The line might have been resumed in the context of one of his lesser son's marriages, or it might have been resumed in the context of the Trojan War. No need to emend anywhere, then; but as the Atlantid link for Tantalos is doubtful, it might be better to regard the Tantalids as a subject in their own right for book 8, with the Atlantids beginning in book 9.

Mythical chronology is no obstacle to this reconstruction; although the story of the wall-building (fr. 41)¹⁸ antedates the story of Niobe (fr. 38), the whole story of Amphion and Zethos antedates the story of Kadmos, which was told in book 5. This is in fact an

¹⁶ Ankaios was from Arkadia (→ §6.3.6), which might then be the primary subject here; but there is some reason to place the Arkadians in book 1 (see below).

¹⁷ Ps.-Clem. *Recogn.* 10.21, 23: Tantalos son of Zeus and Ploute daughter of Atlas. His source could be an Epicurean catalogue of divine *stupra* such as we find in Philodemos (Roscher, *Lex.* s.v. Ploute) and ultimately perhaps Apollodoros of Athens.

¹⁸ Which was probably followed closely by the story of Zethos' wife Aedon (fr. 124).

important observation, since it shows that Pherekydes followed his genealogical branches to the end irrespective of chronology; it shows that these branches defined his structure, and it removes the grounds for suggesting that the Troica and Nostoi should have come last. More likely, as Uhl argues, the story of the war was told when it came up naturally in the genealogy of the Pelopids, i.e. in book 8, just as the story of the Argonauts was told when the genealogist came to Jason.

To turn finally to the problematic book 1, the attributed fragments present us with a bewildering variety of subjects. Fr. 1 looks like the primary locus of the story of Peleus' flight to Phthia after the murder of his half-brother Phokos: therefore, *prima facie* at any rate, Asopids. Fr. 2 (to which we must add fr. 60) is the famous genealogy of the Philaids, which looks like pure Attic material, and the whole point of this unorthodox genealogy, one of the few such in Pherekydes, is to divorce the link between Telamon and Aiaikos son of Asopos, thus depriving Aigina of her claim to Aias' island Salamis. Fr. 3 is the story of Koronis, mother of Asklepios and may be the main home of the Asklepios story.¹⁹ Jacoby in his edition believed the book would have begun with a theogony, and placed this fragment in that context; Wilamowitz (in Wil.) and Uhl, however, gave reasons for thinking that there was no theogony in book 1, and Jacoby later admitted at least partly the justness of the criticism.²⁰ Koronis' ancestry leads nowhere in particular; her father Phlegyas is normally a son of Ares, her mother varies. Fr. 4, as already noted, is clearly Inachid territory. Fr. 5 says that Pherekydes mentioned the Arkadian city Hysia.

Uhl finds the common thread for all this in Arkadia, which he links to the Inachids by way of Pelasgos. In fr. 156, quoted by Dion. Hal., Pherekydes says that Pelasgos married Deianeira, and fathered Lykaon, who married Kyllene and fathered many sons including Oinotros and Peuketios. Unfortunately Dionysios does not here tell us whether according to Pherekydes Pelasgos was autochthonous as in Hesiod fr. 160 or son of Niobe daughter of Phoroneus as in Akousilaos fr. 25. In the chapter before that in which he quotes fr. 156 he gives the Argive genealogy, and also repeats the name of Pelasgos' wife Deianeira which occurs nowhere else but in Pherekydes; Uhl therefore thought Pherekydes might have been his source there too, but Jacoby on fr. 156 was cautious. At any rate, assuming for the moment that Uhl is right, Arkadia provides the context not only for Hysia (fr. 5) but for Koronis by way of her human husband Ischys, who is elsewhere son of Elatos son of Arkas. Pelasgos is his remote ancestor as well; his mother Kallisto is daughter of Keteus (fr. 157), who is a descendant of Lykaon. The

¹⁹ Uhl, *Pherekydes von Athen* 86 thinks that fr. 3 told only of his birth, while his death (fr. 35) and progeny (fr. 59) were postponed until book 8, which is possible. But his descent, if it really was treated in detail by Pherekydes (fr. 59 might have made no more than brief reference to Asklepiada; the rest is Soranos' inference from Eratosthenes), would have gone better with the first reference (fr. 3). In that case, fr. 35 is a recapitulation of a story already told in book 1.

²⁰ 'The First Athenian Prose Writer' 17 = 103 n. 12.

Asopids (fr. 1) are linked through Metope, Asopos' usual wife (not attested for Pherekydes), who in Pindar (*Ol.* 6.84 and scholia) is Arkadian. Uhl hypothesizes further (p. 78) that Salamis was Aigina's sister in Pherekydes as elsewhere, which might have provided a springboard for fr. 2 + 60 (where Telamon is the son of Aktaios and Glauke daughter of Kychreus, the son of Salamis);²¹ alternatively, he suggests (p. 81), the Pelasgians might have provided a link, since the Athenians were once Pelasgian themselves (Hdt. 1.56–7). Thus fr. 1–5 all belong to the Inachid stemma, which also occupies books 2–5. Uhl further wonders whether Pherekydes stressed the link between the Deukalionids and the Atlantids in the person of Iapetos, father of Prometheus and Atlas. The whole work would then fall into two halves: Inachids in books 1–5, Iapetids in books 5–10.

This is all quite ingenious, and produces a pleasing symmetry, but it is vulnerable to criticism on one or two points. We have already pointed out the uncertainty of the link between Pelasgos and Inachos in Pherekydes. The link with the Athenians is also weak. Herodotos' views about Pelasgians are quite personal, and it seems unlikely that Pherekydes' Pelasgians were a catch-all name for the previous inhabitants of Greece (→§2.1). Rather, they were a specific tribe from Arkadia. They turn up in Thessaly in fr. 12, whither Pherekydes presumably made them migrate (as in Dion. Hal. 1.17). The Athenians, in other words, had always been Athenian, never Pelasgian.²² Now the extensive genealogy in fr. 2 does not look like a digression arising from a discussion of Salamis; it looks like an extract from a primary treatment. We may assume that the whole of Attic saga was treated in book 1. If the Pelasgians were not the starting-point, Earth was. The Athenians were autochthonous. We recall that the forgery of Antiochos-Pherekydes (even if it was an imaginary book, as discussed below, p. 718) was entitled *Autochthones*, perhaps taking its lead from the genuine Pherekydes. It would certainly behove an Athenian to give his own people pride of place, just as Akousilaos promoted the Argives. The Athenians would have been the only group to have such an origin; the Inachids, Deukalionids, Atlantids, and the rest all had a human or anthropomorphic progenitor, and the contrast would have been obvious. If Pherekydes then moved on to treat the Inachids in book 1 (as seems certain from fr. 4), and through them the Pelasgians and Arkadians, there would seem to be little room left in book 1 for a detailed treatment of the Asopids; perhaps, then, rather than the story of Salamis' arising by way of the Asopids, the story of Peleus' exile was told apropos of Telamon. If so, the Asopids were accommodated elsewhere in the work, perhaps in book 8 or 10, comfortably in the ambience of the Pelopids and the Trojan War. Conversely, we might leave the Asopids in book 1, and move the Arkadians to books 9 and 10 with the

²¹ This could hardly have been the entry point for the whole of Attic saga, however.

²² Pherekydes might, however, have thought that some Pelasgians once lived in Athens; other Athenians apparently said as much to Herodotos.

Atlantids. But then we are left without a context for Koronis. We must be content, in some particulars, with *aporia*.

On any reconstruction there is too much already assigned to book 1 to leave sufficient room for a theogony. The citation of Pherekydes' work by that title in fr. 54 is probably a mistake, the reverse of the error in test. 1 describing Pherekydes the Syrian's theology as a work in ten books containing the genesis and progeny of the gods.²³

Dialect²⁴

PHONOLOGY

Ionic eta for alpha is preserved in fr. 18a (έώην), 20 (Κλεωνήσι), 21 (Ισαίη, Μελήη (Μελία L)), 22a (Θήβησιν, Αθηναίη),²⁵ 66 (Έρευθαλή, Ήρη), 101 (Υπερείη), 105 (Τήσων two codd. in l. 2, but Ίάσων in ll. 9 and 11; Ήρη), 115 (Τροίην), 136a (νηϊδος), 146 (Αθήνησι), 156 (Δηϊανείρης, νηϊδα, Ίταλίη). Eta is not preserved in fr. 1 (Φθίαν), 2 (Αθήναις bis), 8 (Πολυδώραι), 39 (ἄκρα), 64a (μαχαίραι), 82a (Οἰχαλίαν bis, Αρκαδίας), 86 (Κασσιεπείας), 95 (Βασιλείαν), 105 (Ίάσων, Πελίας ter, ὑστεραίαι), 132 (Ήγησάνδραν), 136a (Εὐαγόρας). I have corrected all these (cf. EGM 1.xlv) except ἐν Αθήναις in fr. 2, since it occurs twice (and might be thought particularly liable to be left in Attic by Pher.). Αθήνησι in fr. 146 (without ἐν as usual) is locative; as a fixed expression it survived in literary texts throughout antiquity (for inscriptions see Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* 2.374–56).

Open forms are transmitted in fr. 18a (χρύσειον), 22a (δοκέοντες, κρατέουσιν), 38 (ἄχεος), 105 (νόον), 132 (Βοήθοος; on the accent see below ad loc.), 156 (καλέονται bis alongside καλείται in the same fr., οἰκέοντες); contracted forms are transmitted in fr. 1 (οἰκεῖ, καλείται), 2 (οἰκεῖ), 8 (καλοῦνται, οἰκοῦσι), 18a (Ήρακλῆς bis, βαλῶν, ἐφόρει), 20 (ῶικει), 21 (Ποσειδῶνος, γαμεῖ), 22a (ἡμίσεις bis, ποιεῖται), 38 (ἀναχωρεῖ, ὀράι bis, ἀράται, ῥεῖ), 39 (γαμεῖ, καλείται), 64a (γαμεῖ, ὀράι, ἀφαιρεῖται), 66 (γαμεῖ, καλείται, ἐξαιρεῖται, Ερμῆς), 82a (Ήρακλῆς bis, ἀφικνεῖται, ὠικεῖτο, ῥιτει), 95 (γαμεῖ bis, ἀναιρεῖ, καλείται, Έτεοκλῆς), 101 (γαμεῖ, ὠικει), 105 (Ποσειδῶνι, πολιτῶν, ὑποδεῖται, ποιούη), 115 (γαμεῖ), 132 (γαμεῖ), 135 (καλείται), 136a (γαμεῖ), 146 (καλείται), 156 (γαμεῖ, καλείται), 168 (καλείται), 175 (καλείται). ἐπήν in fr. 18a is Ionic, though in Hdt. ἐπεάν prevails; Smyth, *Ionic* §§75.3, 716.

²³ See Schibli p. 80 and Fowler, 'The Authors Named Pherecydes' 11 n. 15. Dolcetti, *Fericide di Atene* 21, suggests that this unique manner of citation (the scholia consistently cite 'Pherekydes in book *n*' without title) may be grounds for doubting the fragment's authenticity. But as Schibli points out, the geographical detail in the fr. does not look like Pherekydes of Syros either.

²⁴ Luetke, *Pherecydes* 23–7; Bechtel, *Die griech. Dialekte* 3.9; Dräger, *Stilistische Untersuchungen zu Pherekydes* 5–13. In the case of Pherekydes the additional question arises, particularly with respect to his lexicon, of the difference (or otherwise) between old Attic and Ionic; something that looks like the latter to us might be the former. Cf. Willi, 'The Language of the Classics'.

²⁵ Αθηναία is the old Attic form: Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* 1.271–4, 2.725.

East Ionic psilosis is not attested; note fr. 2 (ἐφ' οὐ *bis*), 8 (ἀφ' οὐ), 22a (ὑφ' ἐαυτῶν), 37b (καθ' ὁδόν), 39 (ἀφ' οὐ), 64a (ἀφαιρείται), 66 (ἀφ' οὐ, ἐφιστᾶι, ἔπειθ'), 82a (ἀφικνεῖται), 146 (ἀφ' οὐ), 156 (ἀφ' ἥσ/οὐ *ter*), 168 (ἀφ' οὐ).

Τείσανδρος in fr. 2 not Τίσανδρος in spite of Choer. *Anecd. Ox.* 2.264.27 = Herodian 2.591.29 Lentz; see Smyth, *Ionic* §214.1. Τισαμενός is given by the codd. in fr. 135A.

βασυλείαν is transmitted instead of Ionic βασιληίην or epic βασιλείην in fr. 95; cf. Hek. fr. 15, Hellan. fr. 79a, and μαντήιον Pher. fr. 105.

Ὀλῖος is transmitted in fr. 2, long ago corrected to Οὔλιος; a nice survival of old Attic script. Οὐδαῖος, the Spartos in fr. 22a, inherited from poetry, will come from οὐδός; we have οὐδός itself in fr. 64a, but ὄρος in fr. 156 (cf. above, p. 670). Μελανίων instead of Μελανίων, which ought to be epic (though it is not attested in early epic), is given in fr. 132, unless we diagnose Attic-script Μελανίων. Both forms are attested in various periods and genres (the long form is used by the scholiasts who quote Hellan. fr. 99 and 162).

Attic Χερρόνησον is transmitted in fr. 2; Ionic θάλασσαν in fr. 37b and κατορύσσει in fr. 64a.

ἑώην in fr. 18a (em. Kaibel) implies Attic ἔως.

ἱερεὺς is transmitted in fr. 64a, ἱερόν in fr. 135 instead of ἱρ-.

Old Ionic/epic Πολύδης (*-φιδης) is preserved in fr. 115 (cf. 82b); Smyth, *Ionic* §197.

NOUNS

Short datives plural are presented in fr. 2 (Ἀθήναις *bis*), 18a (ταῖς ἵπποις), 115 (τοῖς Ἐπιγόνους), but long in fr. 20 (Κλεωνῆσι), 22a (Θήβησιν, λίθοισιν). The locative Ἀθήνησι occurs in fr. 146 as noted above.

For the Attic forms Ἀτρεύς (fr. 20), Ἀρεως (fr. 22a), Φυλέως (fr. 115), Ἡϊονέως, Πρωτέως (fr. 136a), Ἐρεχθέως (fr. 146), see above, p. 670. Βρόντεω, Στερόπεω, Ἀργεω (fr. 35) and Αἰήττω fr. 105 are Ionic (*ibid.*); Μενέλεω and νεώ (fr. 64a) are examples of the so-called Attic declension, but congeners at least of the former are well attested in Ionic (Smyth, *Ionic* §477; Μενέλεω in Hdt. 2.118.1, Ἠγησίλεω 8.131.2). Epic Ἀρκεσιλάου is retained in fr. 82a. Second-declension genitives from the o-declension intrude in Αὐγέου (fr. 115) and Ὀρέστον (fr. 135 as in Hellan. fr. 169). Doric Ἀμύκλα is retained in fr. 132 (cf. e.g. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.87; Ἀμύκλου, rare in any case, seems first to occur in Hermesianax fr. 3.33 Lightfoot; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.102, quoting Eumel. fr. 8a, is another instance).

Ionic ὄφις is transmitted in fr. 22a.

Attic πολῖται for Ionic πολῖται in fr. 22a, 105 (*bis*).

βόα for βούν in fr. 162 is hyper-Ionic (→§20). Would an author like Pherekydes attract such zealous correction, or does the hyper-Ionicism stem from his own hand?

PRONOUNS

The usual τοῦ δὲ/τῶν δέ in genealogies is amply attested (fr. 2, 8, 20, 21, 66, 101, 115, 132 *em.*, 135A, 168); with continuative δέ (but not in a genealogy) in fr. 82a. τούτου offers variety in fr. 2 and 132. Cf. above pp. 629, 671. The oblique cases of ὅς *qui* are everywhere the forms without tau (fr. 1, 2, 8, 18, 21, 39, 66, 95, 135, 146, 156, 168).

Attic ἐαυτός in fr. 22a, 64a.

Indefinite Attic του instead of Ionic τεο or τευ in fr. 105.

On fr. 180A ἡμεῖς ὑμεῖς σφεῖς see above, p. 671.

PREPOSITIONS AND ADVERBS

εἰς is transmitted before a vowel in fr. 82a, 10, 132, before a consonant in fr. 1, 22a, 38, 64a, 82a, 135; ἐς occurs once, before a consonant, in fr. 115 (cf. above, p. 671).

σύν rather than old Attic ξύν is used in fr. 18a, 115 (*bis*), and in composition in fr. 105.

ἔπειτα is written in fr. 1, 18a, 66, 115, 135 and restored in fr. 64a and 135A; in fr. 21 Schaefer conjectured ἔπειτεν, whom I have tentatively followed (see below *ad loc.*).

VERB FORMS

γίνεται (etc.) is everywhere attested over γίγν- (fr. 8, 20, 21, 39, 64a, 66, 86, 95, 101, 115, 132, 135A, 146, 156, 168).

Temporal augment of οἰ is attested in fr. 1 (ᾧχετο), 2 (ᾧκισε), 20 (ᾧκει), 22a (κατωκίσθη), 82a (ᾧκεῖτο), 101 (ᾧκει), 135A (συνᾧκισε), of αἰ in fr. 82a (ᾧτει); cf. above, p. 692.

ἦσαν (in Maas's emendation) in fr. 105 is Ionic and Attic; ἦεσαν is a fourth-century Attic development to distinguish it from ἦσαν < οἶδα (Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.* 1.674). διδωσιν (fr. 18a, 95) and τίθησιν (fr. 66) stand opposed to διδοῖ (fr. 22a) and ἐφιστᾶι (fr. 66); Smyth, *Ionic* §691. Imperfect ἀνίστη (fr. 35) is normal in Attic and attested in Ionic (varying in MSS with -ιστα: Smyth §692).

τεθνεώτας as in Hdt. rather than the younger τεθνηκότας in fr. 35 (Smyth §604.4).

Optative ποιοίη in fr. 105 (particularly Attic but found also in Ionic): Smyth §651; Rutherford, *The New Phrynichus* 442–8; Schwyzer *Griech. Gramm.* 1.796.

NU MOVABLE

The texts as presented everywhere conform to normal Attic-Ionic expectations, with nu movable avoiding hiatus e.g. in fr. 18a, 22a, 37b.

LEXICON, MISCELLANEA

Simplex forms of θνήσκω are used in fr. 22a, 35, 95, 115; compound in fr. 105, 135A. Simplex κτείνω in fr. 35 (*ter*), 64a, 66, 82a; compound ἀποκτείνω as normal in later Attic prose in fr. 135.

ἐπιλήθεται in fr. 105 may be Ionic, as Attic prose otherwise prefers ἐπιλανθάνομαι in this tense and mood. In fr. 8 μίσγεται is Ionic as against Attic μείγνυται. Or are we dealing in both cases with old Attic?

In the paraphrased fragments there may be old Ionic or poetic words that survive from Pherekydes: a few possibilities are νεογνός (fr. 33; in Attic prose otherwise only Xenophon, for whom cf. above, p. 701, and Arist. *PA* 665b 7); ῥέξαι (fr. 33); κάρτα fr. 34a; ὁμήλικα fr. 116; κέϊσε v.l. in fr. 118. The precise extent of poeticism in Pherekydes is hard to determine, given the difficulty of distinguishing epic from ordinary Ionic with certainty in every case (above, n. 24). Lilja, *On the Style of the Earliest Greek Prose* 19–21, recognizes ἀρᾶται (fr. 38), ἄρουρα (fr. 22a), ἄχος fr. 38), ἐρύκω (fr. 135), θητεύω (fr. 35), and οὐδός (fr. 64a), along with the expressions ἔξει ἰκέτης (fr. 135a) and ἐς νόον βάλλει (fr. 105). Dräger, *Stilistische Untersuchungen zu Pherekydes* 8–11, makes a case that Pherekydes drew his phrases κῶας τὸ χρυσόμαλλον (fr. 105) and δέπας τὸ χύρσειον (fr. 18a) from poetry. Πυθών in fr. 35 seems to be exclusively poetic. ἀσάμβalos for ἀσάνδαλος in fr. 105 otherwise occurs only in Nonnos (twelve times), who will have got it from earlier epic; but ποικιλοσάμβalos in Anakreon *PMG* 358.3 suggests that σάμβalos was an everyday word in old Ionic.

Similarly, the extent of intentional dactylic rhythms is hard to establish (Dräger 11–13; Dolcetti 37–8). But on any analysis it is clear that the earliest prose contained more of these phenomena. Norden's classic study in the first chapter of *Die antike Kunstprosa* is always worth rereading.

Testt. 1–8. I have in another place dealt at length with the question of the different writers called 'Pherekydes', and hope to have shown conclusively that the Syrian and the Athenian were two quite different people, to whom the several fragments can be assigned in most cases with complete confidence.²⁶ The shadowy Pherekydes of Leros is probably Hellenistic, in view of the book-titles quoted for him by the *Suda* φ217 = Pher. test. 3 (*On Leros; On Iphigeneia; On the Festivals of Dionysos*; and 'others'); Morison in his new *BNJ* commentary notes further that the title 'chiliarch' used of a military commander in Pher. Ler. F 1 does not occur before the Hellenistic period. The fragment treats an incident in the reign of Dareios; it does not fit with Pherekydes of Syros, to whom it is attributed, in point of date, or with Pherekydes of Athens in point of subject-matter, or with Pherekydes of Leros, given his book-titles. I cannot think it is the Athenian or the Syrian, which leaves the Lorian by default.

There is then 'Antiochos/Pherekydes', *FGH* 333, who has also received a recent *BNJ* commentary by Nicholas Jones. Jacoby diagnosed a forgery and gathered the fragments under number 333. Jones believes Jacoby's case is poorly founded, and that the fragments come from our author. There are, to be sure, some uncertainties in the citations;

²⁶ Fowler, 'The Authors Named Pherekydes'.

not every fragment cites Antiochos together with Pherekydes, or the book-title *Autochthones*. But let us review the data.²⁷ F 1, from Clement of Alexandria, is cited from the ninth book of Antiochos' *Histories*;²⁸ F 2, from the *Etymologicum Genuinum*, quotes 'Pherekydes in the *Autochthones*'. FF 3–4, both from the scholia to Aristides, cite Antiochos and Pherekydes together;²⁹ F 3 mentions 'Ogygos and Thebe, the Attic Autochthones', while F 4 mentions 'Alalkomenos the Autochthon'. The title *Autochthones* is also attested in T 1 = Pher. Ath. test. 2. F 1 is cited from the ninth book, which in the genuine Pherekydes treated neither Athenian *Urgeschichte* nor Akrisios. FF 2–4 contain an unusually high concentration of etymologies (otherwise in Pher. only fr. 10, 102), and offer some alarming details: in F 2 Pherekydes supposedly found *previous* reports of the etymology of 'Boedromion' false (the real Pherekydes does not explicitly engage with his sources in this manner); F 3 is a ragbag of oddities about Egypt, and Jacoby was right that it does not read at all like our Pherekydes; F 4 derives 'Palladion' not from Pallas but from πάλλειν = βάλλειν. The case is not watertight but it is eminently probable that these four fragments came, or were claimed to have come, from a book called *Autochthones* by Pherekydes as (?) rewritten by Antiochos (the relationship is suspiciously vague). A source like Ptolemy Chennos is indeed probable (Jacoby's guess); concoctions like 'Pherekydes and after him Antiochos' and spurious book-numbers are in his style. The conclusion is that the *Autochthones* never existed at all.³⁰

Fr. 1. Note Pherekydes' progressively more precise indications of the geography: first the region Phthia, then the capital Pharsalos, then the polis Thetideion. The second καί in l. 4 means 'specifically' (an instance of καί = 'i.e.', *und zwar*). The final two words, ἡ πόλις, are often deleted, and are certainly awkward grammatically. That they were in the paradosis is guaranteed by the three witnesses to fr. 1 and by Steph. Byz. p. 521.7 Meineke καλεῖται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Θέτιδος <Θετίδειον> ἡ πόλις. Holford-Strevens suggests ο<ὕτω> in l. 4. If δ is retained, one might consider it an accusative of respect, equivalent in meaning to ὡς ('as'); cf. Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* 2.645. The common idiom with verbs of naming may be compared ('where X the city is called' instead of 'where is a city

²⁷ F 5, from Plutarch, is Pher. Ath. fr. dub. 177, Pher. Syr. fr. 75 Schibli; it is probably the Syrian (see §8.4.1. n. 46).

²⁸ Jones's translation needs correction here: ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Ἀθηνῆς ἐν Λαρίσῃ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀκρίσιου, Ἀθήγησιν δὲ ἐν ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπος, ὡς φησὶν Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν (*Protr.* 3.45.1) does not mean 'The tomb of Akrisios is on (the) Larisa, (that is) on the acropolis, in the temple of Athena. But, as Antiochos says in the ninth book of the *Histories*, (it is) in Athens on the Acropolis (in the temple) of Kekrops'; it means the tomb of Akrisios is in Larisa, and the tomb of Kekrops is on the Athenian acropolis.

²⁹ Jones would detach the last sentence of the scholion, where Pherekydes is cited alone, from the preceding one where they are both cited. This is special pleading; no one would think the second Pherekydes different from the first, or F 3 different from F 4 in respect of its source, unless excoagitating this theory.

³⁰ Håkan Tell in his forthcoming *BNJ* commentary on Antiochos (*FGH* 29) argues that 29 F 1 (Ptolemy Chennos ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 190 p. 150a) is also from this imaginary book. There Ptolemy claims to have his citation of Antiochos from Athenodoros of Eretria in the eighth book of his *Commentaries*. The book attributed to Antiochos there is 'Mythology City by City' (τὰ κατὰ πόλιν μυθικά).

which is called X'); see Kühner-Gerth 2.437–8, Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 121–2, Kassel–Austin on Kratin. fr. 7, Davies on Soph. *Trach.* 639, Radt on Strabo 14.1.15 p. 637; ὁ will in a sense stand in for ὄνομα (Classen–Steup on Thuc. 1.122.4 also cite 2.37.1, 4.64.3, 6.4.5). Pherekydes' usage strongly suggests that he would include a noun like πόλις with place-names: cf. fr. 39 ἀφ' οὗ καλεῖται ἡ πόλις, fr. 66 ἀφ' οὗ Ἐρευνθάλῃ πόλις καλεῖται ἐν Ἄργει (read <ῆ> πόλις), fr. 95 ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἡ κρήνη Ἰσμήνη καλεῖται, fr. 101 ὅς ὤκει ἐπὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κληθείσῃ Ὑπερείῃ, fr. 135 ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ πόλις αὕτη Ὀρέστειον καλεῖται ἀπὸ Ὀρέστου, fr. 146 ἀφ' οὗ ὁ δῆμος καλεῖται Δαιδαλίδαι Ἀθήνησι, fr. 156 ἀφ' ἧς τὸ ὄρος Κυλλήνη καλεῖται, fr. 168 ἀφ' οὗ ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλεῖται. (For similar expressions with other kinds of names in verbatim fr. cf. fr. 8, 168 again, 175.)

Fr. 2. Ὀλιος in the MSS is probably a survival of the old Attic spelling (see above under Dialect, Phonology).

Fr. 11. Karamanou, *Euripides. Danae and Dictys* 120 n. 240 suggests reading ἐπεκόμιζον for ἀπεκόμιζον in l. 9.

Fr. 16b. Possibly Ὀφίς rather than ὄφίς.

Fr. 21. Ael. Dion. ε25 Erbse says that εἶπεν and ἔπειπεν are Ionic but the evidence for the forms with -ν in prose before the Koine is exiguous.³¹ ἔπειτε is an occasional v.l. in Herodotos. The form ought not then to be introduced by conjecture (hence ἔπειτα is preferred in fr. 64a, 135A), but in the present instance it seems an elegant way to restore the simplex of the verb, as required, and to stay close to the *ductus litterarum*.

Fr. 22. Gourmelen, 'Fragment ou citation?', comments usefully on the style of this fr. in the course of a general discussion about the limits of verbatim quotations. There is usually little doubt as to when an author is ostensibly being quoted rather than paraphrased; in such cases, as my practice in *EGM* 1 indicates, I think it the editor's duty to mark the quotation. If there is doubt, it may be indicated in the apparatus. One may wish to study the verbatim quotations separately for all kinds of reasons, and it does no service to make these hard to find. Of course, in quoting Pherekydes and others, the quoters often make many small changes; some authorities are much less reliable than others, and in general prose is treated more negligently than poetry. Cf. Lenfant, 'Peut-on se fier aux «fragments» d'historiens?'; ead., 'Les «fragments» d'Hérodote dans les *Deipnosophistes*'.

Fr. 34. See *ZPE* 97 (1993) 29–42 for discussion of readings. *EGM* 1.297.3 ἐποφθαλμίσασα comes into its own as a verb in late antiquity; the first occurrence is in Plut. *Aem.* 30.4. The word surely does not come from Pherekydes.

Fr. 37. The relationship between our various sources for the Myrtilos story (scholia and handbooks) is worth a comment. The point at issue, as discussed in Part A (§14.1),

³¹ Smyth, *Ionic*, pp. 607–8. In poetic texts, Pindar avails himself of ἔπειπεν three times to obviate hiatus (*Pyth.* 4.211, *Nem.* 3.54, *Isthm.* 7.20).

is whether Pherekydes' version of the myth was set in Lesbos or some other eastern point, or in Pisa. There is a close and extensive correspondence between Tzetzes' account of the myth in his comment on Lykoph. *Alex.* 157 and the scholion to Eur. *Orestes* 990; the two of them are in turn clearly related to Apollodoros, *Epit.* 2.4–9 (the Vatican epitome, i.e. that made by Tzetzes himself). The Epitome is fuller in this stretch than in some others, but on the other hand Tzetzes/schol. Eur. have some things not in the Epitome. Tzetzes had access to a more complete version of Apollodoros than is available to us (see §10.10). The explanation so far is that Tzetzes made one summary of the full text of Apollodoros for the Epitome, while for his comment on Lykophron he made another, or expanded the first; and since the Euripidean scholion, which is found in only one MS (the fourteenth-century Monacensis gr. 560), lacks some details found in Tzetzes, we may conclude that he was the scholiast's source.

Next there is the D scholion on *Il.* 2.104, which has some items of content and one or two turns of phrase in common with Apollodoros and the others, but also some stark divergences. One point in common with Apollodoros is that Pelops stopped to get water for Hippodameia, who was thirsty. This scholion also says that they were flying over the Aegean, *ergo* from some place like Lesbos. The beginning of the Euripidean note, before the coincidence with Tzetzes, claims that Oinomaos was a king in Lesbos and that Pelops had a charioteer named Killos. Killos is eponym of Killa, the site in the Troad (*Il.* 1.38). The Homeric note follows immediately upon another one which is actually attributed to Apollodoros (→§10.10, passage 5). Should we then attribute all of this—Oinomaos king on Lesbos, the flight over the Aegean, Killos—to Apollodoros, and perhaps also to Pherekydes (thus vindicating those who think he placed the race in Lesbos)?

This would be a premature conclusion. We happen to know where Killos or Killas entered the tradition: the D scholion on *Il.* 1.38 is a romantic and derivative *historia* about Killas' death while en route to the contest, attributed to Theopompos (*FGrHist* 115 F 350). It does not look anything like Pherekydes. There are, however, two points of contact between Theopompos and Tzetzes: both authors say that Pelops got his horses as a love-gift from Poseidon, and went off to kill the μνηστηροκτόνος Oinomaos. This is a quite rare word. Should we now answer the question above in the affirmative? Here are the two passages, and the corresponding part of Apollodoros (this part of the story is omitted in the Euripidean scholion):

Tzetzes on Lykoph. *Alex.* 157: δις δὲ ἡβῆσαί φησι τὸν Πέλοπα, ἐπεὶ πρῶτον ἤκμασε τὴν φυσικὴν ἡλικίαν, δεύτερον δὲ κατακοπεῖς καὶ τυθεῖς, ὥς φασι, τοῖς θεοῖς ἀφειρήθη καὶ ἤκμασεν. ἡράσθη δὲ τούτου μετὰ τὴν ἀφείρησιν ὁ Ποσειδῶν, παρ' οὗ ὁ Πέλοψ ἵππους πτερωτοὺς λαβὼν σὺν τῷ ὄχηματι ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἑλὴν νικᾷ τὸν μνηστηροκτόνον Οἰνόμαον καὶ ἀναρεῖ τὸν ἱβ' πρότερον νυμφίους ἀνηρηκότα.

Schol. (D) *Il.* 1.38 = Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 350: Πέλοψ ὁ Ταντάλου κατὰ μισθὸν παιδικῆς ὥρας λαβὼν παρὰ Ποσειδῶνος ἵππους ἀδαμάστους σὺν τῷ ὄχηματι ἔσπευσε τὸν Ἱπποδαμείας γάμον, τὸν μνηστηροκτόνον αὐτῆς πατέρα Οἰνόμαον καταγωνίσασθαι ἐπιθυμῶν.

Apollod. *Epit.* 2.3: 'Ὅτι Πέλοψ σφαγείς ἐν τῷ τῶν θεῶν ἐράνῳ καὶ καθεψηθείς ὡραιότερος ἐν τῇ ἀναζωώσει γέγονε, καὶ κάλλει διενεγκὼν Ποσειδῶνος ἐρώμενος γίνεται, ὃς αὐτῷ δίδωσιν ἄρμα ὑπόπτερον· τοῦτο καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης τρέχον τοὺς ἄξονας οὐχ ὑγραίνεται.

If the first two passages are thought to depend on Apollodoros, and thence ultimately on Pherekydes, it is odd that the third passage, which is drawn directly from Apollodoros, is so different. To preserve the argument one would have to hypothesize that Tzetzes in this place produced an excerpt of Apollodoros quite different from that which he produced for his note on Lykophron, while another epitomator—the author of the D scholion (ultimately the Mythographus Homericus)—coincidentally duplicated Tzetzes' choices in the Lykophron commentary (or, also improbably, one could posit some grandiloquent intermediary between Apollodoros and the other two). One would far more easily suppose that Tzetzes first used a source related to the D scholia, then switched to Apollodoros. Immediately after the passage quoted above, Tzetzes exhibits his close correspondence to schol. Eur. *Or.* 990 and Apollod. *Epit.* 2.3–9, but the *Iliad* scholion strikes out in quite different directions.

It is clear that at some point in the tangled prehistory of these passages, their sources have come into contact with each other. This is normal in the mythographic tradition, which is a thoroughly contaminated one, to borrow the terminology of textual criticism. The close correspondence between Tzetzes, Apollodoros, and the Euripidean scholion is striking and significant; but the correspondences in the passages written out above are the sort of thing one encounters countless times in the mythographical tradition. One can draw no firm conclusions from them. Therefore on the evidence we must say that Apollodoros did not know about, or ignored, Oinomaos king of Lesbos.

Fr. 42. This could be the first occurrence of the adjective 'Haimonian' (→§8.5.7 n. 211).

Fr. 46. Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2.132 thought this fr. might be from Pherekydes the Syrian.

Fr. 47. Blakely, 'Pherekydes' Daktyloi', argues that the fr. should be attributed to the Syrian Pherekydes, because their mythology resonates with Pythagorean ideas, and the Syrian is better associated with the Pythagoreans than the Athenian. This is not very cogent, and it is not true as she says that this sort of thing is not to be expected in the Athenian; he comes up often enough in §1.7. It remains true that, the fragment being quoted in the scholia to Apollonios, the Athenian is far more likely.

Fr. 49. On my conjecture (withdrawn) see §1.9.5.

Fr. 51a.³² I have transposed the sentence introducing the quotation of Asklepiades since the two pieces of information immediately following it in the MSS—the fragment of Pherekydes, and the point that some people interpret the story allegorically (παρεγκεχειρήκασιν; *LSJ* παρεγγειρέω I.2)—are part of the scholiast's miscellany, not

³² I have had the benefit of seeing a paper on Asklepiades *FGrHist* 12 F 3 written by Nereida Villagra as part of her commentary on this author.

one of Asklepiades' stories drawn from tragedy. That begins with οὗτος ἔγρημε, and all that follows that may be printed as a direct quotation. Moreover, in view of Asklepiades' dates it seems unlikely that he would report as a matter of record that 'some people interpret the story allegorically': some people might have, indeed, but not so much in tragedy, and in mythography the industry was just starting up. The verb employed is late and rarely used in this sense (its root meaning is 'interfere'; *LSJ* quote only Artemid. 4.72; used of false interpretations in philosophy and biblical exegesis—'interference' with the truth—e.g. Olympiod. *Job* 3, Sext. *Emp. Pyrr.* 1.234; cf. Plut. *Comp. Aem. et Tim.* 1.3). Moreover, though one would not wish to deny that Asklepiades could have used the word προσιστοροῦσι—in F 15 he steps out of story-telling mode to report the opinion of 'nearly all the poets'—the verb better suits a scholiast reporting additional facts.

Fr. 64a. Cf. Sommerstein, *Sophocles: Selected Fragmentary Plays* 1.13–14. In line 5 I take τούτων as neuter, 'priest of these rites' rather than masculine 'of the Delphians' (which would be an odd way to designate a priest, rather than by reference to the divinity); the construction is not easily paralleled, but compare Eur. *Hek.* 223–4 θύματος δ' ἐπιστάτης / ἱερέυς τ' ἐπέσται τοῦδε παῖς Ἀχιλλέως.

Fr. 66. Perhaps read <ῆ> πόλις; cf. the parallels assembled on fr. 1 above.

Fr. 86. Keil and Wendel's emendation (φασίν for φησίν) is unnecessary, and Luetke's full stop is hardly a change. The words, especially from ἐπὶ κλησὶν on, read like a direct quotation from early prose; the P scholiast has expanded these to suit his ear. The γάρ is awkward but it is his not Pherekydes'.

Fr. 90a. See §10.8 n. 73.

Fr. 91. The section in Philodemos being about physical and mental distress, it is hard to think of an adjective that would follow τοῖς θεοῖς in the last line if one does not punctuate before καί, whether or not one also punctuates before καί in 25; Gomperz's δυσμενέστατον serves only to show the awkwardness. With punctuation in 25 one can imagine various disturbances which befell the gods as a whole, for instance fear in the battle of the Titans. Nonnos, *Dion.* 32.110 τὸν μὲν ἀμερσινόοιο κατάσχετον ἄλματι λύσσης is a close parallel and may support the restoration μανία κατάσχετον in the papyrus.

Fr. 92b. The fragment is not found in V^o, only in T (correct *EGM* 1). In l. 5 μίαν may conceal <οἴκε>ίαν or <ιδί>αν, with φύσιν in the lacuna (but further changes will be required); cf. Eust. *Od.* 1665.42 συγκατενεγκὼν τὸν ἄρρενα (sc. δράκοντα) τὴν οἰκίαν φύσιν ἀπέλαβε, schol. *Od.* 10.494 ἀπέλαβε τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν, Ov. *Met.* 3.331 forma prior rediit, genetivaque venit imago.

Fr. 105. Dräger, *Stilistische Untersuchungen*, has provided a thorough commentary on this fragment, with full references to earlier literature. He has instructive chapters on poetic elements, alliteration, and repetition, word-order, sentence construction, and the historical present (taken from Lilja's *On the Style of the Earliest Greek Prose*, with which he takes frequent issue). More recently C. W. Müller, 'Zur Frühgeschichte der

erzählenden Prosaliteratur bei den Griechen' 41–4, has also offered some concise but insightful remarks. He notes the fifth-century political climate (the summoning of the citizens from the country for a festival; Pelias seeking Jason's opinion); the calculated use of the lively historic present (on which see also Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* 67–9); and several striking elements of the narrative's economy:

Das Jason-Fragment ist das älteste im Original erhaltene Stück erzählender Prosa vor Herodot, das eine komplexe zwischenmenschliche Interaktion mit tragischem Ausgang wiedergibt, tragisch deshalb, weil der von Pelias erhoffte Weg der Rettung der Weg zum eigenen Tod sein wird. Trotz seiner Kürze enthält der Text mehrere Motive, die in der Novellistik Herodots wiederkehren: zum einen das Handlungsmuster des zunächst Stillhaltenden, um zum richtigen Zeitpunkt entschlossen zu handeln; zum anderen den handlungsantizipierenden Hinweis auf kommendes Unheil, der Erwartungen weckt, ohne die Spannung aufzuheben. Und ein Drittes ist vergleichbar: die Klugheit des Redens und Vorgehens, die auf den Klugen und Mächtigen, dem seine Klugheit nichts nützt, zurückfällt.

He also notes the main difference from Herodotos—the direct intervention of Hera—which he wrongly plays down by noting the omnipresence of gods in Herodotos at a higher level of action; but this is a quite different kind of divine involvement. Herodotos excludes the first type from his own narrative; all examples are reported, and often accompanied by explicit scepticism.³³

In l. 8 I accept Stein's supplement of <ἀν> which seems to me indispensable; the original question was τί ἂν ποιήῃς. In the penultimate sentence ἂν occurs twice; the repetition is not difficult (e.g. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Mood and Tenses of the Greek Verb* 62–4, Kühner–Gerth 1.246–8), but its conjunction with the future participle has caused offence (e.g. Kühner–Gerth 1.242). In principle it is the same as its conjunction with the future indicative—if one is possible, so is the other—although this usage too has been denied (e.g. by Kühner–Gerth 1.209; *contra* see Moorhouse, 'AN with the Future'; cf. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea* 293). The flexible use of this particle is ancient in the language, and particularly apt to occur in colloquial or vivid passages (Hermann, *Opuscula* 4.28–38, 182–5; Wackernagel, *Lectures on Syntax* 284–9).

Fr. 119.14. I can find no parallel for the simplex ἄγει used intransitively except where a noun such as στρατόν or ναῦς is obviously implied, though the verb can be used elliptically like φέρειν of roads 'leading' (sc. one), e.g. Xen. *An.* 3.5.15. Something like ὁπίσω <ὁδόν> ἄγει might be considered. Rudolf Kassel suggests perhaps <μετ>άγει, comparing Xen. *Kyr.* 7.4.8 (though noting that an object στρατεύμα could be imagined there).

Fr. 123. Bekker suggested that φασιν in l. 5 might be changed to φησιν, so that the genealogy in that sentence should be Pherekydes' (Thersites son of Agrios and Dia daughter of Porthaon). Elsewhere Agrios is son, not son-in-law, of Porthaon, but Pherekydes' Kalydonian genealogy has other oddities (→§4.3), so it does not seem

impossible that he differed in this particular as well. It is also possible that the scholiast has simply got confused.

Fr. 129. κάλλος and ἀρετή are the two ornaments of the household in Plato *Charm.* 157e, which might be a popular idea (Hdt. 8.144.1), though often they are opposed (e.g. Thgn. 933, Eur. *Andr.* 207–8, fr. 545a 7–8, Isok. *Hel.* 60). Generally in Platonic ethics beauty and virtue co-exist (e.g. *Phileb.* 64e, *Rep.* 381c); perhaps it is this that has influenced the rather strained diction of the scholiast, if indeed it is soundly transmitted. See Capel Badino on Philosteph. fr. 39.

Fr. 132. See Pontani's new edition of this scholion. Among the more important findings of his preliminary study, *Sguardi su Ulisse*, is that the MSS Ma, Pa, and Q are *descripti*, so that we have but two witnesses here, H and M (more correctly, the scholia in M contemporary with the main text but from a different hand, which Pontani designates M^a). In l. 2 Pontani has adopted Polak's conjecture τὴν for the first τοῦ, which is possible, but τοῦ Ἀμύκλα follows idiomatically after Ἀμύκλας without article in l. 1. The precise wording of the remainder is to some extent conjectural but H's *Μελανίων* will not have been made up out of nothing; that this person is unattested elsewhere is a situation one often encounters in the mythographers, especially in obscure stretches of genealogies like this one. It is precisely at this point that M^a has got into a muddle over Eteoneus' relationship with Alektor, and over the 'helper', which he has read as a common noun (influenced by *θεράπων* in *Od.* 4.23). He writes ἔστι γὰρ ἀδελφὸς τούτου καὶ βοηθὸς Ἐτεωνεύς; the γὰρ is another giveaway that he is following his own path here. Therefore we should follow H, whose text also points to the idiomatic τοῦ δὲ γίνεται in l. 2. In l. 3 I should have corrected *Βοηθός* to *Βοήθοος* as Pontani has done (and as I admonished Jacoby to do!); cf. Joh. Philopon. *De signif. verb.* ed. Daly, β6: <Βοήθοος>· τὸ κύριον προπαροξύνεται, τὸ ἐπίθετον βαρύνεται. M^a's comment at p. 186.67–8 Pontani is based on his mistaken interpretation, so he wrote ἀδελφός; though in truth Eteoneus is a nephew, one should not correct this to ἀδελφιδούς. My objection to Dindorf's *συμπενθεροῦ* was not based on ignorance of the relationship between Menelaos and Alektor (Homer tells us what it is in this very passage) but on the absence of the word in ancient Greek. *πενθερός* can be used of a relation by marriage; it does not have to denote specifically a father-in-law (*LSJ* II with Suppl.; *Suda* π963 quoting Soph. fr. 305). However, various forms of the compound *συμπένθερος* (or *συμπενθερός*; the MSS vary) occur in Byzantine Greek, and since M^a is the only MS offering this note (i.e. the note is not of ancient origin) this may be reinstated (*TLG* turns up 3 instances in Georg. Monach. *Chron.* of the ninth century, then 18 examples in the tenth incl. e.g. Sym. Logoth. *Chron.* 281, 300, then 13 in the next century incl. e.g. in Anna Comnena *Alex.* 1.12.6, 7, 10). The reading in M^a here is *συμπεθέροῦ* not *συμπεθέροῦ* as I reported it (but from the microfilm it seems clear that H does have καὶ βοηθός in l. 3 of Pher. not ὁ βοηθός, another sign that he has got it right).

³³ Fowler, 'Gods in Early Greek Historiography' 328.

Fr. 135. My supplement <ἐπὶ Παρρασίου> in l. 1 is only *exempli gratia* but answers a need. We are at the beginning of the pursuit: 'then the Erinyes pursue Orestes' not 'then again' (in any case, it is not likely that there were multiple stages in Pherekydes; that was Euripides' elaboration in the *IT*.) The next sentence says 'he takes refuge in the sanctuary of Artemis'. Which one? There were many, and one in Troizen also claimed to be where Orestes was purified (Paus. 2.34.4), as Pherekydes probably knew. An indication of the direction Orestes was heading is not absolutely indispensable, but makes the narrative much easier. (It is not known whether he started from Lakonia or the Argolid in Pherekydes.) As it happens, there is discussion of the district Parrhasion in the scholia, which might arise only from its mention in Euripides' text, but could also have derived support from Pherekydes. (MS A actually has ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀρέστην in l. 1, but it could be a corruption of ἐπειτα.)

Fr. 148. The poetic word ἡῖθεοι (a10) to describe the band of youths is a fixture in this tale (Bacchyl. 17 several times including the title, Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56.3 of the Delian chorus, fr. 485, Plut. *Thes.* 15.1, 17.1, 23.1; R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society* 81).

Fr. 154. The word κρώπιον is otherwise only found in Hsch. s.v., who says that it is sometimes written with a β. It looks like an everyday sort of word (neither poetic nor dialectal).

Fr. 155. In his text as finally published Radt also inserted καὶ in front of σκίπωνα but accepts the ellipsis 'rites of Demeter' for 'priesthood of the rites of Demeter'. A parallel for this is hard to find. Can Strabo mean the safekeeping of sacred *objects*, as in Hdt. 7.153.3 (to which Robert Parker draws my attention)? But the noun is in apposition to τιμᾶς and one cannot easily understand such objects as tokens of esteem in the same way as the preferred seating and the special staff. Emendation to (τῇν) ἱερα<τεῖαν> might be considered.

Fr. 158. The text usually printed in ll. 14–15 of fr. 158a is καταφρόνησιν δὲ αὐτοῦ (sc. Ἀρηιθόου) μεγάλην ἐμβαλόντος Ἀρκάσιν which is found in two of the manuscripts used by van Thiel; the other three have καταφρόνησιν δὲ (om. Q) αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ἐμβαλόντων Ἀρκάδων.³⁴ I suppose this is thought to mean 'Areithoos having cast depression on the Arkadians', i.e. they are dispirited and depressed, but καταφρόνησις means 'contempt' and it is Lykourgos who has roused his Arkadians to confront the fearsome Areithoos; hence Bast's ἐμβαλῶν. Xenophon has a similar idea at *Hell.* 3.4.19 ≈ *Ag.* 1.28 ἡγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμην τινὰ ἐμβαλεῖν πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, προεῖπε . . . τοὺς . . . βαρβάρους γυμνοὺς πωλεῖν.

Fr. 163. On the accent and form of Πῦπες (correct EGM 1) see Radt on Aisch. fr. 284, Strabo 8.7.5. The name is pre-Greek; for the initial alpha, see Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen* 368.

Fr. 168. Οἰτύλος is proparoxytone in spite of the rule about trisyllables of this form (Chandler, *Greek Accentuation* §§276–81), perhaps because it was originally tetrasyllabic: West adopts Fick's ἰδ' Ὀἰτύλον at *Il.* 2.585. Strabo 8.4.4 records a variant Βοίτυλος, which survived into modern times (see Radt ad loc.), though he should have said Βεῖτυλος, as inscriptions show (*IACP* p. 585). One may infer Ὀφίτυλος as the original form (Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen* 324 n. 38). Shipley, *IACP*, p. 570, notes the unusual use of 'Sparta' in this fr. to denote, like 'Lakedaimon', the region and not the town.

Fr. 175. It is possible this fragment should be attributed to Pherekydes of Syros, but with a little imagination a place can be found for it in the Ixion story (→§1.8.6).

³⁴ Lascaris added τοῖς before Ἀρκάσιν, which I have adopted.

POLOS

ONLY one testimonium attests mythography from this author, and it reveals that there was some confusion with Damastes (above, p. 646). The other testimonia all relate to him as a Sophist. I published them in *Mnem.*⁴ 50 (1997) 27–34; note the addenda in *BGM* 1. Since then Virgilio Costa has written a commentary on Polos in *BNJ*. Like me, Costa does not share Nestle's explicit (and Jacoby's implicit) opinion that the Sophist and the historian were different people (Nestle, *RE* 21.2.1424). It was not at all unusual to combine literary, philosophical, and/or mythographical pursuits, as we see from the work also of Kritias, Hippias, Herodoros, Ion, Skythinos, etc.; indeed, one can say the same of Herodotos.

SIMONIDES¹

Two fragments of a mythographical nature (frr. 1–2) are attributed to 'the genealogist Simonides'; a notice in the *Suda* (test. 1) says that Simonides of Keos was grandson of the homonymous poet 'according to some', lived before the Peloponnesian War, and wrote a *Genealogy* in three books, and *Inventions*, also in three books. That is the sum of the evidence for this author. The doubtful 'according to some' raises the possibility that the coincidence of names has led to a spurious association with the famous poet. But in the absence of indications to the contrary one has no choice but to accept the *Suda*'s testimony. *Genealogy* is not the sort of work one expects from a Hellenistic writer,² and *Inventions*, though it would be the earliest example of the title, is hardly impossible given fifth-century interest in such matters (see below on Skamon). It raises an eyebrow that Athena in fr. 1 is a mortal girl (→§1.8.4), but such ideas began to circulate already in the late fifth and early fourth centuries (cf. above, p. 697).

Other fragments simply attributed to 'Simonides' are overwhelmingly more likely to belong to the poet.³ In some cases, however, scholars have suggested that the genealogist might be in view. Jacoby printed two of these as *FGrHist* 8 FF 3–4, and in his addenda noted three more possibilities, FF 5–7.

F 3 (Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.763–64a, 66.20 Wendel) reports that the Minyans settled Iolkos 'according to Simonides in his *Symmikta*'. The book-title is more at home in Hellenistic grammatical literature. O. Poltera, *MH* 55 (1998) 129–30, emended 'Simonides' to 'Seleukos', noting also a related corruption in the *Etym. Gud.* (Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika* 161); this has much to be said for it (the fragment is fr. spur. 352 in his 2008 edition of the poet). If *Symmikta* is to denote a collection of miscellaneous poems in the Alexandrian edition of the poet, one could compare the *Ἀτακτοὶ λόγοι*, *PMG* 653, but these are equally mysterious. One might also compare Hippias of Elis' *Synagoge*, also a miscellany; the parallel may make

¹ A. Paradiso, comm. in *BNJ*.

² The singular is slightly odd (compare the *Genealogies* of Akousilaos and Hekataios), but no different from *History/Histories*.

³ There is also 'Simonides the Younger' (*FGrHist* 669), a clearly Hellenistic writer cited twice by Pliny (*NH* 1.6, 6.183).

Symmikta an acceptable title for a late fifth-century mythographer's work. That *Iolkos* was Minyan is fairly common knowledge, hardly obscure enough to require Apollonius' commentator to look into specialist literature. If a Simonides is in question, the lyric poet seems more probable.

F 4 is from Aetios of Amida; the extract also includes Pher. fr. 173 (*EGM* 1.362–3). The subject-matter is unlikely to come from either the poet or a fifth-century book on genealogies. Paradiso notes that the peacock was still rare and expensive in the fifth century, whereas the chapter is about animals reared in the home as pets.⁴ So it would seem to be from yet another Simonides (and not from our Pherekydes, either).

F 5 (from Plut. *Lyk.* 1.8, schol. Pl. *Rep.* 10.599d, *Suda* λ 823) is attributed explicitly to 'Simonides the poet' and is about the genealogy of Lykourgos. Paradiso makes a detailed case for attributing this to the genealogist, after Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* 1.276 n.1, and others. Though the poet often mentions genealogical details, Paradiso argues that 'nowhere in the surviving fragments of his work do we find another example of such a genealogical construction, long, complex and enriched by historical details'. This somewhat overstates the case; it is no more complex than many in Pindar, and could have a similar origin if Simonides was celebrating the victory of a descendant of Lykourgos' nephew Charilaos or brother Eunomos. Paradiso is supported by Poltera in his commentary on Simonides (his fr. spur. 355), who argues that Herodotos would not have failed to note this variant genealogy; the argument from silence is singularly weak. Apart from his many other silences, one need note only his failure to notice the different genealogy Pherekydes offers for the Philaidai (fr. 2).

F 6 is from *Gnomol. Vat. Gr.* 1144 = Hesiod. test. 16 Most, and says that, according to Simonides, Hesiod was the gardener, Homer the garland-weaver: the first 'planted' the myths about the gods and heroes, while the second wove the garland of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* out of them. This is in fact one of the Simonidean apothegms (Simon. test. 47k Campbell, 91b Poltera).

F 7 = Hellan. *FGrHist* 4 F 201 bis, the verso of the papyrus which is my fr. 152A; the name of Simonides occurs. Page mentions it among the doubtful testimonies in *PMG* 652. The papyrus is too tatty to draw any conclusions.

⁴ Detailed discussion in Arnott, *Birds in the Ancient World* 235–6; to his list of early references add Eupolis fr. 41.

SKAMON¹

THE name is attested in a variety of forms (see *EGM* 1); some are merely corruptions, but the alternation Skamon/Kamon attests the same weak sigma one finds in *Σκάμανδρος*, *σκέπαρνον*, *σκή*, and other words in epic that do not lengthen the preceding vowel; see West, *Th.* p. 98 and Hainsworth on *Il.* 12.21.² The 'Sandon son of Hellanikos' who wrote about Orpheus (*Orphic.* fr. 1137 Bernabé) is probably not Skamon (→§1.2.1 *ad fin.*). Skamon is normally taken to be the son of our Hellanikos, but the inference is not completely secure. Test. 2 = Hellan. test. 1 says Hellanikos had a son named Skamon, and Skamon is one of three names given for the writer's father; test. 3 says that Skamon came from Mytilene, like Hellanikos. There were other (S)kamones in Lesbos, as *LPGN* shows (1.251, 408) but probability favours the relationship. The only mythographical fragment concerns the mother of Priam (→§18.1.1), from his history of Lesbos. Otherwise the fragments are all from his book *On Inventions: FGrHist* 476 F 2 on the *sikinnis*-dance; F 3 on the invention of writing (→§7.1.4); F 4 on the musical instrument known as the phoenix (*Hdt.* 4.192); F 5 on the musical instrument *sambyke*. Interest in inventions is old among the Greeks, and systematic investigation began as early as the Sophists (Kritias fr. 2);³ in our corpus note Anaxim. fr. 3, Andr. fr. 9–10, Dam. fr. 6, Hellan. fr. 71 (and *FGrHist* 4 FF 175, 178, 189), Simon. test. 1.

¹ A. Kaldellis, *BNJ* commentary.

² Kandalos/Skandarion is another possibility; →§19.3.

³ Kleingünther, *ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΕΥΡΕΤΗΣ*; Jacoby on Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 FF 2–5; Thraede, 'Das Lob des Erfinders'; M. Baumbach, *BNP* s.v. Protos Heures.

SKYTHINOS¹

A LATE-fifth- or early-fourth-century date is probable (see particularly West); the mention of Trachinian Herakleia in fr. 1 provides a *terminus post quem* of 426 when the city was founded. Clear traces of Ionic survive in the only prose fragment we have (assuming that Stobaios has paraphrased original tetrameters into prose, fr. 2 West). From Teos, he bears the same name as one of those given for Anakreon's father (*Suda* α1916 = test. 1 Campbell), so perhaps they were related. Even though we have only two sentences of it, from them we can see that Skythinos' portrait of Herakles was that of a blameless benefactor of mankind, the scourge of wrong-doers, a philosophical role-model, like the Herakles of Herodotos.

¹ Jacoby, *FGrHist* 13 and *RE* 3A.1.696–7; M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* 176–7.

XENOMEDES¹

KALLIMACHOS (fr. 75 = Xenom. fr. 1) calls Xenomedes, his source for this part of the *Aitia*, a γέρων and a πρέσβυς, which may repeat something said in Xenomedes, or it may transfer to the author the standing of his book; cf. l. 54, παρ' ἀρχαίου Ξενομήδεος. He calls his work a μνήμη μυθολόγος, i.e. a work of local history, particularly the island's prehistory. Xenomedes was a contemporary of Hellanikos and Damastes according to Dionysios (test. 1), which will not be far wrong. If he came to the attention of Dionysios, drawing on histories of style, his work cannot have been without merit. It is a pity we do not have more of it to see for ourselves whether it deserved its literary reputation, but from the summary in Kallimachos we can get some sense of its contents, which we may presume to have been typical of such histories. See §17.6.

Fr. 4. On the attribution see above, p. 651 n. 4.

¹ Jacoby, comm. on *FGrHist* 442; Gärtner, *RE* 9A.2.1534–6; Huxley, 'Xenomedes of Keos'; F. W. Jenkins, comm. in *BNJ*.

TWO ADDENDA TO VOL. 1

Hippys of Rhegion

SOME scholars regard Hippys of Rhegion as the earliest writer of local history in the West. At EGM 1.xxxvi I should have addressed more explicitly the arguments of Maurizio Giangiulio in his article 'Ippi di Regio', particularly that the Olympiad dating in F 3 derives from a revised edition of Hippys' *Sikelika*, which, he maintains, existed by Didymos' time and was called by somebody else *Χρονικά* or *Περὶ Χρόνων*.¹ If, as Giangiulio and others believe, the title *Περὶ Ἰταλίας* is a careless citation of some part of the *Sikelika*, then Hippys wrote but one work (leaving aside the mysterious *Argolika* also cited by the *Suda*).² The need to hypothesize revisions never strengthens a case, but one should not overlook the difficulties in other views. Hippys is cited by Phainias of Eresos (F 5), who died perhaps 300 BC; the later in the fourth century one thinks the Olympiad method must be placed, the smaller the window of time becomes in which to place Hippys' work. Timaios, usually thought to have started this trend, lived c.350–260.³ The vague floruit given for Hippys in the *Suda* (*ἐπὶ τῶν Περσικῶν*) suggests, as Giangiulio notes, that the author of the pinacographical entry had little to go on apart from the content of the work or its style. That author might have been Kallimachos himself.⁴ Could he have mistaken a work laden with Olympiads for that of an old author? If not, one would have to conclude that the work he saw (the *Sikelika*) had no such dates. But I remain sceptical of this supposed first author of *Sikelika* who left so little trace among his successors.⁵ In fact, once we open the door to Myes or some other

¹ Cf. De Sanctis, 'Hippys', who compares the chronological interpolations in Xenophon's *Hellenika*. It remains the case, as I said in EGM 1, that the dates in F 3 have not simply been pasted in; the fragment reads oddly without them. So either the whole thing stems from Hippys, or the whole thing has been rewritten: the logical candidate is the mysterious Myes, who is said to have produced an epitome.

² Jacoby noted that ps.-Eudocia has the reading *Ἀρχαιολογικά*: a conjecture or mistake of no authority.

³ The oddities in the chronographical data themselves (their disagreement with other lists of Olympic victors and of Attic kings) might indicate an earlier, less canonical state of such lists: Vanotti, 'Ippi di Reggio' 42.

⁴ In the first instance: the title *Χρονικά* has been added later, and the information about Myes. The hypothesis gets more complicated all the time.

⁵ As was Pearson, *The Greek Historians of the West* 8–10. The form of F 8, incidentally—a scholion on Euripides Med. 9 cites *Ἱππυς καὶ Ἑλλάνικος*—would normally be taken to mean that Hippys cited Hellanikos. On the whole question see also Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 3, 53–61.

reviser, then we have no way of knowing what the unrevised version looked like; we can say only that it pre-dated Phainias, and was interested in Pythagoreanism (F 5). It could have been a quite negligible piece of work—which would explain its minimal impact. Its date would be impossible to determine.

Natalis Comes

In EGM 1 (xxxiii) I wrote that 'there is not the slightest reason to trust him. It is simply incredible that so many unique details should be preserved by him alone at such a date (1567)', and added in a note that there were many more citations of the mythographers in his *Mythologiae* than had been captured by Jacoby. Since then, the 1988 Spanish translation of María Álvarez Morán and Rosa Iglesias Montiel (Murcia 1988), which I had not seen, has been made available online, fully searchable and with an index of authors cited;⁶ and John Mulryan and Steven Brown have produced an English translation, also with an exhaustive index.⁷ Both editions set out what is known of Comes' life, works and influence, and the details of the numerous editions of the *Mythologiae* so far as they can be tracked down.⁸ Born in 1520 and dying shortly after 1581, the date of his last work *Universae historiae sui temporis libri triginta* (which was twice as long as the *Mythologiae*), Comes was a prolific writer of verse and prose, and translator of the Classics. Among the authors translated one notes Athenaios, repository of many obscure authors, and ps.-Plutarch *De fluviis et montibus*, a collection of genuine and fake citations which would have made a perfect model for the *Mythologiae*. The latter was enormously influential throughout the early modern period, serving as a source for writers (including Edmund Spenser) and scholars (e.g. Thomas Gale) alike.

Comes has occasionally found defenders, but more often he has been damned, beginning with Scaliger who called him *homo futilissimus*.⁹ Most recently, Paola Ceccarelli's careful work in her edition of Satyros for BNJ (no. 23) has shown that Comes added a source-citation to F 1d (5.20, p. 453 Mulryan–Brown; not in Jacoby) to his own mistranslation of ps.-Plutarch (which he produced in 1560) between the first edition of 1567 and the enlarged edition of 1581—so no access to lost manuscripts there.¹⁰ In our own patch of early mythography Comes' reputation finds no rehabilitation. Mulryan and Brown's index¹¹ allows one easily to check all the citations in the

⁶ [http://interclassica.um.es/investigacion/monografias/natale_conti_mitologia/\(ver\)/1](http://interclassica.um.es/investigacion/monografias/natale_conti_mitologia/(ver)/1).

⁷ J. Mulryan and S. Brown, *Natalis Conti's Mythologiae* (2 vols, Tempe, AZ, 2006).

⁸ Mulryan and Brown identify 21 Latin and 6 French editions between 1567 and 1653.

⁹ *Epistole* 14.614, cited by Mulryan–Brown, p. xv and Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger* 2.606 n. 37.

¹⁰ Ceccarelli gives full references to earlier work on Comes including Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* 250–1 and A. G. Roos, 'De fide Natalis Comititis', *Mnem.* 2 45 (1917) 69–77; see also Briquel, *L'Origine lydie des Étrusques* 451–67.

¹¹ To which add the citations of Akousilaos and Epimenides on p. 502.

corpus.¹² Of the citations of known fragments, the greatest number come from the scholia to Apollonios of Rhodes, four times as many as the nearest rival, the scholia to Pindar. Scholia predominate among other sources: to Lykophron, Sophokles *OC*, Aristophanes, Homer, Aratos, Theokritos, and Nikandros. In addition Athenaios, Diodoros of Sicily and Apollodoros, *Bibl.* are used. In many of these cases the transcription of the source is not particularly careful, to say the least; details of several authors cited in a single scholion might be run together, book-numbers might be mistaken, added, or omitted, titles to works might be supplied (such as a fictitious *Phoroneus* of Hekataios), and details might be freely added from elsewhere.

Then there are the citations that do not correspond to known fragments, which are of course the ones scholars are sometimes tempted to think come from some lost manuscript. For *EGM* these number 25, a worryingly high proportion out of the 101 citations from the corpus. Two points can be made: Comes does not seem to invent names of authors, and, in the sample at least, he attaches his false or mistaken citations to material he has got from other known sources. Thus for instance he names Pherekydes or Akousilaos when he should have named Apollodoros, or Herodoros when the real source is the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysos*, or Epimenides (called 'the Corcyrean' in one passage) when his real source is schol. Ap. Rhod. or Pausanias. With the help of Roscher's *Lexikon*, *TLG* and other modern tools one can usually find the sources of his false attributions without much difficulty. The source of the quotation reproduced at the end of the fr. of Akous. in *EGM* 1 (the Harpyiai are offspring of Poseidon and Earth) turns out to be Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 3.241. The source of Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 6 *bis* a (9.9, p. 853 Mulryan-Brown) is the scholia to Lykophron *Alex.* 481 (Comes has thoughtfully supplied *Μελιβοΐη* with an Ionic eta); of *bis* c (p. 854), the scholia on l. 480. The source of Hek. 1 F 25 *bis* (6.23, p. 556 M.-B.) is straightforwardly Paus. 4.15.8. At book 3, introduction (p. 160 M.-B.) = Hek. 1 F 35 *bis* the rationalizing explanation of Endymion comes from the scholia to Ap. Rhod. (4.57–8); the rationalization of Aiolos could be from Palaiphatos 17. At 7.2 (p. 603 Mulryan-Brown) = Hek. *FGrHist* 1 F 35 *ter*, Acheloos is said to be son of Earth and Sun; the source is probably Servius on Verg. *Georg.* 1.8 (son of Terra, but no father is named). The source of Hellan. 4 F 32 *bis* (9.2, p. 820 M.-B.) (which is almost identical with Hellan. fr. 155 anyway) is schol. Lykoph. *Alex.* 1374. Hellan. *FGrHist* 4 F 52 *bis* (9.4, p. 825 M.-B.) comes from the scholia to Pind. *Nem.* 4.92a. At 8.20 p. 776 M.-B., a passage Jacoby did not include in his addenda, Comes writes: 'The ancients depicted Vesta as a woman in a sitting position, wearing a crown on her head, and surrounded by many different types of plants and charming animals. Hekataios makes this point in his *Genealogies*' (tr. Mulryan-Brown); this could have

¹² Akous. is cited 10x; Andron 2x; Derkyllus 4x (i.e. *FGrHist* 288; never Agias/Derkyllus; he has got this from ps.-Plutarch, *De fluv.*); Charon of Lampsakos 3x; Deilochos once; Epimenides 8x; Eumelos 3x; Hekataios 12x; Hellanikos 6x; Herodoros 17x; Ion 2x; Pherekydes 32x; Simonides once.

been inspired by Pliny, *NH* 36.25 *Scopae laus cum his certat. is fecit . . . Vestam sedentem laudatam in Servilianis hortis duosque campteras* (leg. *lampteras*) *circa eam, quorum pares in Asini monimentis sunt, ubi et canephoros eiusdem* (= *LIMC* Hestia no. 21). As it happens, there are some isolated representations of Vesta with a cornucopia in surviving art, but Comes would not have known these; either he made up the business about the crown, plants, etc., or he guessed at the meaning of *campteras* and *canephoros*.

The upshot of this selective survey is that almost all that Comes gives us has some basis in tradition known to us from other places. Where he departs from his sources, generosity may sometimes put it down to loose memory or careless compilation (and, to give him full credit, he did a lot of research), but in the great majority of cases he has supplied extra details from his imagination. The attributions to authors and inventions of titles are particularly free-wheeling. In reporting the other content of his sources he is faithful in different degrees, and where the source of a variant detail has not (so far) been identified, it would be illogical to think that in such cases alone he has got hold of some precious lost source. Such details are always nugatory anyway. There is no source of the *Mythologiae* that had not been printed by the date of the first edition, and in my sample at least I have found no passage where one could assert that the variant clearly comes from a manuscript not now known to us.¹³ In short, while Comes may be fully deserving of study within his own right as an early modern writer, there is no reason to consult him for any ancient facts, as either they are in sources we already have or he made them up.

¹³ Thus the statement in *EGM* 1 xxxiii n.10 that he could be the source of lost readings looks to be too generous. Briquel (above, n. 10), argues that the genealogy of Lydos and Tyrrhenos sons of Atys in *Mythol.* 9.5 comes from a lost source; but it is from Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.27.2. In passing I note Comes' four citations of 'Derkyllus', *FGrHist* 288. In two cases he is cited for quite common mythological knowledge; once for a rationalization taken from Palaiphatos; and once (9.8, p. 848 M.-B., from *The Names of Cities and Places*) for the information that Paphlagon was son of Polyphemos. I find this in no ancient source, so this would appear to be an untypical case where content as well as book-title are invented. But Derkyllus is one of ps.-Plutarch's inventions, so the joke is complete.

CORRIGENDA TO VOLUME 1

p. xiii	s. 'Clem. Al.'	leg. 'Leipzig, 1905'
p. xxxiii	n. 9	leg. 'ὀνομασίαι'
p. 2	ad T 7	pro 'fr. 9.11 sqq.' lege 'fr. 11.9 sqq.'
p. 4	F 2.7	Cratetis Mallotis fr. 126* Broggiato (ed. Romae 2006)
p. 8	ad F 6A.3	leg. 'cf. fr. sequens et fr. 14'; tum 'fr. 11.9 sqq.'
p. 15	ad F 20.2,4	<i>Καβειρούς</i> iam Lobeck <i>Aglaophamus</i> (1829) 1209, 1210 ^h
	ad F 20.2	ad finem leg. 'quaedam'
p. 38	F2.5	Cratetis fr. 139 Broggiato, ubi <i>Mallotesque Crates</i> scribendum monet Janko
p. 40	T 1	immo <i>ZPE</i> 123 (1998)
p. 44	ad F 13.7	leg. 'Elmsley'
p. 45	ad F 14.4	' <i>Ἀττικῆς</i>] <i>Ἀκτῆς II</i> ' delendum
p. 48	post Andr. frr.	leg. 'P.Oxy. XV 1802'; item in indice p. 397
p. 51	ad F 3a. 7	leg. 'Ὀινώτρους' cum spirito
	ad F 3a. 10	<i>Ναπιτῖνον</i> re vera Holstenius <i>Annotationes in Geographiam Sacram</i> (Romae 1666) 295
p. 53	ad F 9.3	immo - <i>τριῶν</i> W, - <i>οτριῶν</i> C
p. 58	fr. 9B.1	leg. < <i>ποτε</i> >; suppl. Jacoby, u.v.
p. 66	Creoph. 3.8	leg. <i>Κρέοντα</i>
p. 70	ad F 9.9	'Meineke (ed. 1852)': melius 'Meineke' 202'
p. 83	app. l. 2	leg. 'Epimenidis'
p. 98	ad F 13.14	'ut Henrichs': immo ut Schober
p. 103	ad F **1.4	' <i>Εὐγαίων</i> Dobree': et in <i>Adversariis</i> et prius in Porsoni ed. Photii Patriarchae 1822, in indice auctorum vol. 2 p. 752. Cetera corrigenda in hoc fr. vide in commentarii altera parte.
p. 114	T 12A l. 1	leg. 'Seyfarth'
p. 115	ad T 13.12	<i>Ῥιπαῖα</i> re vera Xylander
	ad T 13.18	adnotationem dele. Deinde ad calcem in Strabonis loco lin. 4 adde <i>καὶ Στερνοφθάλμους</i> post <i>Κυνοκεφάλους</i>
p. 142	ad F 119.2	'coni. Koraes': coni. et Pletho
	ad F 119.8	leg. 'σοίας AC'
p. 187	ad F 84	numeros linearum corrigas
p. 201	ad finem F 125	pro 'Etym. Magn. 188.55' leg. 'Etym. Magn. 118.55'. Elencho testium adde schol. Aristid. <i>Panath.</i> 118.

p. 208	ad F 144.6	leg. 'ἡμίσεις'
p. 209	ad F 149.11	'sc. <i>Ἀχιλλεύς</i> ': immo Penthesilea, quae occidit sororem
p. 212	ad F 153	pro 'Theogn.' leg. 'Theodos.'
p. 213	F 154b.3	Cratetis fr. 41 Broggiato
p. 224	ad F 186	app. ad 2, 3 pro 'B' leg. 'W'
p. 225	F187A	pro <i>βασιλεύσαντας</i> leg. <i>βασιλεύσαντος</i>
p. 226	F 195	lin. 4 leg. 'fr. 5'
p. 292	F 26	app. ad lin. 1: δ' addidi ex P. Ante <i>ζητείται</i> inserenda sunt haec negligenter omissa: <i>ἔστι δὲ, ὡς Ἀσκληπιάδης</i> (<i>FGrHist</i> 12 F 6c), <i>Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Καλλιόπης</i> . <i>ἔνιοι δὲ</i> <i>ἀπὸ Οἰάγρου καὶ Πολυμνίας</i> . leg. <i>Διονύσου</i> '
p. 244	F 34a.7	adde acc. <i>Ἀχαίας</i>
p. 255	F65a.6	'3' non '2' in prima linea apparatus
p. 319	ad F 84	<i>ἐλεήσας</i> ante <i>κατηστέρισεν</i> transponendum
p. 322	Pher. fr. 90b	fr. in cod. V ^o non invenitur; siglum dele
p. 326	Pher. fr. 92b	immo <i>Ῥῦπες</i>
p. 358	Pher. fr. 163	app. ad lin. 3: habet papyrus <i>αρηῖτος</i>
p. 362	ad Pher. fr. 172A	in frr. Cratetis recepit Broggiato (eius fr. 86).
p. 364	ad F 180	'Lobeck op. cit.': i.e. <i>Aglaophomus</i> sicut infra
p. 374	ad Xen. **4	leg. 'ceterosque accentus'
p. 375	l. 9	<i>διελαντο</i> etiam A ^{ac}
	ad 3.75.4	num. '7' delendum in '7 πόλιν τῆς'
	ad 3.144.7	leg. 'ad init.'
p. 388	s. 'Scamon'	
In the Indexes		
p. 396		Helladius, Heraclitus, Hermogenes ante Herodianum p. 394 traiciendi
p. 399	s. Plut. <i>Thes.</i>	adde '173 Hellan.164'
p. 410	s. <i>ἀποκτείνω</i>	pro '115' leg. '135'
p. 413	s. <i>ἐγγαστροχέιρ</i> , <i>ἐγχειρογάστωρ</i>	pro 'Dam.' leg. 'Deil.'
p. 416	s. <i>Καιεύς</i>	immo <i>Καινή</i>
p. 417	s. <i>λέγω</i>	leg. 'Aeth. 2'
p. 420	s. <i>Πολύιδος</i>	lege 'Ph. 115'
p. 421	s. <i>Ποσειδέων</i>	pro 'Ph. 20, 101' leg. 'Ph. 21, 105'; item p. 450
p. 424	s. <i>Ἀγχίμος</i>	pro 'Ph. 145' leg. 'Ph. 144'; item sub ceteris nominibus in hoc fragmento (<i>Ἀμφίνομος</i> , <i>Ὀρμένιος</i> , <i>Ὀρνυτος</i> , <i>Σίνωπος</i> , <i>Στήσιος</i>)
p. 425	s. <i>Αἰμόνιοι</i>	immo <i>Αἰμόνιος</i>

p. 432		adde Δηώ Acus. 6d 9 (supp.)
p. 437	s. Ἡσίοδος	adde Hellan. fr. 5a
p. 438	s. Ἰδμων	adde Her. fr. 44
p. 439	s. Ἱππολύτη	pro '153' lege 'Ph. 153'
p. 440	s. Ἰφίτος	pro 'Ph. 81' leg. 'Ph. 82'
	s. Καδμεῖος	pro 'Hellan. 100' leg. 'Hellan. 101'
p. 441	s. Κηφεύς	'Hell. fr. 37' immo ad Alei filium referendum
	s. Κλάρος	pro 'Ph. 143' leg. 'Ph. 142'
	s. Κλεισώννυμος	adde Ph. fr. 65
p. 442	s. Κορύκται	leg. Κορύκται ν., et traice ante Κορύκτιον
	νύμφαι	
p. 442	s. Κρής	adde Andr. fr. 16b
p. 442	s. Κύκλωπες	pro '45' leg. '46'
p. 444	s. Μαντώ	pro 'Ph. 143' leg. 'Ph. 142'
p. 446	s. Μόψος	pro 'Ph. 143' leg. 'Ph. 142'
p. 446	s. Νεφέλη	pro 'Ph. 99' leg. 'Ph. 98'
p. 447	s. Νόστοι	pro 'Ac. 19' leg. 'Ac. 18'
p. 446 sq.	s. Νίσαια, Νίσος	adde Andr. fr. 14
p. 450	s. Πολύιδος	lege 'Ph. 82b'; del. 'Ph. 105'
p. 451		adde 'Σελλοί And. 4'
p. 453	s. Ταῦγέτης	leg. Ταῦγέτη
p. 453	s. Τειρεσίας	lege '142'
p. 453	s. Τίρυνς	lege '82b'
p. 456	s. Χείρων	pro '43a' leg. '43'
	s. Χνᾶ	pro '20' lege '21'
p. 456	s. ἀθάρη / ἀθήρα	pro '191' leg. '192'

Corrigenda in the Minor Scholia to the Iliad

In preparing EGM 1 I was able to use the unpublished edition of Vittorio De Marco of the minor scholia to the *Iliad*, which he had provisionally finished up to the end of book 17; for the remaining books Franco Montanari kindly provided readings (see EGM 1 p. xxxix). I was unaware that an edition was being prepared by Helmut van Thiel in Cologne, which was published online at the same time as EGM 1, <<http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/1810/>>. The sigla used for the MSS differ:

De Marco	Van Thiel
C	Z
H	Y
V	Q
R	X
La	L

I collated the two editions and, as is inevitable in work of this kind, found discrepancies, which I followed up in helpful correspondence with Prof. Van Thiel and by further checking microfilms and Lascaris' edition. The result is as follows (I correct here also a few typographical errors):

p. 25	F 39a.1	ins. Ἀγχίση ante ἥδη
	ad F 39a.1–2	leg. 'a 1 ἥδη La: om. A; καὶ cett. 2 καὶ] Ἀφροδίτη *B; δὲ Ἀφροδίτη GeRV'
p. 41	ad F 4.2	σκληρῶς τε etiam HV
	ad F 4.4 sq.	habent haec CHV
	ad F 4.6	λέγουσιν etiam A
	ad F 4.8	habent et haec CHV
p. 167	ad F. 26b.4	ἐστράτευσε etiam RV
p. 180	ad F 51a.8	leg. 'εἰσὶν αἱ πόλ(εις) Α'
p. 199	ad F 123	ἔνα etiam RV
p. 206	F 140.4	leg. 'τὸν υἱὸν' (cf. infra ad p. 376)
	F 142.6	ἑαυτὸν H, non ἑαυτούς; lege αὐτούς
p. 208	ad F 145.4	Αἴαν ἡ C
p. 214	ad F 157.12	πρεσβυτερείον re vera CH, πρεσβυτέριον RV (cf. A)
p. 222	ad F 168c.6	ὥς γὰρ etiam A
p. 283	ad F 13c.13	προσλαβομένους C
	F 13c.19	ἐπιστρέψας et CHV; ergo legendum
p. 310	ad F 61c.4	Λαοδαμείης et CH
p. 316	F 78.8	del. καὶ (cf. infra ad p. 377)
p. 317	ad F 79b.4	οὔτοι etiam V
p. 322	ad F 90b.4	leg. 'Διώνη] Θυώνη'
	ad F 90b.4	leg. 'Αἶσ-'
p. 323	ad F 90c.2	ἐπωνύμους etiam C
	ad F 90c.6	αὐτὰς καὶ CHV
	ad F 90c.10	Λύκων etiam HV, quod legas
p. 339	ad F 119.4	tantum Οἰνώνην om. H; εἰς Οἰνώνην autem recte V
p. 357	ad F 158a.15	'τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν La' delendum (servandum in epimetro)
	ad F 158a.18 sq.	hoc ordine etiam A

In the Epimetrum:

p. 375	ad Hellan.	διείλαντο etiam A ^{ac}
	F 36b.4	
p. 376	ad Hellan.	τὸν υἱὸν re vera et CHV; ergo legendum
	F 140.4	
	ad Pher. F 158a.11	immo βοιωτῶν R
	ad Pher. F 118.4	αὐτῶν C

- ad Pher. F 79b.3 'τοῦ Μόλου RVLa' delendum (servandum ad Pher. fr.)
 ad Pher. F 79b.6 σῶμα etiam R
 p. 377 ad Pher. F 41c.13 αὐτῇ C
 ad Pher. F 122b.3 delendum (servandum ad Pher. fr.)
 ad Pher. F 78.8 δὲ καὶ om. et C; καὶ igitur delendum
 ad Pher. F 13c.22 pro 'A*BHGe' leg. '*BGe'. Haec et quae ad 23 notavi vice
 versa debui dare.
 ad Pher. F 13c.1 'διασυγκοιμώμενον A' i.e. pro Δία συγκ.
 ad Pher. F 61c.2 hoc loco delendum, ad Pher. fr. servandum
 p. 378 ad Hellan. dele
 F 26b.15
 ad Hellan. articulum om. R, habent VLa
 F 26b.19

For the *Odyssey*, I consulted numerous MSS without pretending to have done a complete study of the tradition. In 2004, again from the Cologne *équipe*, an excellent new edition of the minor scholia by Nicola Ernst was published online, <<http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/1831/>>. More recently, Filippomaria Pontani has undertaken to edit the entire corpus of scholia; two volumes have so far appeared (Rome, 2007 and 2010); earlier he published a study of the MS tradition, *Sguardi su Ulisse* (Rome, 2005).

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¹ A translation with commentary of her Greek text, *Pseudo-Nonniani in IV Orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni Commentarii* (Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca 27, Corpus Nazianzenum 2, Brepols, 1992).

² Wendel's text with introduction, translation and brief notes.

³ For the minor scholia to both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* there are the online editions of van Thiel and Ernst respectively; see the Addenda and Corrigenda at the back of this volume for details.

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The first Vatican Mythographer ('Myth. Vat. I') is cited from the edition of N. Zorzetti and J. Berlioz (Paris, 1995); Myth. Vat. II is cited from the edition of P. Kulcsár (Turnhout, 1987); Myth. Vat. III is cited from the edition of G. Bode (1834). Note that Kulcsár's numeration for Myth. Vat. II differs from Bode's, since he used more manuscripts and found more *fabulae*; I give Bode's numbers in brackets for those using his edition, available online, like so much else, through the Internet Archive, <<http://archive.org/index.php>>. All three are now conveniently available in the English translation of Ronald E. Pepin, *The Vatican Mythographers* (New York, 2008).

Abbreviations

See now the fourth edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, edited by S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow (Oxford, 2012). In addition to the abbreviations given in *EGM* 1 note the following:

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Beekes, Etym. Dict. R. S. P. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 2 vols. (Leiden and Boston, 2010).
BNJ I. Worthington (ed.), *Brill's New Jacoby* (<http://www.brillonline.nl>, 2007–).
BNP H. Cancik, H. Schneider, C. Salazar, and D. Orton (eds.), *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World* 16 vols. (Leiden and Boston, 2002–10).
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⁴ Matthews's numeration is used for Antimachos rather than Wyss's, Rose's for Aristotle rather than Gigon's.

- HN — *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, tr. P. Bing (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1983); HN² = *Homo Necans: Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen* (2nd edn., Berlin, 1997).
 — OR — *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, tr. M. E. Pinder and W. Burkert (Cambridge, MA, 1992).
 — SH — *Structure and History in Greek Myth and Ritual* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1979).
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- Lloyd-Jones, *Further Academic Papers*
 Nilsson, GGR
 NGSL²
 Orphic. test./fr.
 Orphic. fr.
 n Bernabé
 Preller-Robert, GM
 Prinz
 Rhodes and
 Osborne, GHI
 Robert, GH
 Roscher, *Lex.*
 Συναγωγή,
 Συναγωγή^b
 Trümper,
 Monatsnamen
 West, EFH
 — HCW
 — IEPM
 — Th., Op.
- Lloyd-Jones, H., *The Further Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones* (Oxford, 2005).
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INDEX OF FRAGMENTS

Page numbers in **bold** refer to principal discussions in Part A.

AETHLIOS

frr.

- 1: 520, 619-20
- 2: 603, 620
- 3: 587

AGIAS/DERKYLOS

frr.

- 1: 303
- 2: 543-5
- 3: 603
- 4: 494-5, 622
- 6: 360, 622
- 7: 545
- 8: 519-20, 622
- 8A: 496-7
- 9: 593

AKOUSILAOS

testt.

- 1: 4, 623, 624-5
- 2: *see* Hek. test. 17
- 7: 4, 624
- 9A (new test.): *see* Hek. test. 17A
- 11: 4, 623

frr.

- 1: 12-3, 627
- 2: 603-4
- 3: 438
- 4: 555
- 6: 5-7
- 6A: 19-20
- 7: 18-19
- 8: 26
- 9: 31
- 10: 30
- 11: 32
- 12: 28
- 13: 28
- 14: 27-8
- 15: 34

- 17: 74
- 18: 76, 627
- 19: 77
- 20: 34, 37, 41
- 21: 79
- 22: 159-62, 627-9
- 23: 115, 117-20, 236-40
- 24: 236-40
- 25: 88, 236-40
- 26: 629, 236-40
- 27: 236
- 28: 171, 629
- 29: 286
- 30: 460-1
- 31: 210, 223
- 33: 370-1
- 34: 113-14
- 35: 114
- 36: 133-4
- 37: 197-8
- 38: 203
- 39: 561
- 40: 542
- 41: 529
- 42: 32, 629
- 43: 556
- 44: 325, 629
- 45A: 552-3
- 46: 121

ANAXIMANDROS

frr.

- 1: 262, 630-1
- 2: 395, 631
- 3: 246-7
- 3A: 76
- 4: 80

ANDRON

frr.

- 1: 35, 58
- 3: 77
- 4: 604

5:	205-6	6:	367, 412-13, 639-40
6:	483	7:	500, 605
7:	14-5	8:	35, 48
8:	115, 120, 632	8A:	640
9:	246-7		
10:	314		
11:	435	CHARON	
12:	419	testt.	
13:	465-6	1:	641 n. 3, 642
14:	482	3a:	see Hek. test. 17
15:	463		
16:	339, 341, 632		
16A:	53 n. 205	DAMASTES	
17:	76	testt.	
19:	459-60	1:	644, 646
20:	59-60, 632	2:	see Hek. test. 17
21:	151-2	5:	644
ANTIOCHOS		frr.	
frr.		1:	606-7
2:	503-10, 633-6	2:	295-6
3:	503-10	3:	564-5, 645, 646
4:	503-10	5:	132-3, 644, 645, 646
5:	503-10	6:	607, 646
6:	503-10	7:	543-5, 645
7:	503-10	9:	599-600
9:	503-10	10:	608
12:	190, 503-10	11:	608-9, 645, 646
ARISTOPHANES		12:	315
test.		DEILOCHOS	
1A:	637	test.	
frr.		1:	see Hek. test. 17
1A:	497-9, 637	frr.	
2:	61-2	1:	220
3:	186-7	1A:	217, 647
3A:	604-5	2:	214
4:	402	4:	218
8:	267	5:	219
9:	499-500	6:	219
9A:	62-4	7:	218
9B:	266	8:	218
9C:	605	9:	219
ARMENIDAS		10:	219
frr.		DEMOKLES	
1:	64, 605, 639	fr.	
2:	365	1:	369
3:	605		
5:	500		

DERKYLOS, <i>see</i> Agias/Derkylos		9:	79-80
		10:	35, 50
EPIMENIDES		HEKATAIOS	
frr.		testt.	
1:	193		
2:	396-7	1b:	659 n. 4
3:	472-3, 652	4:	661-5
4:	385-95	5:	665
5:	47	6:	665
6:	7-8	14:	673
7:	9	15:	673
8:	8 with n. 21, 30-1, 223	17:	673-6
	n. 78	17A (new test.):	676-7
9:	30	18A:	669
10:	28	24:	677
11:	14	frr.	
12:	133-4		
13:	20	1:	667-8, 677-80
14:	202	2:	64, 204 n. 29
15:	204	3:	344
16:	408	4:	610
17:	424-5, 429	5:	164
18:	424-5	6:	278, 672
19:	399	7:	289-90
		8:	610
		9:	109
		10:	183-4
EUAGON		11:	590
test.		12:	591
1:	<i>see</i> Hek. test. 17	12A:	610-11, 669
frr.		13:	140-1
1:	520-1, 654	14:	128
2:	608-9	15:	135, 666, 671
		16:	141
		17:	198, 666
EUDEMOS		18:	227, 680
testt.		18A:	99-100, 217
1:	655; <i>see also</i> Hek. test. 17	19:	245-6, 680
2:	655	20:	246-7
		21:	258, 670
		22:	259, 671
		23:	273-4
		24:	277
EUMELOS		25:	282
frr.		26:	299-300, 660
1:	14, 25-6, 501-3	27:	28, 305-6, 671, 672, 680
2:	136, 139, 501-3	28:	331
3:	231-3, 501-3	29:	309-10, 667
4:	501-3	30:	342, 667, 680
5:	224	31:	377-8
6:	529	32:	411
7:	107	33:	410-11
8:	109	34:	224

35:	121	24:	523-4
35A:	15-6	25:	525-6
119:	89, 427	26:	311-13, 692-3
127:	85-6, 89	27:	533
137A:	315	28:	539-40, 691, 692
360:	611, 671	29:	528-9
361:	611	30:	535
362:	611, 673	31:	563
363:	611-12, 673	32:	598
364:	612	33:	514
366:	612	34:	514
367:	55, 673	35:	515
368:	612, 673	35A:	516
368A:	177, 671	36:	242-4
369:	612, 673	37:	109-10
369A:	612, 670	38:	454-5
369B:	612, 670	39:	457-9
New frr.:	681	40:	35, 58-9
		41:	468, 693
		42:	120, 455-7
		43:	484
		45:	467
		46:	307-9
		46A:	484, 693
		47:	115, 118-20
		48:	586
		50:	357
		51:	355, 357-8, 360-1,
			380-2
		52:	152
		57:	503
		71:	516-17
		74:	155-7
		75:	481-2
		76:	369
		77:	555
		78:	481-2, 690-1
		79:	509-10, 685 with
			n. 14
		80:	600
		81:	186-7, 600 n. 116
		84:	564-5, 645
		88:	10, 35, 55
		89:	35, 43
		91:	94-5, 242
		92:	94-5
		93:	95
		94:	397-8, 693
		95:	220
		96:	359
		97:	408
		98:	409
		99:	411
		100:	414
		101:	583
		101A:	193-4

HELLANIKOS

testt.

1:	731
3:	682
4:	682 n. 4
5:	see Hek. test. 17
6:	682-3
14A (new test.):	see Hek. test. 17A
15A:	see Hek. test. 18A
16:	685-6
17:	683

frr.

1:	355, 360
2:	135, 326-7
3:	307-9, 684
4:	94-5, 690, 692
5:	212-3, 608-10, 645
6:	116
7:	158
8:	152, 631
9:	152
10:	76
11:	147
12:	146
13:	146
14:	157-8, 185-6
15:	157-8
16:	191
17:	157
19:	417-18, 692
20:	603-4
21:	366-7
22:	479
23:	39-40, 361, 522, 692

102:	274	156:	557
103:	277	157:	427-8, 432-4
104:	285	158:	97, 602, 695
105:	287	159:	602
106:	291	160:	602, 695
107:	291, 693	160A:	601-2
108:	313	160B:	514, 534-5
109:	313	161:	108-9
110:	299	162:	110, 693 n. 31
111:	302	163:	457
112:	318, 691	164:	473-4
113:	282-3	165:	483
114:	327-8	166:	485
115:	336, 344	167:	387
116:	345-6	168:	488
117:	115, 120, 128 n. 22,	169:	447-53, 455, 691
	144-5	185:	606-7
118:	134-5, 694	186:	288, 695
119:	136	187:	606-7, 695
120:	146	187A:	132 n. 35
121:	146-7	191:	368
122:	158	192:	613
123:	162	193:	613
124:	163	194:	613
125:	142, 452-3, 489-93,	195:	132-3
	694	196:	120
126:	197	197:	613, 692
127:	198 n. 11	197A:	532
128:	205	198:	398
129:	202	199:	510-11
130:	209-10	200:	591
131:	210	201:	152
132:	230	201A:	614
133:	230	202:	121
135:	116, 522	202A:	9-10
136:	446	202B:	20-1, 695
137:	517, 591-3	202C:	614
138:	524	New fr.:	695
139:	524		
140:	526-7		
141:	526-7		
142:	529-60		
143:	450, 544-5		
144:	463		
145:	537		
146:	536-7		
147:	539		
148:	535		
149:	540-1		
150:	533		
151:	541-2		
152:	543-5, 645		
152A:	552-3		
153:	550-2, 694-5		
154:	552		
155:	561		

HERODOROS

test.

1B:	697
-----	-----

frr.

1:	317-18
2:	300
3:	326-7
4:	274
5:	216
6:	217
7:	219
8:	223
9:	203
10:	227

11:	440	65:	555-6, 698
12:	274-5	66:	333
13:	297	67:	303
14:	328-9, 697	67A:	28
15:	262	67B:	698
16:	263-4		
17:	267	ION	
18:	267		
19:	268, 696	test.	
20:	307-9		
21:	274	2a:	700
22:	274	frr.	
23:	277		
24:	279	1:	587-9
25:	485	2:	530
26:	487	3:	585
27:	487		
28:	312	KREOPHYLOS	
29:	505		
30:	297	frr.	
31:	305	1:	581-2, 701
32:	270	3:	232, 701-2
33:	318		
34:	283-4		
35:	303	MENEKRATES	
36:	101		
37:	329-32	frr.	
38:	197	1:	518
38A:	197	2:	518-19
39:	203	3:	563, 703
40:	205-6	5:	397, 704
41:	209	5A:	270, 704
42:	212-3	5B:	330-1, 704
43:	211		
44:	213	METRODOROS	
45:	578-80		
46:	221 n. 74	test.	
47:	204	4:	705
48:	223		
49:	214	frr.	
50:	214		
51:	215	1:	536
52:	225	2:	312, 705
52A:	226	3:	521, 705
53:	225	3A:	587, 705
54:	215		
55:	215	PHEREKYDES	
56:	366-7		
57:	435-6	testt.	
58:	614-15	1-8:	718-19
59:	615		
60:	698	frr.	
62:	591	1:	446, 719-20
63:	344-5	2:	474, 714, 716, 720
64:	220	3:	76
64A:	615	4:	250-1

5:	110	62:	445
7:	28	64:	558, 723
8:	100 n. 46, 102-3, 718	65:	537
9:	136-7	66:	240-1, 723
10:	248-50	68:	262
11:	248-9, 255-7, 720	69:	266-7
12:	36, 54, 248-9, 255-7	70:	277
13:	262-4, 266	71:	277
14:	270	72:	285
15:	290	73:	292-3
16:	28, 291-9	74:	293
17:	21-4, 291-9, 315-17	75:	315
18:	291-9	76:	316-17, 324
19:	101-3	77:	321-2
20:	438	78:	314
21:	347-8, 711, 720	79:	280, 710-11
22:	225-6, 360-1, 720	80:	325
23:	115, 145-6	81:	326
24:	146-7, 711	82:	318, 329-30
25:	203	83:	23
26:	211-12	84:	267, 342-3
27:	221	85:	481
28:	223	86:	220, 347-8, 723
29:	223	87:	348
30:	225-6	88:	359
31:	226	89:	350
32:	228	90:	293 n. 110, 371-7
33:	164-8	91:	378, 723
34:	461-2, 720	92:	400-2, 723
35:	36, 54, 78, 711	93:	402-3
36:	215-6	94:	403
37:	428-31, 436, 720-2	95:	194, 269, 353, 403-7
38:	368	96:	409
39:	418-19	97:	412
40:	426, 712	98:	197
41:	226, 353, 365, 712	99:	198
42:	323	100:	201
43:	68-70	101:	204
44:	32-3	102:	585
45:	16-17	103:	205
46:	54, 722	104:	205-6, 208
47:	34-5, 44-5, 722	105:	198, 206, 718, 723-4
48:	34, 35, 37, 41-2, 51	106:	204
49:	82-3	107:	215
50:	23	108:	213
51:	149-51, 722-3	109:	216
52:	615	110:	216
53:	17-18	111:	103, 209-10
54:	29, 715	112:	225
55:	73-4	113:	229
56:	73	114:	170-2
57:	148	115:	178-80
58:	149	116:	178-80
59:	76	117:	163
60:	478-9	118:	163-4
61:	444-5	119:	180-1, 724

120:	184-5, 212	169:	535
121:	133-4	170:	361-3, 711
122:	410	171:	191
123:	139, 724-5	172:	147
124:	361-3, 365-6	172A:	424
125:	117, 363	173:	616
126:	336-7	175:	70-2, 727
127:	423	177:	275 n. 46
127A:	423	180:	561
128:	418-19	180A:	717
129:	420, 725		
130:	31	POLOS	
131:	78-9	test.	
132:	438, 716, 725	1:	728
133:	435-6		
134:	440		
135:	440-1, 726	SIMONIDES	
135A:	560	test.	
136:	527	1:	729
137:	540	fr.	
138:	530	1:	64
139:	463	2:	586
140:	531		
141:	539	SKAMON	
142:	546-7	test.	
143:	545-6	1:	731
144:	554	fr.	
145:	461	1:	525
146:	480-1		
147:	485	SKYTHINOS	
148:	472-4, 726	fr.	
149:	474	1:	333, 732
150:	473		
151:	485		
152:	59	XENOMEDES	
153:	179	test.	
154:	490, 726	1:	see Hek. test. 17
155:	97, 577, 726		
156:	90, 104, 108, 504-5		
157:	107, 432-4		
158:	111, 726		
159:	111-12		
160:	112		
161:	112		
162:	615		
163:	578, 726		
164:	424		
166:	30		
167:	608-9		
168:	513-14, 727		

INDEX OF OTHER PASSAGES

APOLLODOROS

<i>Bibl.</i>	1. 17:	382
	1. 20:	380
	1. 46-8:	379
	1. 49:	382
	1. 98-102:	164-8
	2. 5-8:	380
	2. 10-13:	379-80
	2. 34-5:	382
	2. 85:	22-3
	2. 113:	382
	2. 119-20:	21-4
	2. 122-5:	382
	2. 137-8:	314-15
	3. 21-3:	380-2
	3. 26:	382
	3. 188:	382
<i>Epit.</i>	2. 3-9:	720-2
	2. 10-12:	380
	3. 17-19:	380

ARISTODEMOS

<i>FGrHist</i> 383	F 5ab:	61 n. 230
--------------------	--------	-----------

ARISTOPHANES

<i>Vesp.</i>	160:	31
--------------	------	----

ARISTOKLES

<i>FGrHist</i> 33	T 1:	655
-------------------	------	-----

ATHENAIOS

<i>Deip.</i>	13. 610c:	621
--------------	-----------	-----

AVIENIUS

<i>Or. Mar.</i>	417-24:	300-1
-----------------	---------	-------

CERTAMEN HOMERI ET HESIODI

3:	609
----	-----

CICERO

<i>ND</i>	3. 44:	7 n. 14
-----------	--------	---------

DIONYSIOS OF HALIKARNASSOS

<i>Thuc.</i>	5. 1:	673-5
	23. 4:	675-6

ETYMOLOGICUM GENUINUM

<i>Δρύοιψ:</i>	102 n. 51
<i>Πυρήνη:</i>	292

ETYMOLOGICUM MAGNUM

455. 34:	81-2
436. 49:	495

EURIPIDES

<i>Bacch.</i>	120-34:	36
<i>El.</i>	1158:	53 n. 207
<i>Hipp.</i>	451-8:	699-700
<i>Kretes</i>	fr. 472:	36
<i>Or.</i>	993:	430-1
<i>Tro.</i>	1088:	53 n. 207

EUSTATHIOS

<i>Od.</i>	p.1685.13-49:	164-8
------------	---------------	-------

HERODOTOS

1. 56-8:	85, 90-4
1. 56. 3:	156
1. 128-9:	643
2. 51:	37-8, 58
3. 5. 3:	28
3. 37:	38-9
7. 197:	199-200
8. 43:	156

HEKATAIOS

<i>FGrHist</i> 1	F 76:	660
	F 145 bis:	681
	F 219:	219
	F 327 bis:	681

HELLANIKOS

FGrHist 4 F 171 (= 323a
F 25): 686 n.17
F 176: 374
F 189: 517

HESIOD

fr. 59: 76
fr. 60: 76
fr. 131ab: 170, 172-3

HOMER

Il. 2. 211-77: 139-40
2. 665-6: 340
2. 711: 204-5
2. 730: 331-2
2. 734: 204-5
2. 783: 28-9
5. 64: 530
5. 381-400: 304-5
7. 131-56: 110-12
11. 690: 304-5
Od. 4. 342-4: 533-4
4. 517: 435
11. 271-80: 404
17. 133-5: 533-4

HYGINUS

Astr. 2. 20-1: 191

IBN AL-'IBRĪ (BAR HEBRAEUS)

Lamp of the Sanctuaries 24. 3. 407: 695

MENEKRATES

FGrHist 769 F 4: 703-4

METRODOROS

FGrHist 43 F 4: 705

P.Lips.

Inv. 1229: 348 n. 4

PAUSANIAS

1. 43. 5: 179
5. 14. 4-15. 9: 283-4

PHOTIOS

Lex. α3352: 681
ε2252: 467 n. 59

PINDAR

Pyth. 9. 106: 315-16
Ol. 9. 41-64: 144-5

PLATO

Symp. 178ab: 6 n. 13

PLUTARCH

Quaest. Graec. p. 299c: 498 n. 14

SAMIAN HOROI

FGrHist 544 F 2: 620
F 3: 620

SCHOLIA

Ap. Rhod. 4. 1515a: 251-3
Dion. Per. 427: 156
Eur. Or. 990: 721-2
Hom (D) Il. 1. 10: 379
1. 38: 721-2
1. 42: 379-80
1. 59: 380
1. 195: 380
2. 103: 380
2. 106: 380
2. 494: 380-2
2. 547: 382
2. 595: 382
8. 368: 382
12. 117: 382
14. 319: 382
14. 323: 382

Hom. (T) Il. 19. 53: 539 with n. 54

Hom. Od. 1. 275: 418 n. 14
1. 277: 418 n. 14
4. 797: 418 n. 14
11. 235: 164 with n. 42

Lykoph. 906: 164 n. 42

1374c: 598-9

Theokr. 1. 3-4c: 650

Pind. Pyth. 2. 78d: 99

SIMONIDES

FGrHist 8 F 3: 729-30
F 4: 730
F 5: 730
F 6: 730
F 7: 730

STEPHANOS OF BYZANTIUM

Ταρτησσός: 301 n. 141
Υποχαλκίς: 681

STRABO

14. 1. 4-23: 580-2

SUDA

0654: 212-3

THEON

Progymn. 103-4: 676-7

THUCYDIDES

1. 128-38: 643
3. 22. 2: 207-8
5. 112. 2: 594-5
6. 2-5: 596 n. 105, 634-5

TZETZES

Lykoph. Alex. 157: 720-2

INDEX OF GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES

- ἀδελφίζω 610
 ἀθήρα, ἀθάρη 613
 αἶγ- 69–70
 αἶδιος 360–1
 ἀλάστωρ 71
 ἄλμιος 317–18
 ἀλίσκάνω 628–9
 ἀναρριχάομαι 613–14
 αἰῶς 700

 βούβρωστις 521

 γέγειος 611

 εἰν Ἀρίμοις 28–9
 εἰς, ἐς, ἔσω 671, 691, 717
 ἐνθεύτεν, ἐντεῦθεν 691
 ἔπισσαι 611–12, 673

 ἱερός, ἱρός 161, 670, 690, 716
 Ἰταλιῶται 507
 Ἰταλοί 507

 κέρκος 322
 κολεός, κουλέος 670
 κόλπος 250 n. 36

 λάρναξ 120–1
 λεώς 273–4

 λογογράφος 658 n. 3
 λογοποιός 658 with n. 3
 λόγος 667
 λύσιος 63

 μεσόγειος 690, 692
 μῦθος 667

 ξυγγράφω, ξυγγραφή 635–6

 ὄνομα, οὐνομα 670, 690
 ὄρος, οὔρος 670, 716
 ὅς (as demonstrative) 629, 671, 691
 ὅστις (for ὅς) 634, 691, 692
 οὐ, τοῦ 629
 οὐ φησιν, οὐ λέγει, *see* Index of Names and Subjects, s.v. 'says not' idiom
 οὐράνιος 53 n. 207, 55 n. 212

 παρεγχειρέω 722–3
 πέδιλα 66 n. 253
 Πελάσγιος, Πελασγικός 87–8
 πόλις 688

 συγγραφή 635–6

 τένης 377–8

INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

- Abderos 287–8
 Achaioi 123, 386, 576–8
 Achaioi (Pontic) 545–6
 Acheles/Akelos 318–20
 Achelois 80
 Acheloos 12–13, 31, 323–4
 Acheron 223
 Achilles 161, 444, 498, 534, 537, 539–42, 703
 Admetos 75, 77–8, 711
 Adonis 20, 503
 Adrastus 413–14
 Aedon 365–6
 Aegean sea, ancient etymologies for 68–9
 aegis 65–6, 255
 Aer 7–8
 Aethlios (mythographer) 619–20
 Aethlios (son of Protogeneia) 131
 Agamemnon 237, 435, 439–40, 499, 531–2, 539
 Agamestor 215
 Agatheia 147
 Agenor 242–3, 347–50
 Agenoridai 347–84 *passim*
see also under individual names
 Agias/Derkylus 621–2
 Agraulos 454
 Aia 201–2
 Aiakos 474–5, 537–8, 713
 Aias (Lokrian) 146–7, 552–3, 711
 Aias (Telemonian) 478–9, 713
 Aichme 180
 Aietes 15–16, 33, 201–4, 225–6, 501–2
 Aigaion (son of Pontos) 69–70
 Aigaion (Hundred-Hander), *see* Hundred-Handers
 Aigeus 68, 230, 448–9, 481–3
 Aigimios 335–7, 339, 340 n. 18
 Aigina (eponym) 442–3, 478–9, 538
 Aigina (island) 442–3, 445, 478–9, 713
 Aigipan 396–7
 Aigisthos 435, 439–40
 Aigokeros 396–7
 Aigyptos 245
 Aineias 562–8, 703
 Ainos 532
 Aiolian migration 597–602
 Aiolidai 134, 153–94 *passim*, 515–16, 571, 597–602
see also under individual names
 Aiolos 128–9, 187–8, 190

 Aiolos II 188, 190
 Aiolos III 188
 Aipeia 398
 Aipy 535
 Aison 205, 229
 Aisonia/Aisonis 205
 Aithalides 216
 Aither 5–7
 Aithon 158
 Aitolians 98, 131–6, 138–9
 Aitolos (son of Aethlios) 131–2, 135–6, 143
 Aitolos (son of Oxylos) 133
 Aizeios 109
 Akelos/Acheles 318–20
 Akontios 512, 511–12
 Akousilaos 623–9
 chronology in 117, 562
 date of 623–4
 dialect of 628
 and flood myth 115–21
 genealogy in 20, 236–40, 627
 and Hesiod 5–7, 12–13, 32–4, 625–7
 rationalism, realism in 74, 197–8, 627
 theogony of xiv, 4–7, 625–7
 Akrisios 95 n. 29, 249–50, 256–7
 Aktaion 370–1
 hounds of 35, 48
 Aktaios/Aktaion 119, 247, 453
 Aktor 537–8
 Alexandros (Paris) 528–30
 alimos 317–18
 Alkaïos (son of Perseus) 319–20
 Alkathoos 437, 439
 Alkestis 75–6, 711
 Alkimache 146–7
 Alkimede 205–6
 Alkmene 260, 262–5, 343–4, 375
 allegory 20–1, 80, 424–5, 722–3
see also Herodotos
 Almos 191
 Alpheios 284
 Alponos 146
 Althaia 135 n. 48, 136–8
 Alybe 289, 536–7
 Amaltheia 323–4, 396
 Amazons 224, 289–91, 485–7, 540–1
see also under individual names
 Ambrosia (Hyad) 377
 Amisodaros 183

- Amphanai 344
 Amphianax 513-14
 Amphiarao 177-80, 214, 409-12
 Amphidamas (Arkadian) 109-10
 Amphidamas (father of Klytia) 426
 Amphiktion 142-4, 187-8, 448-51, 453
 Amphiktione 147
 Amphion 351-4, 361-6
 Amphitryon 260, 262-7
 Ampyx 186
 Amykos 220
 Amymone 250 n. 39, 494-5
 Amyntor 325-6
 Amyros 79, 217
 Anauros 208
 Anaxagoras 596-7
 Anaximandros 630-1
 Anchinoe/Anchiroe 42 n. 155, 348 n. 4
 Anchises 561-2
 Androklos 577, 580-2
 Andromeda 254-6
 Andron 632
 etymology in 60, 120-1
 Andropompos 584
 Anios 73, 531-2
 Ankaaios (Arkadian) 215-16
 Ankaaios (Samian) 97-8, 216
 Antaios 295, 315-17
 Antigone (wife of Peleus) 444
 Antiochos 633-6
 Antiochos/Pherekydes 718-19
 Antion 151
 Antiopē (Theban) 361-4, 501
 Antiopē (Amazon) 485-6
 Aortes 36, 54
 Apatouria 491-3
 Aphareus 420-1
 Apheidas (son of Arkas) 109
 Apheidas (Attic king) 452-3
 Aphetai 209-10
 Aphrodite 20, 561-2
 Apollo 36, 77-8, 80, 283, 311-12
 Dymbrios 541-2
 Eoios 223
 Ikadios 60
 Kastalios 59-60
 Smintheus 601-2
 Apollodoros (of Athens) 378-84
 Apollodoros (mythographer) 357-8, 378-84,
 708, 720-2
 Apples of the Hesperides, *see* Hesperides
 guardian snake of, *see* Ladon
 Apsyrτος 228
 Archias 135, 327 n. 223
 Areiopagos 447-55
 Areithoos 110-11
 Areitos/Areios 424
 Arene 423
 Ares 359-61, 454-5
 Argeios (son of Likymnios) 314
 Argeios (son of Pelops) 438-9
 Argestes 33-4
 Argiope 348-9
 Argo 204, 209-10
 Argonauts 193, 195-234, 291
 see also under individual names
 Argos, Argives 123-4, 235-59, 340-5, 411, 413,
 423, 440, 494-7
 Argos (eponym) 235, 238, 239, 240, 242
 Argos (Panoptes) 236, 241-2
 Argos (son of Phrixos) 204
 Argynnos 499-500
 Ariadne 468-73, 589
 Arisbe 524
 Aristaios 32-3, 149 n. 89
 Aristodemos (mythographer) 61 n. 230, 62 n.
 235
 Aristodemos (son of Aristomachos) 335-6
 Aristophanes (mythographer) 637-8
 Arkadia, Arkadians 88, 103-12, 441, 713-14
 Arkadian supper 109
 Arkas 105, 107-8
 Arkeisios 464
 Armenidas 639-40
 Arne 185-90
 Arsinoe 76
 Artemis 285, 370-1
 Kolainis 457
 Ortheia 257
 Artymnesos 518
 Asia 13-15, 114 n. 3
 Asinaioi 101-3
 Askanios 563, 568 n. 152
 Asklepios 74-9
 Asopides 442-3, 714-16
 Asopos 79, 224, 362, 442-3
 Aspendos 157-8
 Aspledonioi 545-6
 Assos 602
 Asterios (Cretan) 395 n. 42
 Asterios (others) 147, 579
 Asterodia 418-19
 Astyanax 563-4
 Astymedousa 406-7
 Astyoche 325, 542-3
 Atalante 110, 411
 Athamas 192-3, 195-7, 199-201
 Athamas (grandson) 584-5
 Athena 392-3
 Itonia 64-8, 187
 Tauropolos/Taurobolos 72-3
 Athenian empire 572-6

- Athens, Athenians 91-4, 123-4, 140-1
 Acropolis 459
 Pelargic wall of 89
 see also Attic kings; Attic myth; Ionian
 myth
 Atlantides 415-18, 712
 see also under individual names
 Atlas 297, 215-16
 Atreus 427-8, 435-6, 439
 Attic kings 119-20, 447-53
 Attic myth 342-3, 447-93, 713-14
 see also Athens, Athenians
 Attic synoecism 458-9, 471
 Atymnos 347-9
 Auge 309-11
 Augeian Stables 279-82
 Augeias 281-2
 auloi 536
 Ausones 509-10
 autochthony 123-4, 354, 458-9, 569-70
 Autolykos 181-2, 184
 Axiothea 42, 114 n. 159
 Axyrtos 228
 Baal 349
 Bateia 523-4
 Bebrykes 642
 bee-maidens 81-2
 Bellerophon 183-4, 362-3
 Belos 347-9
 Berekynthos 390
 Biantidai 177-8
 Bias 165-7, 171, 176-7
 biremes 607-8
 Boiotia, Boiotians 64-5, 98, 111, 162, 185-91,
 200, 352, 354-6, 456, 497-500
 etymology of 187, 358
 Boiotos 187-91, 456
 Boreadaí 210, 221-3
 Boreas 460-1
 Borysthenis 80
 Bousiris 80, 317-18
 Briareos, *see* Hundred-Handers
 Britomartis 393-4
 Centauromachy 159-60, 487-8
 Centaurs, *see* Kentauroi
 Chairias 135, 327 n. 223
 Chaironeia 186-7
 Chaldaioi 288-9
 Chalkiope 195-6, 203
 Chalybes 288-90
 Chaos 5-7
 Chariklo 401-2
 Charites 284-5, 519-20
 Charon 641-3
 Cheiron 21-3, 74, 75, 446
 Chimaira 183
 Chios 516-17, 530, 585, 587-9, 603-4
 Chlidanope 148-9
 Chloris 163
 Chon 303
 Chones 505
 chronology xvi, 111, 118-20, 233-4, 336-9,
 351-3, 543-5, 594-7, 662-4, 684-7
 see also Eumelos; Hellanikos; Herodotos;
 Herodotos; Pherekydes
 Chrysippos 432-5
 Chrysopeleia 109
 Chthonopatra 142-3
 Cilicia, Cilicians 549-50
 Comes, Natalis 735-7
 Corinth, Corinthians 25-6, 139 n. 56, 181-2,
 202, 224, 230-4, 341, 362-4, 438, 483-4,
 501-3
 cremation 314
 Cretan Bull 286-7
 Crete 385-99, 570, 588
 Cup of the Sun 294-5, 298
 Cyclopean walls 53-4
 Cyprus 503, 608
 Daeira 16-18
 Daidalos 397, 448-52, 480-1
 Daktyloi 35-6, 43-5, 52-3, 56-8
 Damaskios, Iohannes 5-10
 Damastes 644-6
 Danae 249-53, 258, 382
 Danaoi 123, 245-6, 549-50
 Danaos 245-7
 Dardanoi 522-5
 Dardanos (river) 111-12
 Dardanos (son of Zeus) 523-4
 Deianeira (wife of Herakles) 101, 138, 327,
 329-30, 713
 Deianeira (mother of Lykaon) 108, 713
 Dei(l)ochos 647
 Deion(eus) 184-5
 Delian league 572-6
 Delphi 129-30, 185
 Demeter 394, 522-3
 Demokles 648
 Demonax 35, 46
 Demophon 448-50, 452-3
 Derkylos, *see* Agias/Derkylos
 Derveni Papyrus 3, 7, 30
 Deukalion (Thessalian) 113-21 *passim*, 128,
 453
 Deukalion (Cretan) 386, 481
 Deukalion (others) 327-8
 Deukalionidai 122-52, 711-12
 see also under individual names

- Dexithea 35, 46, 511-12
 Dia 149-50
 Dias 437-8
 Dikta 391
 Diktyнна 393-4
 Diktys 250-2, 255
 Diodoros of Sicily 389-95
 Diomedes (son of Tydeus) 412
 Diomedes (of Thrace), Mares of 287-8
 Dione 18-19, 372 n. 70
 Dionysos 173-4, 176, 284-5, 370-8, 468-9
 Hyes 374
 Lysios 62-4
 Melanaigis 491-2
 Omestes 601-2
 Diopie 112
 Dios (son of Priam) 540
 Dios (connected to Boiotos) 190
 Dioskouroi 74 n. 280, 250 n. 39, 421-5, 445
 Dirke (Theban) 351-3, 360
 Dodekapolis (Ionian) 574-90
 Doliones 218-19
 Dorians 90-4, 123-4, 271-2, 334-42, 344, 386, 590-7
 Dorian invasion 334-46
 Dorian migration 590-7
 Doris 337-40, 344
 Doros 123, 128-9, 337, 342
 Dotis 147
 Doulichion 463
 dragon's teeth 225-6, 359-60
 Dryopes 100-3, 337-9
 Dryopis 337-9
 Dryops 102
 Dymas (son of Aigimios) 336-7
 Dymas (son of Eioneus) 527

 Echidna 9
 Eetion 522-3
 Eikadios 60
 Elare 73
elasteroi 70-1
 Elatos (son of Arkas) 109
 Elatos (son of Ikaros) 418-19
 Eleians 131-3, 282
 Eleios 131-2, 437-8
 Elektra/Elektryone 522
 Elektryon 262
 Eleusis 17-18, 464-5, 484-5
 Elymos, Elymoi 509-10
 Emathion 292-3
 Enalos 602
 Endymion 131-2, 133-4
 Enyeus 62
 Enyo 253
 Eordoi 99-100

 Epeians 132, 163-4, 282
 Epeios 131-2
 Ephesos 580-3
 Ephyra (Okeanid) 14, 25-6, 202, 501
 Ephyra (city) 14, 202, 230, 501
 Epigonoι 354-5, 414
 Epikaste 403-6, 408
 Epimenides 649-52
 as writer of theogony 4-5
 Epimetheus 25-6, 501
 Epopeus 364, 501-2
 Erebus 5-7
 Erechtheus 58, 448-53, 458-9, 465
 Eremboi 552
 Ereuthalie 240-1
 Erginos 193-4, 215, 405-6
 Eribotes/Eurybates 216
 Erichthonios 448-53, 457-9, 524 n. 10
 Eridanos 293-4
 Erineos 336, 338
 Erinyes 440-1, 454-5
 Eriope 146
 Eros 5-7
 Erymanthian Boar 278-9
 Erysichthon 158
 Erythrai 585-6, 607-8
 Eteokles 354, 406-7, 408-9
 Eteokretes 386-7
 ethnic identity 122-30, 569-72
 see also *under individual ethne*
 etymology xvi, 8, 35, 68-9, 71, 81, 114, 415, 47-8, 187, 259, 358
 see also *Andron; Hellanikos*
 Euagon 653-4
 Euchenor 178
 Eudemos 655
 Euenia 203
 euhemerism 388-9, 556
 Euktiton 535
 Eumelos 649, 656-7
 chronology, genealogy in 233-4
 Eumolpos 58-9, 464-8
 Europe (daughter of Agenor) 220-1, 286, 349-50, 397-8
 Europe (daughter of Ocean) 13-15
 Europos 292, 295
 Eurybates/Eribotes 216
 Eurydike (daughter of Adrastos) 524-5
 Eurydike (daughter of Lakedaimon) 249
 Euryganeia 404-5, 408
 Eurykleia (daughter of Athamas) 524-5
 Eurykleia (daughter of Ekphas) 408
 Eurymedousa 158
 Eurymnos 424
 Eurypyle/Eurykyde 132 n. 35
 Eurypylos (son of Euaimon) 314-15

- Eurypylos (son of Hyperoche) 325
 Eurypylos (son of Telephos) 542-3
 Eurysakes 478
 Eurysthenes 335-6, 345-6
 Eurystheus 260, 271-2, 279, 334
 Eurythemiste 138-9
 Eurytion 299
 Eurytos 329-33
 Euxantios 46
 exogamy 177

 flood myth 104-5, 114-20
 folklore, folktales *see* myth, folktale
 elements in
 Fulgentius 20-1

 Gadeira 295-6
 Gaia 5-7
 Gargaros/Gargasos 602
 Gegeneis (attackers of Argonauts) 217-19
 genealogy 122-31, 132-3 156 n. 14, 177-8, 347-8, 442-3, 447-53, 474-7, 662-4
 see also *Akousilaos; Eumelos; Hekataios; Hellanikos; Herodotos; Pherekydes; and under individual ethne*
 Geryoneus 294-5, 299-300
 Gibraltar 295-6
 Glaukos (son of Sisyphos) 502-3
 Gletes 302
 Glisas 414
 Golden Age 23, 55, 121, 520
 golden fleece 195-8, 201-4, 225
 golden lamb 435-6, 515
 Gorgons 253-5
 Graces 284-5, 519-20
 Graiai 253-4
 Graikos, Graikoi 122 n. 2, 131
 Gras 600-1
 Great Gods of Samothrace 37, 39-41, 47
 Greek identity, *see* Hellenic identity; ethnic identity

 Haimon 180
 Halirrhothios 448, 454
 Halizones 288-9
 Harmonia 290, 356-7, 361, 522
 necklace of 265, 350, 409
 Harmonides/Harmenidas 180
 Harpyiai 8 n. 21, 30, 222-3
 Hegelaos 319-20
 Hekabe 412 n. 44, 527
 Hekataios 658-81
 date of 658-60
 dialect of 669-73, 675-6
 and flood myth 116-17
 Genealogies 660, 664-5
 genealogy in 89-90, 140-4, 662-4
 and Herodotos 658-68
 Heroologia 631, 660
 new fr. of 681
 Periodos 660, 664-5
 rationalism in 198, 246 n. 25, 276, 278, 299-300, 305-6, 665-8
 Hekate 16, 32-3
 Helen 138, 488-9, 528-9, 550-2
 Heliadai 591-2
 see also *under individual names*
 Helios 591-2, 656
 cup of 294-5, 298
 Hellanikos 682-95
 in Apollod. *Bibl.* 357-8, 378-82
 Atthis 456-7, 484, 686-7, 693
 Barbarian Customs 683-4
 chronology in 94-5, 119-20, 212-13, 344, 448-53, 509-10, 543-5, 596-7, 645, 684-8
 and Damastes 644-6
 date of 597, 682-3
 dialect of 689-92
 etymology in 43, 162-3, 186-7, 291, 302, 357, 374, 417, 454, 493, 514, 535, 552, 598-9, 687-8
 genealogy in 213, 447-53, 475-80, 684-7
 name of 682-3, 689 n. 27
 narrative style of 539-40
 new fr. of 695
 Priestesses of Hera at Argos (Hiereiai) 450, 452, 597, 645, 683-5
 rationalism, realism in 368, 369-70, 473-4, 488, 523 n. 3, 539-40, 688
 and Skamon 10, 731
 works of 683-5
 Hellanodikai 282-3
 Helle 195-201
 Hellen 122-3, 128-9, 130-1, 140, 144, 156 n. 14
 Hellenic identity, Hellenes 87, 91-4, 122-30, 153-6
 Hephaistos 37, 41-2
 Hera 173-4, 176, 208, 393
 Akraia 231-3, 495
 Akreia 494-5
 Herakleia 214, 223
 Herakleidai 124, 334-46, 434, 590
 see also *under individual names*
 Herakles 260-333, 696-7, 732
 Alexikakos (epithet) 313
 and Antaios 315-17
 appearance of 267-9
 Argonaut 209-11, 219
 and Auge 309-11
 birth of 261-7
 and Bousiris 317-18
 kills children 269-71

- Daktyl 43-4
and Deianeira 138, 327, 329-30
and the Dryopes 101
education of 267-8
and Horn of Amaltheia 323-4
and Iole 329-33
and initiation 466-7, 488
in Italy 302-3, 506
Kallinikos (epithet) 313
and Kerkopes 321-3
Labours of 271-306
 see also under individual headings
and Megara 194, 269-71
multiple figures named 328-9
founder of Olympic Games 280-2
and Omphale 318-21, 332
Pillars of 295-6
and Prometheus 21-4
and Theseus 485-8
and daughters of Thestios 307-9
sacks Troy 311-15
and world-egg 9-10
Hermes 78-9, 283
Hermione 529, 560
Herodoros 696-8
 allegory in 297, 328-9
 chronology in 213, 594-7
 and Herodotos 28, 303, 698
 rationalism in 197, 212-13, 223, 226-7, 275, 301, 305, 435-6, 556, 696-7
Herodotos
 chronology in 595-6, 634-6
 in Dionysios of Halikarnassos 674-7
 discusses ethne 85, 90-4, 336-9, 387, 571-4
 genealogy in 474-80, 572-4, 594-5, 663
 and Hekataios 658-68
 and Herodoros 28, 303, 698
 language of 630, 635-6, 670, 678
 and mythography xiv-xviii, 58
 narrative style of 58, 634-6, 643
Hesiod
 date of 126-7
 Catalogue of Women 123, 125-8, 138-9
 Theogony 3-34 *passim*
 see also Akousilaos, and Hesiod
Hesione (daughter of Laomedon) 313
Hesione (mother of Deukalion) 113
Hesperides 30, 291-9
Hestiaiotis 338
Hippalkimos/Hippalcus 437, 439
Hippia 164
Hippodameia 252, 428-30
Hippokentauroi 99
 see also Kentauroi
Hippokleides 457-8, 475
Hippokoon, Hippokoontidai 422, 424
Hippokrates 76-7
Hippolyte 290-1, 486
Hippothon 484-5
Hippys of Rhegion 734-5
Hismene 407
 historiai, as sources for mythography xx, 151
 n. 101, 153-4, 311-13, 330, 343-4, 381-2, 433-4
Homer
 date of 125-6, 608-10
 genealogy of 608-10
 ethnic identity in 123, 125-6, 127
 Herakles in 260
 Homeric Hymn to Hermes 78-9, 82
Homeridai 603-4
Homoloia, Homoloios 60-2
Horn of Amaltheia 323-4
humans, creation of 25
Hundred-Handers (Briareos and Aigaion) 26, 69, 656
Hyades 371-7, 416
Hyas 371, 374
Hydra 276-7
Hye 371-4
Hyes 374
Hylas 101-3, 210
Hyllos 330, 334-7, 340, 342
Hyperboreans 133, 606-7
Hyperie 204-5
Hypermetra 138
Hypseus 148-9
Hypsipyle 419
Hysia(i) 110
Ialmenos 545-6
Iardanos 111-12
Iasion 40 n. 144, 116, 361, 394, 522-3
Iasos (son of Phorsephone) 163
Iasos (son of Phoroneus) 242-3
Idas 74 n. 280, 422-3
Idmon 213-15
Idomeneus 395
Ikadios 60
Ikarios 418-22
Ikaros 397
Ilos 524-6
Immarados 58-9
Inachidai 235-59
 see also under individual names
Inachos 117, 235
Initiation, *see* myth, and the mysteries; myth, and rites of maturation
Ino 195-7, 199-200, 372-3
Io 235-6, 239, 243, 245
Iobates 183
Iodama 64-7

- Iokaste 403-8
Iolaos 276-7
Iole 329-33
Ion 123, 140-1, 465, 576, 699-700
Ionian myth, migration 471, 491, 570-90
Iophosse 203
Iphianassa 169-78
Iphiklos 164-9, 216
Iphinoe 169-78
Iphitos 332
Irada 315
Iris 31
Ischys 74, 76
Isles of the Blessed 274-5, 356, 500
Isthmian games 483-4
Italos, Italois 505-8
Italy, Italians 302, 504-8
Ithake 555-6
Itoneion (Boiotia) 65, 67-8
Itonos 64, 143 n. 74, 187-90
Ixion 72, 149-50
Jason 205-9, 225-32, 445
Kabeirides 34, 41-2
Kabeirion of Thebes 38-9
Kabeiro 34, 48
Kabeiroi 34-5, 37-43, 52-3, 56-8
Kabeiros 38, 41
Kabessos 539
Kadmeians 355-7
Kadmilos 40-2, 522
Kadmos 39-40, 225-6, 246-7, 348-61, 522, 583 n. 54
Kaineus, Kainis 159-62
Kalais, *see* Boreadai
Kalchas 546-8
Kalliaros 146
Kallisto 105, 107-8
Kallithyia 238-9
Kalydonian Boarhunt 132, 136-40
Kalydonians 138-9
Kamillos 34, 40-2
Kappeira 48, 49 n. 188
Kaphya 145 n. 79
Karians 97, 348-9
Kasmilos 41
Kasmine 38, 41
Kassiepeie 349
Kassopoi 303
Kastaios 59-60
Kastor/Perikastor 250 n. 39
Kastor (son of Tyndareos), *see* Dioskouroi
Kekrops I 447-53, 456
Kekrops II 449-53
Keladon 111
Kentauroi 23, 99, 159-60
Kentauros 99
Keos 45-7, 511-13
Kephallenia 463-4, 556
Kephalos 461-4
Kepheus 109-10
Kerberos 305-6, 488
Kerkopes 321-3
Kerkyon 484-5
Kerkyra 555
Kerynitian Hind 277-8
Keryx 467
Keteus 107
Keyx 342
Kilix 347-8
Killos/Killas 721
Kinaithon 614
Kirke 201-2, 297, 557, 566
Kisseus 527
Klaros 547, 584
Klazomenai 586
Kleite 218-19
Kleitios 179
Kleonymos 438
Klymene (daughter of Minyas) 363
Klymene (mother of Myrtilos) 431
Klymene (mother/wife of Prometheus) 114
Klytaimnestra 440
Kodros 489-93, 583 n. 53
Koiranos 179
Kolainos 457
Kolchis 201-2
Kolophon 584
Kometes 601
Koon/Kynon 539
Kore, *see* Persephone
Korinthos 437-8
Korkyra 555
Koroibos 496-7
Koronis 74, 76
Koronos 213
Korybantes 35-6, 40-2, 51-3, 56-8
Korythos 528-9
Kouretes 35-6, 44, 49-53, 56-9, 136, 389, 395
Kranaos 448-51, 453
Krataios 32
Kreon 232-3, 355 n. 26
Kreophylos 701-2
Kres 395-6
Kresphontes 104, 336
Krete (eponym) 395
Krithote 533
Kronos 8, 26, 283-4, 396
 sickle of 555
Kydippe 512
Kydones 386

- Kyklopes 35-6, 53-8, 255-6
 Kyklops (Odyssean), *see* Polyphemus
 Kyknos (opponent of Herakles) 292
 Kyknos (others) 534-5
 Kylikranes 333
 Kyllene 108
 Kynetes 302
 Kynon/Koon 539
 Kynortes 421-2
 Kynosouros 437-8
 Kyrbantes, *see* Korybantes
 Kyrene 148-9
 Kytisoros 204, 205 n. 32
 Kyzikos 217-20
- Labdakos 353-4
 Labours of Heracles 271-306
 see also under individual headings
 Labyrinth 472
 Ladon 28, 292
 Laios 408, 432-3
 Lakedaimon, Lakedaimonians 340, 345-6,
 421-3, 440, 513-14, 727
 Lakedaimon (hero) 417
 Lakereia 76
 Lamponion 602, 695
 Laokoon 542
 Laomedon 311-12, 524-6, 559 n. 125
 Laophone 137
 Lapiths 159-60
 see also under individual names
 Larisa (daughter of Pelasgos II) 90, 242, 244
 Larisa (place) 87, 90, 95 n. 29, 242
larnax 120-1, 250, 309
 Lebedos 584
 Leda 136
 Leleges 96-100
 Lelex 98
 Lemnian women 217
 Lerna 276-7
 Lesbos 514-17, 430-1, 601-2
 Leto 518-19
 Leukippides 422
 Leukippos 420-1
 Leukothea, *see* Ino
Lex sacra
 of Kyrene 71
 of Selinous 70
 Linos (musician) 267
 Linos (Argive) 496-7
 Literacy xii, xvii, 125, 662-3, 674-5, 678,
 699-700, 707
 Lobon, as source 399, 651
 local myth
 see myth, local; mythography, local
 knowledge in
- Lokrian maidens 552-4
 Lokris, Lokrians 98, 128, 140-7, 288, 600
 Lokros I 122, 141, 144, 146 n. 80, 363
 Lokros II 141, 144, 361, 363, 711
 Lycia, Lycians 183-4, 518-19
 Lydia 318-20
 Lydus, Iohannes 50, 328-9, 424-5
 Lykaon (son of Ares) 292
 Lykaon I (Arcadian) 104-9
 Lykaon II 108
 Lykos (king of the Mariandynoi) 214 n. 60
 Lykos (son of Kelaino) 417-18
 Lykourgos (Spartan) 345-6
 Lykourgos (Thracian) 207 n. 38
 Lynkeus 74 n. 280, 422-3
 Lysippe 169-78
- Machaireus 558-9
 Machaon 76-7
 Magnes 204, 250
 Mainalos 110
 Maira 363
 Makar(eus) 515-17
 Makednos, Makednoi 156, 338-9
 Makedon, Makedonians 155-7, 338-9
 Makelo 35, 46, 511-12
 Makistos 112
 Makrones 220
 Makynia 134-5
 Manto 514
 Marathon 501-2
 Marathonian Bull 286-7, 471
 Marathonios 140-1
 Mares of Diomedes 287-8
 Marsyas 536
 Medeia 15-16, 225-34, 501-2
 Medeios 15-16
 Medon 577
 Medos 230
 Medousa (Gorgon) 255
 Medousa (adoptive mother of Oidipous) 402-3
 Megapenthes (son of Proitos) 240
 Megapenthes (son of Menelaos) 529
 Megara 194, 269-71, 481-4
 Melampous 164-79
 Melanion 411
 Melanippe 188-90
 Melanippos 412
 Melanthos 489-93
 Melas (son of Phrixos) 204
 Melas (son of Herakles) 319
 Meleagros 136-7, 411
 Melikertes 483
 Melos 594-7
 Menekrates 703-4
 Menelaos 435, 440, 529, 529, 550-2

- Menestheus 448-50, 452-3, 467
 Menesthios 445
 Menoitios 537-9
 Meriones 395
 Mermeros 230
 Merope (Atlantid) 416-17
 Merope (wife of Sisyphos) 180-1
 Merops 219
 Messenia, Messenians 100-2, 104, 340-2,
 421-2
 Mestra 158
 Metapontion 190, 504-6
 Metis 6-7
 Metrodoros 705
 Midaion 157
 Midas 157
 Miletos 570, 578-80
 Miltiades 474-6
 Minos 46, 386-7, 389, 394, 519-20
 Minyans 191-4, 201, 205-6, 456
 Minyas 191-2
 Misenos 189 n. 131
 Misgomenai 152
 Mnemosyne 80
 Molionidai 280-1
 Molykria 134-5, 694
 moon, life on 274-6
 Mopsos (Argonaut) 157-8
 Mopsos (Pamphylian) 157-8, 546-50
 Morgetes 506-8
 Mounichos 120, 455-6
 mountains, gender of 693
 Mousaios 465-7
 Muses 79-80
 Mykenai 237, 428, 432
 walls of 53-4, 256, 259
 Mykeneus 237
 Myous 583
 Myrmidon 158
 Myrtilos 429-31, 436
 Myrtoan sea 431
 Mysians 157
 mysteries, *see* myth, and the mysteries
 myth, Greek
 and Etruscans 96
 folktale elements in xxi, 31, 55, 75, 181,
 208-9, 249-56 *passim*, 323, 531
 local xi-xii, 17-18, 56-7, 115-17, 494-521
 Near Eastern elements in 9, 11, 15-16, 27-9,
 39-40, 52, 114-15, 201, 221, 245-6, 272-3,
 319-20, 348-50, 413, 548-51, 534-5
 and the mysteries 17-18, 36-45 *passim*,
 49-53, 56-7, 62-4, 324, 376-7
 and psychoanalysis 168-9, 257-8
 and rites of maturation xxi, 50-1, 55-6,
 161-2, 206-7, 257-8, 366-7, 373-4, 485
- and ritual xx-xxi, 24, 56-7, 173-7, 229,
 232-4, 309-11, 320, 356-7, 373-6, 523
 mythography
 concept of myth in xiv-xvi, xviii-xix, 77,
 708
 development of xii-xix, 631, 706-8
 distinctive characteristics of xiv-xviii,
 57-8, 77, 707
 local knowledge in 57-8, 89, 199-200, 257,
 300, 313, 323, 394, 401, 522, 557, 563-4, 567,
 587-8, 592-3, 598, 688
 and localism xii-xiii, 56-8, 115-17
 narrative style in xvii-xviii, 627-8, 680,
 705, 707-8
 and pan-Hellenism xii-xiii, 57-8, 394
 sources of xix-xx, 34, 69, 121, 248-9, 330,
 343, 345-6, 357-8, 420, 564, 644-5, 668-9,
 720-2, 735-7
 and tragedy 699-700
- names, duplication of 94-5, 122, 187-90,
 212-13, 244, 251, 448-53, 465-7, 524, 592,
 684-5
 Nanas 96, 566 n. 142
 Nauplios 251
 Neis 363
 Neleus (Ionian) 574-5, 577, 579-80, 586
 Neleus (Pylian) 162-7, 303-5, 502
 Nemeas Lion 274-6
 Neoptolemos 557-60, 564
 Nephele 195-7, 199-201
 Nereus 294
 Nestor 163-4
 Night 5-8
 Nineveh 319
 Ninurta/Ningursu 273
 Niobe (daughter of Tantalos) 366-70
 Niobe (daughter of Phoroneus) 235, 237, 239
 Nisos 481-2
 Nykteus 353, 361-2
 Nyktimos 104, 106-7
- Odysseus 96 n. 31, 189 n. 131, 420, 533-4,
 564-6
 Ogygos 18, 118-20
 Oiantheia 146
 Oibalos 420-1
 Oichalia 329-33
 Oidipous 194, 402-8, 432
 Oine/Oinoe 610
 Oineus (Aitolian) 138-9, 326-7
 Oineus (father of Toxeus) 135 n. 48, 499
 Oinomaos 428-30, 720-2
 Oinone 528-9
 Oinopion 588-9
 Oinotroi 505-8

- Oinotropoi 531-2
 Oitylos 513-14
 Okeanides 13-14
 see also under individual names
 Okeanos 8, 10-13, 201, 298
 see also Ogygos
 Olenos 134, 323 n. 212
 Olympian gods 283-4
 Olympic games 280-4
 Omphale 318-21, 332
 Omphaleion 392
 Onchestos 193
 Onnes 43
 Opous 144-6
 orality 125, 191-2, 475-6, 662-3, 674-5
 Orchomenos (Arkadian) 162
 Orchomenos (Boiotian) 162, 163, 192-4
 Oreithya 460-1
 Orestes 439-41, 454-5, 560-1, 598-9
 Orestheus 135
 Orion 415-16, 615
 Orpheus 211-3, 608-9
 Oulios 474, 476-7
 Ouranos 5, 7-8, 11-12, 26
 Oxylos 335-6
- Palaichthon 105 n. 62
 Palaikastro, Hymn of 50-1
 Palaimon 316-17, 324
 Palamedes 246-7, 530
 Palladion 65-7
 Pallas 66-7
 Pamphylos 336-7
 Pan 396-7
 Panathenaia 457-9
 Pandion I 448-9, 451-2, 481-2
 Pandion II 450-1, 453
 Pandora 113, 122 n. 2
 pan-Hellenism, *see* mythography, and
 pan-Hellenism
 pantheon, Olympian 283-4
 Paris (Alexandros) 528-30
 Parnassos 120
 Paros 519-20
 Parthenopaios 411
 Parthenope 15
 Parthenos (constellation) 614
 Patroklos 537-9
 pebble-prophecy 81-3
 Pegasos 255
 Peiras 9
 Peirasos 236-8
 Peiren 236, 237-8
 Peirithoos 487-9
 Peision 151
 Pelargic wall 89
 Pelasgians 84-96, 218-19, 504-5, 507, 515-17
 Pelasgos I 88, 90, 94-5, 104, 108, 242-4
 Pelasgos II 94-5, 243-4
 Peleus 444-6, 478-9
 Pelias 162-3, 206, 208, 229
 Pelopidai 426-41
 see also under individual names
 Pelops 252, 426-34
 Pelops (grandson) 437
 Pempfredo 253
 Penelope 418-20, 423
 Penthesileia 540-1
 Pentheus 377-8
 Penthilos 600-1
 Perieres 420-1
 Perikastor 250 n. 39
 Periklymenos 304-5
 Pero/Phero 79, 165
 Perrhaiboi 152
 Perseidai 237, 240, 344, 427, 436-7
 see also under individual names
 Perseis/Perse 15-16, 33
 Persephone 53, 394
 Perses 16, 33
 Perseus 36, 240, 248-59
 Persians 15-16, 258
 Phaethon 592-3
 Phaiakes 274-5, 555
 Phalanna 164
 Phanes 9
 Pheia 111
 Phemiai 185-6
 Phemios 186
 Pherai 111-12
 Phereboia/Periboia 479
 Pherekydes 706-27
 Autochthones 718-19
 chronology in 138, 194, 206 n. 34, 225-6,
 251, 362-3, 445, 513-14, 584-5, 709, 712-13
 date of 79, 477, 577, 708-9
 dialect of 715-18
 genealogy in 90, 250-1, 474-7, 709-14
 geographical knowledge of 240-1
 Histories 710-15
 identity of 718-19
 narrative style of 241, 248-57, 368, 473,
 706-9
 theogony of? 3, 70, 713-15
 Pheres 230
 Philaidai 474
 Philaios 475, 478
 Philammon 211-12
 Philodemos 23, 30-2, 378
 Philomeleides 533-4
 Philomena 365-6
 Philonis 184-5, 461

- Phineus 220-3
 Phlegyai 48, 365
 Phoenicians 348-9
 Phoinike 247
 Phoitiioi 535
 Phokaia 586
 Phorbanteion 58-9
 Phorbas (Argive) 241-2
 Phorbas (Rhodian) 32, 35, 58-9
 Phorkys 32, 556
 Phoroneus 235, 237, 239-40, 242, 614
 Phrixa 112
 Phrixos 112, 195-201, 202-3, 225
 Phthia, Phthiotis (Achaia) 127-8, 338
 Phthios 147-8
 Phthiotis (Thessaly) 128
 Phylakos 164-8
 Physkoa 144
 Physkos 141-2, 143-4
 Pillars of Herakles 295-6
 Pinara 518
 Pindos 339-40
 Pitana 95
 Pittheus 437-9
 Pityoussa 579, 642
 Pleiades 371-2, 415-16, 544
 Pleisthenes 435, 437, 439
 Pleuron, Pleuronians 133-4, 138-9
 Ploutos 394
 Podaleiros 76, 77
 Poimandros 497-9
 Polos 646, 728
 Polybos 408
 Polydektes 251-3, 255
 Polydeukes, *see* Dioskouroi
 Polydora 444-5
 Polyidos 178-80
 Polymele/Polymede 205-6
 Polyneikes 354, 406-7, 408-9, 413
 Polypheides 179-80
 PolypHEME 205-6
 Polyphemos 55-6
 Polypoites/Polyphontes/Polyphetes 403
 Polyxenos 230
 Pompholyge 15
 Porthaon 138-9
 Poseidon 311-12
 Aigais 68-70
 Presbon 193, 204
 Priam 527-8
 Priene 583
 proems 677-9
 Proitides 169-78, 239-40
 Proitos 249-50, 362
 Prokles (Ionian) 586-7
 Prokles (Spartan) 335-6, 345-6
 Prokne 365-6
 Prokris 461-3
 Prometheus 21-6, 296-7
 Prometheus (one of the Kabeiroi) 42
 Pronoos 140
 Protogeneia 145-6
 Pterelaos 262-3
 Pygmalion 503
 Pylades 560-1
 Pylene 134-5
 Pylion Amphiktion 129
 Pylos 162, 163, 167, 303-5
 Pyrrha 113, 128
 see also flood myth
- rationalism, rationalization xv, 539, 666-7
 see also Akousilaos; Hekataios; Hellanikos;
 Herodotos
 realism xv, 473-4, 627, 667, 688, 697
 see also Akousilaos; Hellanikos
 Rhadamanthys 267, 394
 Rhea 8, 390-1
 Rhetia 42
 Rhodes 591-3
 Rhodos (daughter of Okeanos) 14
 Rhodos (daughter of Poseidon) 591-2
 Rhome 567-8
 Rome 566-8
- Salamis 477-8
 Salmoneus 163, 191
 Salmos 191
 Samos 520-1, 586, 619
 Samothrace 522-3
 see also Great Gods
 Sarpedon 397-8
 Sauromatai 289-90
 'says not' idiom 34, 211-12, 216, 218, 285,
 290 n. 94, 506 n. 36
 scapegoat motif 198-200
 Seirenes 8 n. 21, 30-1, 223 n. 78
 Selinous 79
 Selloi 604
 Semele 370-6
 Seriphos 250-1, 258
 Seven against Thebes 367, 408-14
 Seven Wise Men 4, 624
 Sicily 508-11, 633
 Sikalos 271
 Sikeloi 507-8
 Simonides 729-30
 Sinon 554
 Sinope 224
 Sinties 517
 Siproites 161 n. 35
 Sipylos 368-9

Sisyphos 189 n. 131, 502
 Skamandrios 563-4
 Skamandros 539-40
 Skamon 10, 731
 Skiron 482-3
 Skylax of Karyanda 659-60
 Skylla (daughter of Hekate) 32, 554
 Skylla (daughter of Minos) 481-2
 Skythinos 732
 Smyrna 589
 Soonautes 223
 Spalathra/Spelauthra 152
 Sparta 345-6, 513-14, 727
 Spartoi 353, 355-7, 360-1
 Sparton 237, 259
 stars 19-20
 Stephanephoros 309
 Sterope (Atlantid) 416-17, 428-9
 Sterope (daughter of Pleuron or Porthaon) 137-9
 Stheneboia 362
 Stilbe 148
 Straits of Gibraltar 295-6
 Stratonike 138-9
 Stymphalian Birds 285-6
 syncreticism 30, 36-58 *passim*
 synoecism (Attic) 458-9, 471
 syrinx 536

Talaos 411-12
 Tantalos 369-70
 Taphios 262-3
 Tartaros 5-8
 Tartessos 294-5
 Taygete 278, 286, 417,
 Teiresias 297, 400-2
 Telamon 311, 313, 478-9, 713-14
 Telchines 35-6, 45-9, 52-3, 56-8
 Teleboas, Teleboans 262-3
 Telemachos 557
 Telephos 309-11
 Temenos 335-6
 Tentheus 377-8
 Teos 584-5
 Tereis 529
 Termilai 183-4
 Tertullian 19-20
 Tethys 8, 11-12
 Tetrapolis (Thessalian) 152, 335, 339
 Teukros 524
 Thasos 347-8
 Thebes 61 with n. 230, 308, 343-4, 347-84,
 400-14, 432, 500, 639
 Kabeirion of 38-9
 seven pyres of 367, 412-14
 walls of 351-2, 362-5, 367-8

Thegonion/Thetonion 152
 Theiodamas 101
 Themisto 195, 197
 Theognete 205-6
 theogony xiv-xv, 3-83
 Theoklymenos 178-9
 Theon of Smyrna 684
 Thera 592-3
 Theras 592-3
 Thersites 139-40
 Theseus 448-50, 452-3, 458-9, 468-89
 Thespiiai 307-8
 Thessalos 314-15, 341
 Thessaly, Thessalians 128-30, 147, 149-50,
 152-3, 155-88, 190-1, 200, 314-15, 319, 326,
 339-41, 364-5, 443, 445
 Thestios 137-8, 307-8
 Thestor 213-14
 Thetideion 446
 Thetis 446
 Thon 550-1
 Thrace, Thracians 14-15, 456, 464-5
 Thriai 81-3
 Thriasios 81
 Thucydides 634-6, 643, 673-4, 594-5
 Thyestes 427, 435-6, 439
 Thyia 122, 146 n. 39
 Tilphossa 402
 Tiphys 215
 Tiryns 237-40, 250
 walls of 53, 256
 Titaia 390
 Titans 8, 18-20
see also under individual names
 Tithonos 525-7
 Tityos 73-4
 Tlepolemos 324-6, 340, 592
 Tragasos 514
 Tremilai 183-4
 trickster figures 181
 Triopas (Rhodian) 159
 Triopas (Argive) 241-2
 Triops 158-9
 Triptolemos 17-18
 Triton (Crete) 392-3
 Troilos 541-2
 Troizen 437-8
 Tros 525
 Troy 311-15, 522-45
 first sack of 311-15
 second sack of 543-5, 594-7, 645,
 664
 walls of 311-12
 Tydeus 407, 409-10, 412
 Tyndareos 420-3
 Typhon 27-30

Tyro 164
 Tyrsenians 85-6, 94, 95, 96
 Tzetzes, Iohannes 720-2

Underworld, the 303-6

wooden dog oracle 142
 world-egg 8-10
 writing, invention of 246-8
see also literacy

Xanthos 518-19
 Xenokrates 19
 Xenomedes 733

Xenopatira 142-3
 Xouthos 123, 141

Zetes, *see* Boreadai
 Zethos 351-4, 364-6
 Zeus 27, 35, 49-51, 104-5, 149-50, 391, 393
 Alastoros 70-1
 Diktaian 391
 Hikesios 71-2
 Homoloios 60-2
 Laphystios 198-9, 200
 Lykaios 95 n. 28, 107-8
 Pelasgian 87-8
 Phrixios 202